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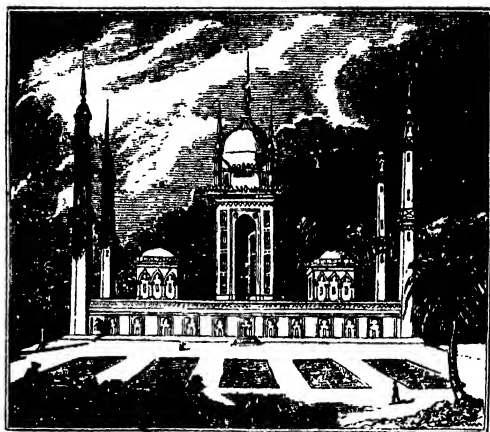
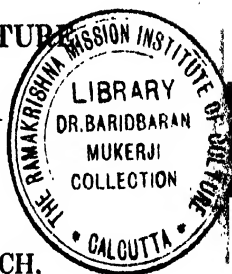
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B. BENSLEY, BOLT COURT, FLEET STREET;

THE ORIENTAL HERALD.

No. 13.—JANUARY 1825.—VOL. 4.

ANTICIPATED CHANGES IN THE INDIAN ADMINISTRATION.

THE channels of information which are open to us in this country, as well as in India, admit of our hearing and knowing more than the advocates of secrecy and the planners of intrigue would wish:—and as the most effectual mode of preventing the evils of future imbecility, is to speak plainly on the weaknesses of the present and the past, so as to put both rulers and subjects on their guard, and prevent either from reposing an undue confidence in men who have not been well tried and proved to be deserving of their esteem and regard; we shall communicate to the readers of *The Oriental Herald* all that has reached us, from the best authority, on the subject of the changes in question.

It is beyond a doubt that his Excellency the Governor-General of India, Lord Amherst, will be removed from his high station, with as little delay as may be consistent with the preservation of those appearances of courtesy and form, which public men, for the reputation of the body to which they belong, generally endeavour to maintain, even in removals of inferior importance to the present. The cause of this intended dismissal or recall is not, however, to be ascribed to the arbitrary and un-English conduct of his Excellency, in the sudden and forcible banishment without trial, of Mr. Arnot, from Calcutta, and Mr. Lamb, a partner of the house of Palmer and Co. from Hyderabad; nor to his ready adoption of all the hatreds and antipathies of his temporary predecessor, Mr. John Adam. Neither is it to be attributed to his sanctioning, without due examination, the monstrous acts of injustice done to an establishment of British merchants in the territories of an independent Prince, where Englishmen have been driven to bankruptcy and ruin by the cruelty and oppression of a Government formed of their own countrymen, from whom they ought to have received every assistance and protection. But Lord Amherst's descent from his unmerited elevation is generally (we suppose it would be held libellous to say justly, however truly that might be pronounced) attributed to the opinion entertained by Ministers at home of his manifest incapacity, as evinced more particularly in the conduct of the existing War in India, and from the disapprobation of the same high personages as to the part taken by him in those transactions which have given Sir Edward Paget so much reason to complain, and which led, indeed, to the Commander-in-Chief expressing his desire to be recalled. It is understood, however, that Lord Amherst had been made sufficiently sensible of his errors in this respect to tender the *amende honorable* to Sir Edward Paget; and

that a temporary reconciliation had taken place: but incapacity is not to be remedied by any acts of courtesy, and therefore such a reconciliation could effect no change in the views of men in power at home, as to the safety or policy of suffering India to be still ruled by one who had commenced his career in so unpropitious a manner.

The Commander-in-Chief, it is certain, is also coming home from India, but not in consequence of dissatisfaction at his proceedings existing in any quarter. His retirement will be an act of his own choice. It will not take place, however, until the termination of the Burmese war, which he will no doubt consider himself bound in honour to bring to a successful conclusion. Some persons in England are sanguine enough to hope that this is ere now accomplished: we think it probable, however, for reasons before stated, that it will be more obstinate and more protracted than persons in general seem to apprehend.

The postponement of Sir Edward Paget's return until the termination of war, and the uncertainty as to the exact period at which this may happen, has occasioned some confusion and embarrassment in the antechamber here, as to the nomination of a successor. Had it so happened that the high offices of Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief had become vacant at the same period of time, an effort would have been made to join again these offices in one, as in the case of Lord Cornwallis and the Marquis of Hastings, by whom both were filled. In such a case Lord William Bentinck, who is pointed out by the general voice, and by all true friends of India, would probably have been nominated to the distinguished posts. What other officer, indeed, of adequate rank, can pretend to vie with this honest and liberal English nobleman in united civil and military qualifications? His Lordship cannot, however, on the other hand, be much beloved by a particular section of the political party in power, namely, the Holy Alliance, or Londonderry School, of which, in the British Cabinet, his Grace the Duke of Wellington is understood to be at the head. Neither would his compassionate consideration for some of the Indian exiles of 1809, when he had the power of employing them during their temporary proscription in the fury of party-hate, have made his Lordship a favourite with the unforgiving section of the governing body in Leadenhall-street. Notwithstanding all this, the claims of Lord William Bentinck appear to us to be so far above those of all other probable candidates for the joint offices of Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief, that if the two should be united, we think he cannot be otherwise than chosen to fill them.

In the mean time, Sir Thomas Munro has written home to retract his meditated resignation of the Madras Government, or, at least, to postpone it for another year, while the Honourable Mr. Elphinstone is equally content to prolong his stay at Bombay. By these delays, a little breathing-time is afforded to the competitors for office at home, and their respective partisans, the Malcolms and Lushingtons, with the patrons on either side,—the Ministers and the East India Company: and if the lengthened labours of Sir Charles Stuart at the Court of the august head of the Bourbon race, in the cause of social order and legitimacy, were to have been rewarded, as is generally believed, by permitting him to carry off the Madras prize from the two contending parties already named, that reward must now be deferred, or exchanged for the higher prize of the Governor-Generalship, with a peerage annexed, provided the office

of Governor-General be kept distinct from that of Commander-in-Chief, and not united with it, as before supposed.

In this case, the disposal of the place of Commander-in-Chief will be a matter of much greater difficulty. It is now clear, that the command in question is no sinecure office, but one requiring not only military talents of a high order,—as the present wholly unexpected war, and the equally unlooked-for campaigns of Lord Hastings show,—but also great general knowledge, steady powers of close attention to the organization, good government, discipline, *morale*, and what may be called the *civil* condition, of an army exceeding in numerical strength even that of England, and marked by peculiarities which require the greatest care to manage.

Whether it be from his surpassing all his competitors in the undoubted possession of all these rare and difficult qualifications, or from more occult causes, that Lord Combermere is generally spoken of as the future Commander-in-Chief for India, it would be difficult to say. He has at least *one* surpassing merit, besides those possessed in common with almost every British officer—he has had the good fortune to render himself peculiarly acceptable to his Grace the Duke of Wellington.

It has been said that Lord Combermere's appointment, supposing it to be quite decided, is not wholly unconnected with intrigues and politics passing in India. Should the high Tory party obtain the victory in the Cabinet debates on the alarming state of Ireland,—the Duke of Wellington has been driven by the persevering folly and bigotry of the *Ultra-Tories* to the very verge of separation from her for ever,—it is believed that the Duke of Wellington will go over to the Sister Islands, to force the blessings of the Orange-system down the throats of his uncivilized and ungrateful countrymen, at the point of the bayonet and at the foot of the gallows, should milder methods be found unavailing to drown their ignorant and impatient clamours. In this case, his Grace will have *carte blanche*, as Lord-Lieutenant and Military Captain-General. How much more desirable to the friends of humanity would it be, to see the Marquis of Hastings removed from the palace at Malta to the castle at Dublin: his very weaknesses might be turned to a profit and advantage there.

Should, however, the moderate party in the Cabinet get the better of their opponents in these hot and stormy debates, it is then determined no longer to suffer a handful of men to engross all the honours, emoluments, and power of place, and thus to ride on the necks of the vast majority of the people. In such case, it is said, Lord Bristol (a name not very familiar to our ears as that of a public man) will go over to Ireland to pave the way for more effectual measures, by improving the impression which Lord Wellesley has certainly made, by dint of perseverance in the conciliatory system,—at the cost of much personal comfort, no doubt, and in opposition to the views of a divided Cabinet here, and one more acrimonious and equally divided in Ireland.

How deeply these Irish changes are likely to affect India may be seen, not only by their connexion with the meditated appointment of Lord Combermere to the chief command of the Indian Army, but what is of infinitely greater importance, by their leading to certain changes in the Board of Control, and through that channel, perhaps, exerting a powerful influence on the future destinies of India.

Lord Wellesley, on his retirement from Ireland, must be provided for at home, and nothing less than a cabinet-seat could be offered to him after the devotion with which he has given himself up to the perplexing and ungracious duties of his present post. In the mean time, Mr. Manners Sutton desires to retire from the burthens of his office; and Mr. Wynn, the President of the Board of Control, has long been known to sigh for the supposed dignities of the wig, the robe, and the chair, of the House of Commons, of which he has been always ambitious to become the Speaker.¹ It is well known how this gentleman has been baffled in his object, from his being heretofore suspected of some tinge of liberality, while it suited the interests of His Grace, the head of the party, to stand out for better terms from the Ministers. Times, however, as well as places, are changed with Mr. Wynn; or, rather, he is like Dr. Southey's man, standing still and unchanged, while every thing else has been turning round in the progress of the earth's revolving motion. As a reward for his not suffering himself to be contaminated with the increasing liberality which marks the spread of knowledge in every other circle, Mr. Wynn is no longer suspected of any undue love of freedom, and may be Speaker of the House of Commons as soon as he pleases, and that, we have reason to believe, will be almost immediately.

His place, at the head of the Board of Control, will then be vacant for Lord Wellesley, who is likely, for many substantial reasons, to accept it without hesitation. Mr. Canning has before shown, in his own person, that he thought it no descent, to pass from being Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, to preside at the India Board: and Lord Wellesley will at least escape the mortification, which must have been felt, however affected to be hidden, by his brilliant friend, in accepting a second-rate place under one, of whom he had often before expressed the most contemptuous opinions. It will be no easy task, however, even for Lord Wellesley, to contend against the bigotry of some of his old acquaintances of 1812, who still maintain their seats and their influence in the Cabinet almost unimpaired.

On these last named changes, as far as India is concerned, we shall take another early opportunity of expressing our opinion. For the present we must content ourselves with remarking, that the removal of Mr. Wynn from the post of President of the Board of Control, must be decidedly advantageous to the true interests of India, let him be succeeded by almost any one that can be named. Even if his political scene-shiftings had not shown him in his true colours to the public eye, he is not a *noun substantive*: he is, to all appearances, incapable of standing by himself; and must lean on some abler and better informed man for support, most probably, on some ambitious Director, with party and corporation partialities to gratify, and ready to go all lengths to effect his purposes. Let any man of the most ordinary understanding look at a late production of Captain Seely, (or rather a second manufacture of some old letters that had already appeared in the Sun Newspaper, and now put forth under the title of 'A Voice from India,') dedicated by *especial permission* to Mr. Wynn, and he will then be able to appreciate the intellect, and determine what

¹ The contrast between the low and sepulchral tones of the present Speaker, and the harsh and shrill notes of his aspiring successor, will be heard to great advantage in the well-known sentence, "The Aves have it."

manner of man is the President of the Board of Control—nothing liberal, nothing conciliatory, nothing enlightened, nothing elevated, no aspirations after the advancement of his fellow-men, or the moral and political improvement of the remote country committed to his responsibility. From such a man, made up of prejudices and precedents, with whom “the wisdom of our ancestors” is all in all, what good can reasonably be expected?

Lord Wellesley is a man of a very different description—of a much higher class—and with a mind of quite another order. He has, perhaps, been over-rated in his best days; and, moreover, he is not now so young and vigorous as he was when he first appeared in India, and astonished every body there by his energy and his foresight. It is impossible, however, to read some of his state-papers and minutes, without seeing at once that he is a powerful and active-minded man. If time may have somewhat abated his vigour and activity, it may also have advantageously altered him in another respect, in which such sobering effects would be unequivocally beneficial. We speak not of private or personal failings, but of Lord Wellesley's disposition to carry every thing with a high hand; and, when surrounded by flatterers and sycophants, to consider himself an absolute Jupiter, entitled to hurl his bolts against any one who might dare to oppose his will in the most minute particular.

It would be premature to enlarge on this topic, until we see the measures that are likely to be undertaken by the men of whom we speak. But it cannot, at least, be considered certain, that because Lord Wellesley considered an arbitrary despotism and a fettered press best suited to India twenty-five years ago, under the old and close monopoly of the Company's system, he should still approve of the same iron rule, now that a newly-modified charter has thrown open the trade, and that our eastern settlements have advanced, in many respects, in spite of the paralyzing influence of those who oppose all such advancement at home. It is satisfactory, at least, to remember that Lord Wellesley was the founder of the College at Fort William; that he was always friendly to education; that he resisted, with all his might, the haughty and engrossing spirit of the elder branches of the Civil Service; while he kept down all their attempts at the exercise of an exclusive influence, by the introduction of qualified persons to suitable employments, whenever no regular-servant could be found of sufficient talents to fill the vacant post. His Lordship's well-founded contempt for the imbecility which then, as well as now, occasionally characterized the proceedings of the Directors; his spirited resistance to many of their arbitrary and monopolizing dictations on many subjects of great public importance, are fresh in the memory of all Indians, as well as his encouragement of the free trade and ship-building in India; and his liberal notions, of returning all surplus revenue to the country which produced it, in the shape of public edifices, roads, quays, bridges, canals, and institutions of every useful kind, instead of wringing the last shilling from the oppressed natives, merely to remit, without compensation, the amount of such tribute to the greedy devourers of the surplus revenue in London. We know how all this terminated in the defeat of these statesman-like views, and the momentary triumph obtained by Mr. Charles Grant and the party that supported Lord Cornwallis. But the influence of that leader, and his few remaining followers,

is happily on the wane, since the liberal employment of those whom they had consigned to proscription, after the Madras mutiny: and if Lord Wellesley should now be placed at the head of the Home Department, as President of the India Board, we shall be disposed to anticipate considerable benefit to that country, from the ascendancy which he is sure to give to the more enlarged and statesman-like policy of the liberal part of the Cabinet, and the consequent depression of the influence now exercised by the narrow-minded and illiberal part of the Direction, under whose entire control, except in disputed questions of patronage, Mr. Wynn seems to have always been.

An angry and petulant negotiation is said to have been going on for some time between the Court of Directors in Leadenhall-street, and the Board of Control, or rather, it might be said, between the Directors and the Horse Guards, who seem to have taken the discussion out of the hands of the Commissioners for the Affairs of India—regarding the reinforcement of European soldiers, which are now required for that country, where, since the commencement of the present war, their want has been pressingly felt.

The Court are said to have intimated their earnest desire to raise men immediately, in their own name, and in England, sufficient for six battalions of infantry, to be formed into six European regiments, for the augmentation of the East India Company's army. This, however, has been met at the Horse Guards by an offer of six disciplined battalions of the King's troops, ready formed, completely officered, and fit in every respect for immediate service. The Company remonstrate, and state, that they have officers in India in sufficient abundance, which is notoriously untrue, as the paucity of officers for the troops now there is matter of universal complaint. The Duke of York replies, that he has a large half-pay list of meritorious but almost starving individuals, who deserve to be better provided for: and adds, moreover, that the nation ought to be relieved from this expense, when such a fine opportunity occurs for employing them. His Royal Highness is said to have intimated, also, that although there might be superior officers enough on the Company's establishment in India to fill the higher commands, yet, as it was known that all their regiments, native and European, were deficient in their complement of subalterns, it was to be inferred that the Directors intended sending out a proper number of cadets to supply the places of those ensigns who had been promoted to higher ranks in the new regiments recently formed in India. This morsel of patronage the Duke thought might as fairly be exercised by the Horse Guards as by the Company's Court: and when the relief which this would afford to the half-pay list of the army is considered, when it is also remembered that the number of King's regiments in India was *reduced*, at the renewal of the charter, by a number about equal to these six battalions now proposed to be sent out, it must be admitted that his Royal Highness did not want for reason in his view of this question of military patronage. It will remind those of our older readers of the not altogether dissimilar contests in 1786, followed by the famous declaratory law, affecting to clear up doubts, but really giving a *new* power to Mr. Pitt's *new* Board of Control, the first of that series of covert encroachments by which the wily Dundas induced the country gentlemen and proprietors of India stock to acquiesce in that effectual destruction of the charter, in a circuitous and tortuous mode,

which Mr. Fox proposed doing by more direct and straight-forward enactments.

According to the latest advices from the field of this diplomatic warfare, a sort of mezzo-termo proposition had been made by the East India Directors, which was to give *half* the subalternships of the new battalions to officers on the King's half-pay list. This, however, was first declined at the Horse Guards; but was immediately afterwards proposed to be accepted, provided half the superior officers might be also furnished from the King's army. This was in its return rejected by the India Company, so that the affair remains in the *status in quo*; and the Leadenhall-street Dignitaries, incensed at this encroachment on their patronage, which, with many of them at least, is the sole god of their idolatry, prefer that matters should remain in the *status ante bellum*.

Sir Archibald Campbell, who commands the Burmese expedition, will, perhaps, decide this knotty question, and compel the contending parties to agree, ere long, on some specific measures; for he appears to be doing every thing with European soldiers only, although he has so fine a native army under his command. The waste of life, from fatigue and exposure, among the Europeans on the shores of the Bay of Bengal, during the rainy and tempestuous monsoon, must be very great;—and to supply this waste, fresh levies must be made and sent. In the end, too, the Court of Directors must yield to the superior weight of the Horse Guards; but in the mean time there exists considerable coldness, not to say a total want of cordiality, between the East India Company and his Majesty's Ministers, owing to these disputes, and to those also concerning the disposal of the Governorships in India, and other anticipated good things, soon likely to be objects of contention between hungry expectants and keen hunters after place, power, and emolument in the East.

Out of evil, good may come; and as we are persuaded that much more injury is likely to arise from too close a union, than from occasional differences, between the Company and those set in authority over them, we hail all such contests as those, as indications of the dawn of brighter days; and hope, that when these temporary clouds are dispersed, the bright sun of a better system may pour its light on India, and raise it to that station which it ought long since to have held among the nations of the earth.

LINES WRITTEN AT THE SOURCE OF THE GANGES.

By an English Lady.

Ah! who can wonder that the holy Seer
 Should fix the dwelling of the Godhead here,
 Where, from the stately mountain's snowy side,
 The Ganges rolls his clear, majestic tide,
 And through far distant regions takes his course,
 With godlike bounty, and with giant force;
 Whilst all around us, in the varying scene,
 The glorious attributes of God are seen;
 The mountain, fertile vale, the stream, the grove,
 Speak his high majesty, paternal care, and love.

ON THE CONDITION OF WOMEN IN THE EAST.

Obsequium amicos, veritas odium parit.

Old Proverb.

THE thing aimed at in woman's education should be, *domestic happiness*. It is our present intention to examine how and with what success this has been attempted to be attained in the East. The condition of Oriental women seems indeed to have been a subject of curious interest to the learned of all ages, and much has been written concerning their manners and character; but nevertheless it does not appear that Europeans have yet come to any just and settled conclusions on the point. We have thought, therefore, that our readers would not be displeased to follow us through a field so full of moral interest, and which possibly more than any other "comes home to men's business and bosoms." Woman is essentially the same in every climate; her nature an enigma, not less to the wise than to the foolish: her perfection, her happiness, her misery, identically our own. "Where the education of women is neglected," said Aristotle, "a nation can be but half happy."¹ But, where such is their fortune, even this half-happiness may be disputed; nature seeming, as far as participated happiness is concerned, to have made them the *all in all* of man. From this it would seem, that the education of women should stand amongst the first cares of a legislator; for human nature is formed in their bosoms, and the fate of the greatest nations flows from their character, as from a fountain.² Appearing nothing in political institutions, they are nevertheless the soul of all. Their influence, it must be owned, is secret; but, like the spirit of nature, it pervades every atom of the social system, and is frequently most felt there, where its existence is least suspected.³ This arises from one of the greatest anomalies of woman's character, her being satisfied with power without fame. Reasoning by analogy from our coarser natures, we cannot comprehend this peculiarity, especially as we observe that the more lofty and impassioned female minds are most careless of their own proper renown,⁴ and most anxious for that of those they love. There have, it is confessed, been exceptions to this rule; but the appetite of popularity appears vulgar and unamiable in woman; it is a violence done to her nature; it takes away "the divinity that dwells within her," and makes her one of us; it disenchant's our imagination; it dissipates, it annihilates our love. Modern gallantry affects to be shocked exceedingly at this principle, and always points to the East, where, it imagines, the moral degradation of women is an effect of excessive domestication.⁵ It will be seen, in the course of this inquiry, whether the suspicion be well founded, or merely one of those vulgar errors which arise out of ignorance and idleness, and subsist in spite of increasing knowledge.

¹ Rhetoric, Book i. c. 5. of Gillies' Translation.

² A king of Sparta was fined for marrying a *little woman*; but we nowhere find that it was accounted criminal to marry an immoral one. There was, however, at Athens, a particular magistrate to watch over the morals of the women.

³ The Spartans were a most warlike and fierce people, but were yet governed by their wives.—*Arist. Polit.*

⁴ By *renown* we mean *celebrity, fame*, not reputation.

⁵ See in Plutarch the Laws of Solon respecting women; and in the Orations of Lysias, their exact manner of life. See particularly the one on the murder of Eratosthenes.

The prejudice is fostered, however, by a numerous body of travellers, who, because they see much, consider themselves entitled to decide upon every thing. But unless a man hold himself free from the tyranny of national peculiarities and customs, and go forth with a mind bared to the influences of truth, he will only by travelling increase his prejudices, as an axe exposed to the air only becomes the more rusty and useless the longer it is uncovered. Travelling is mischievous to more persons than it is useful;⁶ for the greater part of those who seek wisdom in motion, only add to the ignorance and errors of their own country whatever they can pick up of a like kind in others. Without sound common sense, and something more, it is in vain that a traveller marches abroad, armed with classical notions, as they are called, and the capacity to design a ruin; his learning and picturesque abilities desert him when he comes to judge of men, and the habits, manners, customs, and peculiarities induced by climate, and political and religious institutions. To draw a faithful picture of these he leaves to the man who has been trained in the school of vicissitude, from whose eyes the rough hand of danger has removed the scales of prejudice, who studies human nature from the level of plain reason, and who neither knows nor cares for the systems of the schools. Your true university traveller is sure, after all, in spite of his Greek and Latin, to apply the square and compass of his own creed and manners to every thing he sees, and to consider them absurd and preposterous, or otherwise, as they happen to differ or agree with so admirable a standard of excellence. He observes that in Oriental countries the female sex leads a purely domestic life, full, in general, of ease and tranquillity, neither meddling with war, nor agriculture, nor literature, nor government; but contenting itself with fulfilling the duties of a daughter, a wife, a mother, or a friend; for those trifling duties are fulfilled by Oriental women. He then forms to himself his *beau idéal* of a Turkish or Persian man, ignorant, brutal, lustful, and an *opium eater*; and then sends him into the haram to scare the women! Admirable judge of human life! Did it never occur to this looker upon strange customs, that in all vast empires there must be thousands of country gentlemen, as well as many dwellers in cities, upon whom the kindly affections of the heart will have their due influence? That in very few indeed can the natural feelings of a husband or father be totally obdurate or subdued? That love will break through custom; that beauty will kindle love, and softness and tenderness maintain its empire over the soul? That the lips and smiles of children, murmuring and glittering round the bosom that nourished them, and lighting up serene delight in the eyes of their mother, can never fail to endear the domestic hearth to man; still less if that hearth be a sanctuary sacred to such feelings alone? The poet's imagination was for once chaste who exclaimed,

Oh! what a pure and holy thing
Is Beauty, curstained from the sight
Of the gross world, illumining
One only mansion with her light!

That heart must be exceedingly corrupt which, when a Turkish father retires to the peaceful fire-side of his haram, can imagine him bent on nothing but the gratification of sensuality. Let travellers and philosophers

⁶ As an illustration of this, see Chateaubriand's Travels. He is one striking instance; we could enumerate a hundred.

think they are describing *men*, when they speak of the Orientals, and they will avoid many errors and contradictions, which he who neither travels into distant countries nor learned theories, may correct or discover. We shall hardly be suspected of being the apologists of Eastern institutions, as in speaking thus we merely endeavour to defend human nature in the persons of the Eastern people, from aspersions cast upon it by intemperate prejudice. It is partly the aim of *THE ORIENTAL HERALD* to explain the nature of Eastern society, and to show for what the Asiatics deserve blame, and for what, approbation; and not to unite with any literary sect or faction in heaping upon them unthinking, indiscriminate censure or praise.

For the more complete understanding of the subject it will be necessary to inquire, first, in what Eastern countries women are actually secluded; and, secondly, what kind of treatment they receive in those countries where they live apart from the society of men. The first portion of the article will, we fear, be somewhat dry, and may perhaps be looked upon as ostentatiously crowded with citations: but Truth delights in simplicity, and in a number of witnesses, that she may look easily into the character of each, and draw from the whole a just conclusion. It is, in fact, through an affectation of pompous reasoning, supported on a slender, inadequate basis, and through a real ignorance of the state of the case, that so much absurd theory and childish philosophizing have prevailed. Nothing but investigation can dissipate the mist.⁷ We proceed, therefore, to prove, that women are *not immured universally in the East*; that, in reality, they are immured in but very few countries; and that the probability is, considering the institutions which prevail generally in Asia, and which their freedom would not, and could not alter, that those *who are secluded*, are far happier than such liberty as they could enjoy would render them. We make, and the reader of course will make, a very wide distinction between treating the women as inferiors, and shutting them up from all society. We know no country in which the laws and customs do not suppose in the female sex an inferiority of some kind or another; and this is the strongest proof existing of the imperfection of prevailing institutions. A wise legislator, without supposing or admitting any inferiority at all in woman, will deal out to each sex its distinct duties, and see that the feminine character is not lost in any absurd endeavours to harden or bend it into manhood, in which, if he could succeed, his whole triumph would be for having rendered one half of the state totally unfit for performing its duties towards the other, or towards itself.⁸ This, as Aristotle very justly remarks, was the error of Lycurgus: he was desirous of converting his women into men, and succeeded in rendering them shameless

⁷ Montesquieu, of course, has his errors, like other writers; but the reader will find in his *Spirit of Laws*, some of the most profound and rational views of the condition of women, that are any where to be met with. We have seldom seen him attacked by any writer who possessed half his knowledge or penetration. People often confuse him to their own satisfaction, but to no one's in the world besides.

⁸ Politics, Book ii. ch. 7. p. 123, &c. Plutarch relates some of the strokes of the comic poets against the Spartan women; and Bayle, art. *Lycurgue*, details their failings most minutely. Their short tunics, open at the sides, were excessively immodest; but were trifles to ladies accustomed to wrestle naked before all the youths of the city. The genius of Lycurgus was great, but we prefer Solon: the latter knew the female character, and was anxious to preserve it pure.

and profligate; imperious towards their husbands, corrupted in themselves, and dangerous to the commonwealth. All such attempts must have a similar end. Working with Nature, men may perform much; but it is fortunate that as soon as they forsake her, their labours terminate in confusion.

To go on with our subject:—Throughout the vast empire of India the women, among the whole body of the people, are not secluded. In single and in married life they go abroad when and where they please. In public also they enjoy very great respect and reverence;⁹ and, as soon as years have fitted them for it, manage the domestic concerns of their husbands considerably at their own discretion; for they are enjoined by the *Padma Purana*,¹⁰ to be extremely careful of his property, which sufficiently shows it was left to their disposition. In the district of Kumaon the sexes have exchanged employments, the men managing matters at home, while the ladies conduct whatever belongs to farming and agriculture.¹¹ At Catmandoo, in Nepál, the Queen has a female body-guard, who dress and ride on horseback like men, and are armed with swords.¹² In the Birman empire the intercourse between the sexes is as free as in Europe; marriages are not contracted before the age of puberty, and polygamy is prohibited.¹³ The beauty and gallantry of the women of the kingdom of Yangoma, a country governed by a Buddhist priesthood, are celebrated throughout the East.¹⁴ In Tibet, the women hold a very high and rather peculiar station in society: the elder brother of each family chooses a wife for himself and his brothers, who associate equally with all, however numerous, and is very greatly respected.¹⁵ This practice differs from that of the Nairs on the coast of Malabar, as among the latter a woman's affections are free to every man of the same caste as herself; but a custom similar to the above Tibetan arrangement is said to prevail among the *bearer caste* in the province of Orissa.¹⁶

If we turn to the vast Archipelago of the Indian ocean, we shall find

⁹ Dubois on the Manners and Customs of India. The Abbé Dubois ingeniously confesses that the condition of women in India is very degraded; we have no doubt of that, but are speaking at present on the question of *seclusion*. His testimony on this point is decisive. "But degraded as the Hindoo women are," says he, "in private life, it must be allowed that they receive the highest respect in public. They certainly do not pay them those flat and frivolous compliments which are used amongst us, and which are the disgrace of both sexes; but, on the other hand, they have no insults to dread. A woman may go wheresoever she pleases; she may walk in the most public places (*must I except those where the Europeans abound?*) and have nothing to fear from libertines, numerous as they are in the country. A man who should stop to gaze on a woman in the street, or elsewhere, would be universally hooted as an insolent and most low-bred fellow." Idem, p. 220. An erroneous notion also prevails about *purchasing wives*: let the same author correct it:—"Men of distinction do not appropriate to their common purposes the money acquired by giving their daughters in marriage, but lay it out in jewels, which they present to the lady on her wedding-day. These are her private property as long as she lives, and on no account can be disposed of by her husband." p. 137, 138. The reader may find the most minute and exact picture of Hindoo society in the *Tales of Anantulla of Delhi*, translated by Dow and Scott.

¹⁰ See a Translation of the Precepts relating to Marriage, in Dubois' work, p. 229.

¹¹ Hamilton's Description of India, vol. ii. cited by Malte Brun.

¹² Kirkpatrick's Mission to Nepaul.

¹³ Malte Brun's Geography, iii. 353.

¹⁴ Idem, vol. iii. p. 363.

¹⁵ Hamilton's Indian Gazetteer, p. 815.—This practice prevailed amongst our own ancestors, *Cæsar, Comment.*

¹⁶ Hamilton, *Gaz.* ubi sup.

that the condition of women is much the same as in Europe; few are secluded—none treated with contempt or disdain. “In general, they are not immured at all; and when they are secluded, it is but partially, and not with that jealous restraint which has become proverbial with respect to the manners of the East.”¹⁷ They eat with the men, and associate with them on terms of the greatest equality. Among the people of Celebes, the most warlike nation of the whole Archipelago, they are altogether free, take an active part in all the business of life, are consulted by the men on all *public affairs*, and, although the monarchy is elective, are very frequently raised to the throne. To mark their equality they eat out of the same dish as their husbands, to whom etiquette, however, has assigned the *right side*. They share in the diversions of all public festivals, mingle in all political debates, and often assume, it is said, more than their due share in the deliberations.¹⁸

When Mr. Crawford was Resident at Java, the sovereign of the *Bugis* state, in Celebes, was a woman;¹⁹ who, although married to the monarch of a neighbouring country, did not allow her husband to interfere with her government. The wife of a Macassar chief, was, at the same period, sovereign of *Lipukasi*, and had the reputation of being the *best politician* in Celebes. Mr. Crawford saw her in 1814; she was then about fifty years of age, and appeared full of intelligence and resolution.²⁰ Not many days before, she had appeared among the troops of her country, animating them to battle. The same author remarks, that there was hardly any country in the Indian Archipelago, the sovereignty of which had not been at one time or another in the hands of women, and that their influence was observed to be greatest in the most turbulent states.²¹ The women of Java are more industrious than those of any other island of the Archipelago; but they are not driven to labour, by the men; it is undertaken voluntarily, because productive of distinction. Their minds, likewise, are commonly better cultivated than those of their husbands. Among the upper classes the females are more retired, but by no means immured; for whenever any British gentlemen became known to the native princes, they were always introduced to their harems to pay their respects to the princesses. At the English and Dutch parties given at Samarang, the wife and daughters of the Chief were present, and their manners were distinguished by delicacy and decorum. The Chief, it should be observed, was a most punctilious Mohammedan. Polygamy is not common in the Indian islands; and when it takes place, the first wife is the mistress of the family, the others being looked upon as her maids. For this reason, therefore, no man will give his daughter to a person of his own rank as a second wife; which is a great discouragement to polygamy.²² There is not much uniformity in the notions of the Indian islanders respecting female chastity; in Sumatra, the Malayan States, Borneo, the Peninsula, Bali, and Celebes, it is in high estima-

¹⁷ Crawford, *History of the Indian Archipelago*, vol. i. p. 73. For the manners of these islanders, see also, *Argensola*, ‘*Histoire de la Conquête des Isles Moluques*,’ 2 tom. 12mo. Amst. 1707; and ‘*Recueil des Voyages qui ont servi à l’Etablissement de la Comp. des Indes*,’ 12mo.

¹⁸ Crawford, vol. i. p. 74.

¹⁹ *Argensola* also describes the activity and courage of the Queen of one of the Molucca Islands, tom. i.

²⁰ Crawford, p. 75.

²¹ Similar to what has already been quoted respecting the women of Sparta.

²² Crawford, vol. i. p. 77.

tion; while in Java and Ceylon, the women are remarkable for extreme libertinism and immodesty.⁴¹ On the Continent of India, marriage is a contract indissoluble by adultery, or any other crime;⁴² but throughout the Archipelago divorces may be obtained by either sex, for the most trifling reasons, or even for no reasons at all. Mr. Crawford observes that it is no uncommon thing to see a woman who, before she is thirty, has divorced three or four husbands; and he witnessed one instance in which a woman was living with her twelfth spouse.⁴³ Farther on, in the same volume, he mentions the example of a great man taking back his wife who had eloped from him and was notoriously guilty of adultery. Women do not contract marriage before the age of puberty; the men not until some years after. It is not considered safe, however, on account of the warm temperament of the women, to defer it on their side much beyond that period. Among the ladies of the Carnatic, also, according to the Abbé Dubois,⁴⁴ it would be difficult to invent any other safeguard than marriage, they are so soft in manners and so prone to seduction. "In Java, a woman is called an *old maid* at eighteen or twenty; and an old maid," says Mr. Crawford, "is a suspected thing among the Javanese." He never saw a woman of two-and-twenty that was not or had not been married.⁴⁵ Among the Hindoos, widows can on no account take a second husband.⁴⁶ In the Archipelago, nothing is more frequent than the marriage of widows. On ordinary occasions, the youth of the contracting parties, and the state of morals, render it necessary to take the business of *courtship* out of the hands of the young people, and to transfer it to the relations.⁴⁷

Montesquieu was of opinion that the practice of secluding the women in Oriental countries, arose chiefly from the difficulty of discovering any other method of preserving their chastity; and he adduces the example of the native Indian women of Patana, and the Portuguese ladies of Goa.⁴⁸ The *Andromania* of the Mogul women, described by Grose,⁴⁹ with the picture which Crawford and Percival have given of the excessive vice and immodesty of those women, who enjoy the greatest freedom of intercourse with men, strengthen his position considerably. We find that the women of Ceylon yield themselves up to the abominable lusts of their nearest relations, without its being considered any thing uncommon or disgraceful.⁵⁰ But enough of this.

⁴¹ Percival's Acc. of Ceylon. ⁴² Dubois on the Manners and Customs of India.

⁴³ Hist. Ind. Arch. vol. i. p. 79.

⁴⁴ Manners and Customs of India, p. 134. "They always try to bring it [marriage] about before they become really marriageable; and those who arrive at that period without finding a husband, seldom preserve their innocence long. Constant experience proves that Hindoo girls have neither sufficient firmness nor discretion to resist, for any length of time, the solicitations of a seducer."—"Those who cannot find a husband fall into the state of concubinage with those who chuse to keep them, or secretly indulge in those enjoyments which, if known, would expose them to shame."—Id. ibid. "Quand elles ont atteint l'âge de treize ou quatorze ans, leurs parens sont obligés de les marier, s'ils ne veulent pas qu'elles mènent une vie débauchée; car en cet âge-là les enfans savent déjà se jeter dans le libertinage, ainsi que font parmi nous les filles débauchées."—*Premier Voyage des Hollandais aux Indes Orientales*, p. 384.

⁴⁵ History, &c. p. 86.

⁴⁶ Dubois, Manners and Customs, &c.

⁴⁷ See Crawford; and Marsden, Hist. of Sumatra.

⁴⁸ Esprit des Loix, t. i. p. 374.

⁴⁹ Voyage to the East Indies, p. 218.

⁵⁰ Account of Ceylon, p. 195.

In the kingdom of Cambodia, the men always make their wives the companions of their debauchery, and exclude all other persons. In the same country, girls marry at the age of ten years.³³ Dampier observed that the women of the Philippine islands were much fairer than the men; a proof they were less exposed. They were likewise so fond of strangers, that their husbands were obliged to take care they had no opportunity of conversing with them, except when they themselves were present.³⁴ At *Mindanao* both men and women could speak Spanish; a proof of considerable intercourse. Every lady has a kind of privileged lover, called a *comrade*, who is expected, however, to be merely Platonic. The mistress is termed a *pagally*. They exchange presents; and when the lover visits at the lady's house, he is entertained, to a certain extent, *gratis*. When the Sultan goes on the water for pleasure, he seldom fails to take some of his wives with him. On the circumcision of the general's son, two dancing-girls were employed; but this did not prevent the Sultan's nieces from dancing also. They were very richly dressed, and wore small coronets on their heads. All the women of the island were fond of dancing.³⁵ The Malays of *Luconia* prostitute their women to strangers for hire; as do also the inhabitants of *Pegu*, *Siam*, *Cochin-China*, *Cambodia*, *Tonquin*, and *Guinea*.³⁶ The manners of China tend strongly to confine the women to their houses. "They seldom stir abroad, and one would be apt to think, that, as some have conjectured, their keeping up their fondness for this fashion (swathing the feet) were a stratagem of the men's, to keep them from gadding and gossiping about, and confine them at home."³⁷ They are kept constantly to their work, being fine needlewomen, and making many curious embroideries, and they make their own shoes; but if any stranger be desirous to bring any away for novelty's sake, he must be a great favourite to get a pair of shoes of them, though he give twice their value. The poorer sort of women trudge about the streets, and to the market, without shoes or stockings; and these cannot afford to have little feet, being to get their living with them."³⁸ It is very common, also, to see "women sitting in the streets, and selling *tea* hot and ready made; they call it *chau*, and even the poorest people sip it."³⁹

To return towards Western Asia:—The practice of confining women to the haram, did not prevail amongst the ancient Arabians,⁴⁰ nor among the Mohammedans, until some time after the death of their Prophet. It is expressly prohibited in the Koran; and Mohammed himself once observed to one of his followers, who was about to marry, "See the girl yourself, that you may discover whether you would be satisfied to live with her."⁴¹ In all ages, however, it was customary with the Arabian women to wear veils, both to preserve their beauty and pro-

³³ Description du Royaume de Cambodge, par un Chinois du xiii^{ème} siècle, Traduit par M. Abel-Rémusat, dans les Annales des Voyages.

³⁴ Dampier's Voyages, vol. i. p. 327.

³⁵ Idem, p. 361.

³⁶ Idem, p. 395. See also Marsden's Translation of Marco Polo; and Les Annales des Voyages, in the account of the above Translation.

³⁷ It is observable that in all other oriental nations, where women are secluded, no feeling of interest or gain is apparent. This is a curious distinction.

³⁸ Dampier's Voyages, vol. i. p. 408.

³⁹ Idem, p. 409.

⁴⁰ See the Tarikh Tebry, translated by Major Price.

⁴¹ Castellan, Mœurs des Ottomans, t. v. p. 198.

tect them from the gaze of men. We find in the Bible a correct picture of the manners of Asiatic women in the primitive ages, and some instances of the evils arising from the neglect of the veil. Sarah was nearly taken from her husband, because she was observed to be "fair to look upon;" and Joseph's adventure with the wife of Potiphar,⁴² corroborates the position that southern temperaments are violently driven towards lasciviousness. Travellers observe that, among the Bedouins, women still go veiled, to draw water from the wells, as in the days of Abraham.⁴³ They enjoy the highest respect and deference in society, and sometimes receive the revenue of their husband's estates, which they account for to him. D'Arvieux observes that this was done by the Emir of Mount Carmel's wives.⁴⁴ In general, the women employ themselves in spinning wool for their mantles, or goat's hair for their tents; in cooking, shearing their sheep, taking care of the bars, and saddling and bridling them. Some few attend on the Emir's wife, sing to her, or tell amusing tales for her diversion; and thus pass their lives.⁴⁵ The details of Arab courtship are amusing enough: the youth who is smitten with the figure or voice of a girl, trusts to his imagination for the beauty of her face, sometimes, however, seeking the corroboration of his eyes, by concealing himself in a tent, where he expects the virgins of the camp may pass, or in thickets near the fountains where they go to draw water; for there the girls throw off their veils to laugh and chat with their companions. If the maid has a *penchant* for the youth who desires her hand, she contrives opportunities to show him her face, by dropping the corner of her veil (which they hold with their teeth,) as she passes him in the camp, and then hastily re-adjusting it, as if her beauty had been discovered by accident. Sometimes the lover conceals himself in the tent of some relation, or female acquaintance, who may favour his passion; thither the virgin and her mother, under some pretence or other, are desired to come, and the youth has an opportunity of observing her at leisure. If she answers his expectation, he desires his father, or some other relation, to demand her in marriage, and nothing remains but to settle the nuptial present. This consists of camels, sheep, or horses, and is frequently very considerable.⁴⁶

Nothing short of this degree of seclusion could preserve the modesty

⁴² According to D'Herbelot, articles *Zoleika* and *Jousuf*, the Orientals have celebrated their loves, almost as much as those of Mejnoun and Leilah.

⁴³ Volney, t. i. p. 371, and Bois-Aymé, *Mémoire sur les Arabes*, &c.

⁴⁴ *Voyage dans la Palestine*, &c. p. 157.

⁴⁵ *Idem*, p. 127.

⁴⁶ D'Arvieux, p. 221.—It is a curious trait in the Arab character that, upon the recovery of young women taken in war, and deflowered by the enemy, they still treat them as virgins in the camp; while she who is seduced by one of her own tribe is punished with death:—a just and necessary distinction. Another mark of Arab feeling and delicacy is the practice which prevails among them, of a father absenting himself from the tent, on the night in which his daughter is first introduced to her husband. It is considered indelicate for him to be in the same habitation when she ceases to be a maid; so, while all the other relations unite in the nuptial festivities, he steals out of the camp, and secludes himself in some nook of the wilderness, to ruminate in secret. Meanwhile the bridegroom and his friends arrive at the door of the maiden's tent, armed with clubs, where all her female relations and acquaintances stand armed also, to dispute their passage. Blood has been sometimes shed upon these occasions, but the women at length give way, and leave the virgin to her fate. See the very curious details of D'Arvieux and Bois-Aymé.

and virtue of the females in so wandering and uncertain a mode of life; and the want of it, among the American Indians,⁴⁷ leads to the utter extinction of delicacy, and that sense of shame, which form the amiableness of women.

Among the Arabs of Yemen and Hejas, neither the necessity nor the practice of seclusion prevailed, in the infancy of the Saracen empire. We even find the Hamyarite women trained, like men, to the use of the bow, and to support all the fatigues of war, "like the Amazons of old," says Ockley;⁴⁸ and Voltaire very justly observes, that the heroines of Tasso appeared unnatural only to those who were ignorant of Arabian manners. Cadjah, the Prophet's first and most beloved wife, carried on an extensive commerce with Syria; and his widow Ayesha was constantly seen mingling in all the wars and political feuds that arose immediately after his death. In the Arabian Nights we have the best account extant of the manners of Oriental women; and constantly find them mixing with the men, transacting business with them, rejecting or yielding to their love, with a liberty never supposed to have existed for the sex in the East.⁴⁹ Real history informs us that Zobeide, the wife of Haroun al Raschid, (who, together with that monarch, makes such a figure in those inimitable tales,) was so anxious to promote among her own sex, that species of learning which is most valued by the professors of Islamism, that she had a hundred virgins in her palace who could repeat the whole Koran by heart, the sound of whose recitations re-echoed through the lofty halls like the murmuring of bees.⁵⁰ This celebrated lady is said to have been the founder of the city of Tabriz; and to have expended enormous sums in charity on her pilgrimage to Mecca.⁵¹ Haroun gave twenty thousand sequins for a learned female slave, who was afterwards known by the appellation of *Tavvadad Khatoun*.⁵²

In Persia the women are more secluded than in any other part of the world; and the practice appears to have been very ancient in that country. We find Vashiti, the queen of Ahasuerus, refusing, even at his own command, to appear at a drunken festival. But Xenophon describes Mandane, the mother of Cyrus, as being present among the noblemen at the court of Media; and Plutarch informs us that Artaxerxes commanded his queen to take away the curtains from her chariot, that persons might be able to speak to her on the road. The women of ancient Babylon⁵³ were compelled, by law, to prostitute themselves once in their lives in the temple of Venus; and the same practice prevailed in Lydia, and various other countries.⁵⁴ But this was the effect of superstition, and did not corrupt the manners of the sex, because they

⁴⁷ Robertson's History of America, b. iv. Let. Edif. et Cur. t. vi.

⁴⁸ Ockley, History of the Saracens, vol. i. p. 67, 71, 103, 239. Lamberti relates that among the modern Tartars, there are women who go to war in company with their husbands. A republic of Amazons was attempted in Bohemia, but lasted only seven years. See Coray on Hippocrates, De Aëre et Locis; and Petit, De Amazonibus.

⁴⁹ See the story of the Three Calendars, of the Sleeper Awakened, of Noured-din and the Fair Persian, &c.

⁵⁰ D'Herbelot, t. iii. p. 618. See also art. *Abassa*, the sister of Haroun.

⁵¹ Idem, p. 364.

⁵² Idem, 402.

⁵³ Herodotus, b. i.

⁵⁴ Goguet, Origine des Loix, t. v.

were not thereby degraded in the eyes of the men, who, wherever the custom prevailed, were observed to prefer those women who had been public in the temple of the goddess, to all others. Superstition is the characteristic of the Persian ladies to this day; for Tavernier relates that, being exceedingly desirous of children, they even swallow that which is cut off in the circumcision of infants, under a persuasion that it will promote their fecundity.⁵⁵ Though living in so much retirement, their dress is superb; and during their lives they do nothing but what contributes to their own amusement. Their days are passed in smoking tobacco, or at the bath, where it is their whole ambition to display more splendid dresses and delicate viands (for they eat there) than their neighbours and acquaintances. The more opulent of the ladies employ female slaves to rub their limbs till they fall asleep;⁵⁶ and thus their lives are passed in harmless voluptuousness, conversing only with their husbands, their near relations; and female friends.

The ladies of Turkey are more free, according to Lady Montague, than those of Europe. But though this may be disputed, it yet remains certain that their share of liberty is very considerable; much more considerable than has ever been enjoyed by their husbands. Enveloped in their ample veils, they go wherever they please: no one questions them, no one interrupts their walks; and it appears from a recent proclamation of the Sultan's,⁵⁷ that plain dresses have been set aside, and that "embroidered *feredjis*, condemnable colours, and veils artfully contrived to show their faces," have made their appearance on the Propontis. From the terms of the Firman we also learn, that the Turkish husbands are by no means averse to their wives showing their faces, for the Sultan thinks it necessary to threaten them with punishment if they do not repress the fashionable propensities of their women. It is also worthy of remark, that no threat is held forth against the women themselves—their husbands are supposed to be the only persons having any power over them. "I was very well pleased," says Lady Montague, "with having seen this ceremony (a marriage); and you may believe me, that the Turkish ladies have at least as much wit and civility, *nay liberty*, as among us."⁵⁸ "I had the curiosity to go to see the Exchange in my Turkish dress, which is disguise sufficient. Yet I own, I was not very easy when I saw it crowded with Janizaries; but they dare not be rude to a woman, and made way for me with as much respect as if I had been in my own figure."⁵⁹ "'Tis very easy to see they have more liberty than we have."⁶⁰ "Neither have they much to apprehend from the resentment of their husbands; those ladies that are rich having all their money in their own hands. Upon the whole, I look upon the Turkish women

⁵⁵ Tom. ii. p. 350.

⁵⁶ Tavernier, Voyages, t. ii. p. 369. See in Juvenal a description of the same practice, as it prevailed among the Roman ladies, Sat. vi. vers. 421, 422.

⁵⁷ Oriental Herald, vol. iii. p. 580.—A *feredji* is "a thing with strait sleeves, that reach to their fingers' ends, and it laps all round them, not unlike a riding-hood. In winter, 'tis of cloth; and in summer of plain stuff, or silk." Lady Montague. Letter xxix.—The Jews of Jerusalem think it proper to separate their women from the men in their synagogue. "The female worshippers were above, looking down on the congregation through a screen of lattice-work." Travels in Palestine, 2nd edit. 8vo. vol. i. p. 395.

⁵⁸ Letter xlii.

⁵⁹ Letter xxxiv.

⁶⁰ Letter xxix.

as the only free people in the empire; the very Divan pays a respect to them, and the Grand Signior himself, when a Bassa (*Pasha*) is executed, never violates the privileges of the *haram*, which remains *unsearched and entire to the widow*. They are queens of their slaves, whom the husband has no permission so much as to look upon, except it be an old woman or two that his lady chooses. 'Tis true their law permits them four wives, but there is no instance of a man of quality that makes use of this liberty, or of a woman of rank that would suffer it. When a husband happens to be inconstant, (as those things will happen,) he keeps his mistress in a house apart, and visits her as privately as he can, just as 'tis with you. Amongst all the great men here, I only know the *Tefterdar* (treasurer) that keeps a number of she-slaves for his own use, (that is, on his own side of the house, for a slave once given to serve a lady, is entirely at her disposal,) and he is spoke of as a libertine, or what we should call a rake; and his wife won't see him, though she continues to live in his house."⁶¹

⁶¹ Letter xxix.

We have carefully avoided every temptation to mix the question of polygamy with our present subject; there is no question, however, about which men have indulged more absurd speculations and conjectures, or which they have so artfully turned into a two-handled argument in favour of contrary opinions. Every body knows, or believes, that by the progeny of eight persons the whole world was peopled to an extraordinary degree in the space of four hundred years; and this miracle is accounted for by the help of *polygamy*. At present it is an understood thing, that polygamy is unfavourable to population. (See Malthus, vol. i. p. 264. &c.) If it be unfavourable now, it must always have been so; for the difficulties which could not but surround the inhabitants of a newly ravaged world, and which invariably attend the peopling of new countries, may be supposed to have carried off at least as many children as the jealousies and revenges of the *haram*, which are assumed not to have existed among the women of those ancient *harams*. Mr. Malthus opposes Eton's stupid notion, that the population of the Ottoman empire would be extinct in another century, observing that it is "without doubt erroneous." Erroneous! it is so contemptible that no man ought to think it worth refutation. Another curious opinion of our contemporaries respecting the effects of polygamy is, that it encourages unnatural crimes, and promotes every species of vice among the women. Nevertheless, whatever has been related of Eastern ladies, falls infinitely short of those things disclosed by Christian ladies in the *confessional*, and partly published by a Spanish Jesuit. We refer the reader to Father Sanchez' threefolio volumes of crimes and casuistry, if he is curious respecting the matter; and we promise him that he will thenceforward be inclined to doubt that polygamy, or any other the most abominable institution, could originate more unspeakable impurity. Many of the abominations of the middle ages are now happily forgotten; but the reader may perhaps have heard of a certain law by which a practice called the *Congress* was commanded, in France, when a woman sued for divorce from her husband. If not, it is impossible that we should explain it to him in English. "Erumpit interdum invereconda intemperies mulierum. Erumpit, inquam, impudens, et de facie erubescensium populorum, genialis tori revelat et denudat arcanæ, et de mariti frigiditate conqueritur, allegans hanc sufficientem et evidentem repudii vel divortii causam, quod semivir est et inutilis matrimonio, qui non est promptus ad coitum." Johan. Sarisb. Polycrat. l. viii. c. xi. For the rest we must refer to the original author, or to Bayle, Dict. Hist. et Crit. art. *Quellenec*. With regard to the *sin* of polygamy, we may observe, that Christians, both Catholics and Protestants, have practised it by permission of their respective Churches. The Pope allowed a certain German Count to have two wives at the same time (See Bayle, Dict. Hist. et Crit. art. *Gleichen*); and Luther and his brother reformers granted the same leave to the Landgrave of Hesse. "Rien ne luy fit de la peine dans l'idée qu'il en conçut, que la nouveauté de la chose: mais il suppose que l'approbation de Luther, et des autres Théolo-

For a full description of the Turkish women's beauty, amusements, splendid dresses, jewels, luxurious baths, and cool kiosks, we must refer the reader to Lady Mary herself, and to Castellan's delightful little work on the Manners of the Turks.⁶⁰ Busbequius, Rycaut, Tournefort, and the older voyagers, were observing, but credulous; and in the light of fuller information, we can only smile at their wonder and exaggeration.⁶¹ Yet the tales imported into Europe by those old travellers, still subsist among the mass of the people, and it will require something more than an article to unroot them. It is probable, indeed, that the interest excited by the present war of the Greeks against the crumbling despotism of the Ottomans, may produce a more persevering curiosity than has hitherto arisen in this part of the world, respecting Oriental manners; but hardly any thing exact can be expected till the fury of the contest is over. The Greeks themselves will cause a good deal of misapprehension on the subject of Turkish manners; and knowledge may thus for a while be impeded by the circumstance that will in the end tend most strongly to its perfection. But this is a trifling inconvenience arising from a great and permanent good.⁶²

logiens les plus celebres de sa secte, la purgeroit de ce défaut. Il les fit assembler à Vitemberg en 1539, en forme de Concile. L'affaire y fut examinée avec toutes les précautions que l'on jugeoit capable d'empêcher, que ce qui y seroit décidé ne fût tourné en ridicule. L'on prévint les fâcheuses suites de ce qu'on alloit faire: mais enfin la crainte de désobliger le Landgrave l'emporta dans le sentiment de Luther et de ses principaux disciples, sur la loy de Jesus Christ, sur la conscience, sur la reputation, et sur toutes les autres raisons humaines et divines." Varillas, Hist. de l'Heresie, liv. xii. In the act which authorized this prince to practise polygamy, two other cases are specified in which it would be lawful for a Christian to have two wives: the first, if a man being captive in a foreign country should judge it necessary for his health; the second, if his wife were leprous: but in both instances he is advised to take counsel with his parish priest. The instructions given by the Landgrave to Martin Bucer, upon this occasion, are curious, and contain his reasons for seeking another wife. In these he says, his wife is disgusting, is subject to intoxication; but, above all, that he never loved her. Bayle very judiciously observes upon this singular document:—"Il joignit à tout cela je ne sai quelles menaces et quelles promesses, qui donnèrent à penser à ses casuistes; car il y a beaucoup d'apparence que si un simple gentilhomme les eût consultez sur un pareil fait, il n'eût rien obtenu d'eux. On peut donc s'imaginer raisonablement qu'ils furent de petite foi: ils n'eurent la confiance qu'ils devoient avoir aux promesses de Jesus Christ; ils craignirent que si la Reformation d'Allemagne n'étoit soutenue par les princes qui en faisoient profession, elle ne fût étouffée. L'expérience du passé les rendoit timides; ils voioient que la violence des persecutions, et les armes employées par les princes Catholiques contre ceux qui étoient sortis de la Communion Romaine, avoient toujours extirpé ces reformatons naissantes. Il étoit naturel de craindre un semblable sort, à moins que la force ne fut repoussée par la force. Mais quoi qu'il en soit, on ne peut nier generalement parlant que les livres de Luther ne contiennent plusieurs choses favorables aux Polygames." Article LUTHER, rem. Q. Let us not, after this, hear Cato reproached with his *pagan* licentiousness, for being willing to lend his wife to his friend: the Christian Reformer and the Christian Prince trafficked in women with much more reprehensible views than the stoic. But most of our modern enlightened censors of antiquity are ignorant of what may be retorted against the professors of modern systems and creeds, and therefore commit themselves in their premature triumphs.

⁶⁰ Paris, 6 tomes, 8vo., 72 planches.

⁶¹ Rycaut and Busbequius speak of the love of one woman for another, as prevailing among the Turks; but it is nothing more than a revival of the old tales about Sappho. See her art. in Bayle. Recent travellers represent the manners of the Christians of Syria as most abandoned.

⁶² We cannot help expressing our sorrow that the Greeks have justified the

We have now cast a hasty glance over the continent of Asia, and seen that women are not universally secluded, as is commonly believed; that, in general, their situation is as good as could well be reached under such governments as prevail in that part of the world; and that the degree of restraint which is put upon them is necessary for the preservation of their virtue, and the peace of families and society. From the facts we have adduced, we flatter ourselves that the reader will be inclined to conclude with us, that the only way to better the condition of women, in any country, is to bend the government, as much as possible, towards the popular form; that, in fact, their liberty always bears a very strong relation to that of their husbands; and that in no country is an indiscriminate intercourse between the sexes favourable to morals or freedom. No kind of virtue is so strictly inculcated under a monarchy as in a free state; but female virtue in the higher circles, is almost always, in the former government, lax and accommodating. We take this to be so serious a truth, that we are inclined to attribute the incapability of the French to acquire rapidly the republican character, as much as any thing to the character and influence of their women. Who could expect to see republicans born of mothers who had lived at the courts of Louis XIV. and Louis XV.? The whole nation had sucked in passive obedience, and a deference for tyranny, from their mothers' breasts; and infinite honour is due to those who freed their souls from such an inherent bias towards slavery.

It has been long the cant of a certain class of politicians, to attribute to the influence of women in modern society the superiority of civilization, which it is assumed we possess over the great nations of antiquity; and, as an accompaniment, comes also a panegyric on the ages of chivalry. Now it is a rule with us to suspect both the knowledge and capacity to reason, of any man who proposes the times of chivalry as a model in any point of view whatever; for never were men more thoroughly brutal, corrupt, and ignorant; and never were women more abandonedly vicious and profligate than during that boasted era.⁶⁵ The reader who is sceptical

opinion of Du Pauw, that the first use they would make of their liberty, would be to excite "a crusade" against the Turks. Coray indignantly repelled the insinuation; and we doubt not but the better sort of Greeks contemn, as well as he, that "brick-and-mortar piety" which imagines holiness confined to walls and places. See Du Pauw, *Recherches, &c. sur les Grecs*—(a most shallow performance): and Coray, *Notes de Hippocrates, De Aère, Locis et Aquis*. 2 tomes, 8vo. Paris, 1800.

⁶⁵ The following extracts will give some faint notion of the excesses of the "gentle knights and courteous dames." "Cetie mauvais coùtume de fair le jour de la nuit, joint à la liberté de boire et de manger avec excès, fit prendre des libertés à beaucoup de gens, aussi indigne du présence du Roi que de la sainteté du lieu (a monastery) où il tenoit sa cour. Chacun chercha à satisfaire ses passions; et c'est tout dire qu'il y eut des marys qui patirent de la mauvaise conduite de leurs femmes, et qu'il y eut aussi des filles qui perdirent le soin de leur honneur." Hist. de S. Denys, ch. vi. p. 170, 171. In the works that describe the manners of those times, "on verra," says St. Palaye, "des particularités singulières qui donnent une étrange idée des mœurs et de la politesse de ces siècles aussi *corrompus* qu'ignorans." t. ii. p. 69. When the great lords received each other as guests, they were in the habit of accommodating the travellers with their wives; and it is observed that the ladies, who could not take this office upon themselves, unless commanded by their husbands, never failed to solace their noble guests with one of their maids. In one of the Fabliaux a *grande dame* tells her maid, as a reason why she could not lie with her knightly guest that night, that her own lord was not yet asleep. St. Palaye, notes, ii. p. 70. See

upon this point may consult Joinville's History of St. Louis, and St. Palaye's Memoirs on Chivalry. He will there see that the knights, who make so courtly an appearance in modern romances, were no better than furious highway robbers; that justice, when justice could prevail against them, frequently ravaged their lands, and dilapidated their castles, for their murders and crimes.⁶⁶ And for the virtue and chastity of the women, let it suffice to know that marriage never freed any lady from the necessity of having a lover; that these lovers were ignorant of all laws but those of their passions; and that Saint-Palaye himself, the apologist of chivalry, confesses that it was not possible to describe, in the French language, their ineffable licentiousness.⁶⁷ A poet of the thirteenth century has the following verses, which by no means exaggerate the matter.

Or est venu le temps,
Et or est la raison,
Plus a par tout bordians
Qu'il n'a autres mesons.

CHASTIE MUSART.

To this nothing need be added.

To return to the East: it seems certain that whatever ignorance or servitude does actually exist in Asiatic countries, is shared equally by both sexes. Women have less to do than is imagined, with preparing or hastening the march of genuine civilization; but when it comes, they feel its influence in the same proportion as the men: it is to political institutions that man owes all his glory, and all his happiness; and in framing these he must not look upon all human nature as one sex, but beware that the minds and characters of women require regulations immediately consonant to their physical structure and moral energies, which are essentially dissimilar to those of men.⁶⁸

also *Fleurbaey, Mœurs des Chrétiens*, p. 399, where he observes that in the Crusades, all the vices of the native land of the pilgrims were joined to all those that flourished in the Pagan countries they had invaded. A thousand proofs of the profligacy of these golden ages of modern imaginations, might easily be collected; but those we have brought forward above, may be sufficient.

⁶⁶ "Toujours armés pour l'assistance qu'ils devoient aux malheureux, pour la protection et la defence qu'ils avoient promises aux hommes et aux femmes, on les voyoit voler de toutes parts," &c. *Mémoires sur l'Ancienne Chevalerie*, t. ii. p. 10.

⁶⁷ See also, the *Literary History of the Troubadours*, compiled by the same writer, but published after his death, 3 tomes, 12mo.; and Voltaire's account of the punishment of the Knights Templars.

⁶⁸ A publication, under the absurd title of the *Helter-Skeller Magazine*, has been brought out at Calcutta, which contains, we find, a series of essays 'On the Effects of the Female Character upon Society.' The writer could hardly have chosen a subject upon which he was less qualified to speak, for he appears utterly unacquainted with the nature of female influence upon any society whatever. It is common enough to see the Laws of Solon and Lycurgus treated with the utmost flippancy by persons into whose minds any conception of the majesty of those laws and institutions had never entered; but it has not often been our fortune to see antiquity so ridiculously misunderstood as in these truly *Helter-Skeller* performances. The writer seems to have placed Montesquieu's spirit of Laws before him, in order to borrow all his facts, and confuse all his reasonings. In one of his notes the French philosopher translates a passage of

Plutarch, in which that writer asserts that women were ignorant of real love; that is, of the perfect Platonic passion of which so much was said among the ancients. There have been very few women, from Plutarch's time to the present, who would have cared to know any thing of so absurd a matter; their passions are not Platonic, nor did nature ever intend they should be. The *Helter-Skelter* gentleman, however, takes fire at this imaginary insult offered to the fair sex by the poor old philosopher of Chæroneæ; and talks of his "almost contemporary evidence" as decisive of the notions of the ancient republicans of Greece upon love. Plutarch lived *full five hundred years* after the democratic manners had been annihilated in Greece; he lived in a monarchy, in the most impetuous flood of immorality that ever flowed, (for Trajan's reign did not break the current,) and though Plutarch was a wise man, he could not foresee that what he predicated of the corrupt women of his time, would be applied by the *Helter-Skelter* Magistrate to the virtuous matrons of Athens. But we forgive our magazine-worthy all his mistakes about antiquity, only we shall expect to find him more rational on *Oriental* subjects. Let us turn on—"The fact that women throughout the East are kept in the strictest seclusion being well known, let us proceed to inquire into the causes of this peculiarity." Very peculiar, surely, if it prevailed over the whole continent of Asia. But our readers have already seen that this *fact*, which our Calcutta friend so ingeniously takes to be *well known*, is altogether without foundation. A little farther back he has the following admirable piece of logic. "Climate and air *may* do much; but they cannot, *as we know*, produce any alteration in the minds or dispositions of those who may have been transplanted into them, or even of their remote descendants." In illustration of which, see what has been said of the Portuguese women of Goa, &c., in our essay. "Compared with the immorality of the East, the vices of Europe are but as dust in the balance." On this point, see our note on polygamy, p. 18. In what the author says against the influence of climate and air, he is singularly unhappy in his illustrations, for the difference between the Athenians and the Thebans, whom he brings forward as an example, has been agreed on all hands to have chiefly arisen from the difference in the air. One does not exactly know which way he leans on the question as to whether *despotism* be the cause of women's seclusion; he seems to combat the idea that tyranny is that cause, by bringing forward the example of the Russian ladies (ever remarkable for immodesty and vice); yet he afterwards accounts for it by informing us, at length, that Asia has been always governed "by that worst of despotisms—the rule of lawless will!" But after all, he is not quite satisfied with this reason, and feels a hankering towards the notion of Montesquieu, concerning the effect of climate; only perhaps he does not see the connexion. This, however, is the whole chain of his ideas: Women are secluded, because they become wives and mothers before they are of an age to take care of themselves; "in the East the influence of the climate matures the physical powers at a more early period than in Europe, but cannot and does not expedite the development of the mind, nor render the moral energies precocious;" (admirable tautology!)—ergo, it is the physical effect of the climate that causes women to be immured. No such thing! says the writer. He allows the premises, but not the conclusion. Farther on he has a long tirade against the Book of Esther, which he calls the "Harem chronicles of Eastern Despots," and "deliberate records of depravity which we are ashamed to quote!" This may sound very well at Calcutta; but we are afraid he would get the Asiatic Journal's Correspondent, JUSTITIA, about his ears, if he wrote thus in England. He then gives vent to the most unfounded assertions respecting the Arabian women before Mohammed; calls Lady Montague a "heartless and dissolute woman," for proving a small portion of that vice he himself had, a little before, attributed to the Eastern people; says, in spite of his own doctrine, that the fidelity of the Turkish women to their jailors is exemplary; and talks a good deal about "the pure and devoted attachment to women," which he fancies was the spirit of chivalry—and all this with so much naïveté and self-satisfaction, that we think it quite cruel to refute him any more, and shall therefore desist.

TO A CIRCLE OF FRIENDS,—ON LEAVING INDIA.

FAIR India! while slowly thy shores are receding,
 And the trace of thy mountains grow dim to the view,
 Some cheering presentiment whispers, I'm bidding
 Thy long-toiled-for port but a transient adieu;
 That thine ever-green bowers, where at evening I've strayed,
 With the few who could feel both my pleasures and pain,
 Where friendships were vowed, and where pledges were made,
 Will soon bear the print of my footsteps again.

O! Fate! in uncertainty's dark womb concealing
 The deeds of the future,—in ignorance blest,
 Still prolong the delusion,—nor blast, by revealing,
 The shadow of Hope that clings close to my breast.
 Though faintly it glimmer, I'll cherish it there,
 Till possession its embers expand into flame,
 Till again I embrace the few Friends that are dear,
 How dearer than riches, than power, or fame!

Behold! from the mast, the proud signal still waving,
 While the gale swells the sails that the morn saw unfurled;
 Yet a pang of regret rends my bosom, while leaving
 Thy shores,—though for Egypt, old Queen of the World.
 But if to the land of my fathers I haste,
 The breath of whose hills my young infancy drew,
 Oh! there will await me the welcome embrace
 Of those who have loved me still dearer than you.

And if there, while the records of absence unfolding
 To the hearts that will make all my sorrows their own,
 Remembrance should mingle delight in beholding
 The scenes and the circles where pleasures were known,
 Then oft, in response to the half-suppressed sigh,
 Warmly breathed o'er the tale of fair Friendship's sweet lore,
 Sensibility's tribute, from Sympathy's eye,
 Will steal to those few left on India's far shore.

Oh! believe me, ye few! that wherever I'm straying,
 To the east or the west, at the line or the pole,
 The magic of Memory, those scenes still pourtraying,
 Will stamp them indelibly firm on my soul:
 Yes! though driven from Fortune! though exiled from Friends!
 My heart bids defiance to Tyranny's chain,
 And where'er my dark course through this banishment bends,
 It will bound with the hope of our meeting again.

B.

ON THE VAGRANT LAWS OF ENGLAND.

It has been said, by a distinguished writer,¹ that in aristocracies there is more wisdom to be found than in other forms of government; but that there is less honesty than in a republic, and less strength than in a monarchy. But notwithstanding this comes from high authority, we are disposed to dispute the validity of the argument brought forward in favour of an aristocratical form of government; at the same time we are of opinion that the arguments here urged *against* such a form of government, are not at all in point. The error seems to be in having no fixed universal standard, or rather in having several fallacious standards, with which to try the validity of all arguments which may be brought forward, in favour of, or against, this or that particular form of government. In the passage we have quoted, it is assumed that the ends of government are three: namely, wisdom, honesty, and strength. These undoubtedly are all of them very good things in their way, and perhaps it would be a desirable thing that the individual members of all governments should at any rate possess the two first of these qualities: but they are only *means* to an end; and the advantages to be derived from the possession of these means, will depend upon the end to which they are directed: if they are directed to the support of bad government, the possession of these means is to be lamented; if to the support of good government, the greater the degree of perfection in which they are possessed the better. A good form of government can only be distinguished from a bad one, by the different ends in view of each. The end in view, of a good government, can only be the general interest, that is, the happiness of the governed, to the greatest possible extent; the end in view, of a bad government, will be a sinister interest of that same government, at the expense of the general interest, and that to the greatest possible extent. In order then to establish a good government, it is necessary to make the interests of the governors identical with the interests of the governed: that is, so to arrange matters, that it should be against the interest of those wielding the powers of government to make a bad use of those powers, by means of some efficient check. But an aristocracy with or without a monarch, is a form of government, which necessarily implies not only no identity of interests,² but direct opposition of interests; for it is essential to the very existence of such a form of government, that the governed should have no effectual control over the governors; they will therefore make use of their uncontrolled authority for their own particular interests, to the detriment of the general interest of the community, whenever they are opposed to each other.

Whatever other qualities an aristocracy might possess, that of *wisdom* is the last we should be inclined to attribute to it; on the contrary, without meaning to cast any reflections, we should expect to find the very reverse to be the case; for, of the desirable things of this world, after

¹ Blackstone.

² We merely mean *as* governors and governed, not as individuals of the same community; for we are aware that, to a certain extent, their interests will be the same, as in case of an invasion by a foreign enemy, and the general security of person and property.

power stands ease : and as they would have all the means at command for gratifying their love of power and love of ease too, they could have no very strong motive for pursuing studies of an intellectual nature ; that is, their motive to this kind of exertion could not be any thing like so strong as that which other men would have who did not possess such ample means of enjoyment.

If what we have said above be true, namely, that the interests of an aristocratical government must be necessarily opposed to the general interest, evidence of the truth of this proposition might be adduced, from the condition of the governed in any aristocracy taken at random. It is our intention to bring forward evidence, with this view, from the condition of the people of this country, but not of all classes of the people, for this would take up much more space than could possibly be allotted to it in this publication ; but we shall confine ourselves to that class of individuals against whom the Vagrant Laws are directed, generally termed the *lower orders* ; because we conceive the mere circumstance of belonging to the lower order of the people, would, under a good government, be no reason for treating them differently from the higher orders.

We shall now proceed to give a succinct account of those statutes commonly called the Vagrant Laws,³ since their commencement. They were originally enacted with a very different view from that in which they are at present regarded, as we shall presently show. The first mention of Vagrants occurs in the 7th of Richard the Second, when an act was passed for rendering more efficient part of the Statute of Winchester, and an act passed in the 25th of Edward the Third, for the prevention of *manslaughter, felonies and robberies*. Here the word "*vageranty*" evidently means, persons going about with the intention of committing any of these crimes ; and their safe custody is provided for, until the arrival of the Justices assigned for the gaol delivery. But in the reign of Henry the Seventh, a new version was given to the meaning of the word, or we should rather say the old one was repealed : for an act passed in that reign says, "*Vagabonds, idle, and suspected persons, shall be set in the stocks three days and three nights, and have none other sustenance but bread and water ; and then shall be put out of the town.*"

Vagabonds can hardly mean here persons having a felonious intent, or they would not be coupled with idle and suspected persons, (although by the bye it does not say what they are to be suspected of,) neither would so comparatively slight a punishment have been inflicted. As we said before, it has displaced the former meaning, and has given no other in its stead, for the word vagabond of itself merely means going about.

It is curious that in this same act, another pretty specimen of aristocratic legislation is afforded : it provides that "*no artificer, labourer, or servant, shall play at any unlawful game, but in Christmas.*" It is not, *nobody*

³ The following is a list of the Statutes that have been passed, which generally have this title given to them :—

7 R. 2. c. 5 : 11 H. 7. c. 2 : 22 H. 8. c. 12 : 27 H. 8. c. 25 : 3 & 4 Edw. 6. c. 16 : 5 & 6 Edw. 6. c. 2 : 14 El. c. 5 : 35 El. c. 7. s. 24 : 39 El. c. 4 : 7 J. 1. c. 4 : 3 Car. 1. c. 4 : 11 & 12 W. 3. c. 18 : 1 Ann. St. 2. c. 13 : 5 Ann. c. 32. s. 5 : 12 Ann. St. 2. c. 23 : 6 G. 1. c. 19 : 10 G. 2. c. 28 : 13 G. 2. c. 24 : 14 G. 2. c. 33 : 17 G. 2. c. 5 : 25 G. 2. c. 36 : 26 G. 2. c. 34 : 32 G. 3. c. 45 : 3 G. 4. c. 40 : 5 G. 4. c. 83.

shall play at these games, it is only the lower orders who are prohibited from playing at them: the absurdity too of making it lawful for them to play at an unlawful game at a particular season of the year, as if the criminality of an action depended upon the weather, must be apparent. We are of opinion that no games whatever are proper subjects for the application of the legal sanction, either one way or the other, excepting those in which the torture or ill-treatment of animals has place.

The next Statute against Vagabonds, passed during the truly legitimate sway of Henry the Eighth, exhibits a degree of cruel capriciousness, which was hardly to be expected even in those times: to wit, "a valiant Beggar, or sturdy Vagabond, shall at the first time be whipped, and sent to the place where he was born, or last dwelled by the space of three years, there to get his living; and if he continue his *roguish* life, he shall have the upper part of the gristle of his right ear cut off; and if after that he be taken *wandering in idleness*, or doth not apply to his labour, or is not in service with any master, he shall be adjudged and *executed as a felon!*" Punishment of death inflicted, not for having committed a felony, nor for even being *suspected of intending* to commit one, but solely because for three successive times, a person is not found in the service of any master, (as if it were always a matter of choice too whether or not a man should enter into the service of a master;) or because a man refused to work! This infamous law remained in force for thirty-five years after the amiable and glorious Elizabeth ascended the throne.

An act passed during the reign of James the First, declares, that these laws had not wrought so good an effect as was expected, and provides that houses of correction shall be built (which, however, had been ordered before, although not carried into execution) for the purpose of confining these vagabonds and others, and making them work, so that they should be no charge to the country. This, however bad, was less bad than any thing that had gone before.

No material change was made in these laws, after this, till the 10 Geo. 2. c. 28. was passed; which declares that any person who shall perform, or cause to be performed, any interlude, tragedy, &c., not having a legal settlement in the place where the performance takes place, (such performance not being sanctioned by Letters Patent, or license from the Lord Chamberlain), shall be deemed a rogue and a vagabond, and treated as such. Some years after this it was declared, with great *naïveté*, that the number of rogues and vagabonds daily increased, to the great scandal of the kingdom; no wonder they should increase when the number of acts, the commission of which would render a person a rogue and vagabond, had been doubled. And a most remarkable course is taken to remedy this evil, a course which, at least to ordinary minds,—minds not overstocked with aristocratical wisdom,—would appear the best of all others calculated to increase the evil: for in addition to those who were already to be deemed vagabonds, are added, all fencers, and *bearwards*, all minstrels, jugglers, gypsies, Egyptians, and a host of others. And to make sure that there should be no lack of such gentry, it provides that a reward of ten shillings may be given to any person apprehending any such vagabond.

It might have been expected that at the present day these laws, if not

entirely abolished, would at least have been rendered less vexatious and ridiculous, not from any desire, on the part of those who have the power of making laws, to meliorate the condition of the lower orders, but from the force of public opinion: yet, so far is this from being the case, that they will be found to be more cruel and absurd than any that have been enacted since the death-inflicting one of Henry the Eighth. We allude to an act passed in the third year of the reign of his present most gracious Majesty,¹ which consolidated all the laws relating to this subject into one act, and, as it would have us believe, amended them. If amendment consists in making crimes out of nothing, and in vagueness of expression, it has certainly far outstripped all its predecessors. The first addition to the stock of vagabonds, we observe, includes all prostitutes, or night-walkers. Egyptians are, however, left out of the list; but to make up for this melancholy loss, the following are added to this already numerous company, "*all persons wandering abroad, and lodging in alehouses, barns, outhouses, or in the open air, or under tents, or in carts or waggons, and not giving a good account of themselves: all persons making indecent exhibitions, all beggars, and all persons having certain implements, with a felonious intent, or having a gun, pistol, hanger, cutlass, bludgeon, or other offensive weapon, with intent to commit an assault.*"

Any of the above persons escaping from custody, giving false accounts of themselves, or after having been discharged, shall again commit any offence under this act, shall be deemed an *incorrigible* rogue.

The same reward, namely five shillings, is awarded, to any person apprehending any person for offending against this act.

All persons committed under this act are to be sent to the common gaol or house of correction, for a time not exceeding three months nor less than one month, and there kept to *hard labour*: should the commitments be confirmed at the general or quarter sessions, they may order them to be confined for six months: incorrigible rogues for not less than six months, nor more than twelve months; and persons so confined may be *corrected* (not being females) by whipping, at the discretion of the Justices.

A pretty specimen this of legislation, truly! directed, for the greater part, against imaginary crimes—a concatenation of cruelty, error, vagueness, and nonsense, and having its rise in hatred of the lower orders, as they are termed.

Indeed, the wording of it is so excessively vague, that were it strictly carried into execution, we should soon behold most of the higher orders themselves transformed into vagabonds: it says, anybody with a bludgeon or *other offensive weapon*, with an intent to commit an assault, shall be deemed a rogue and vagabond. Now walking-sticks and horsewhips are most decidedly offensive weapons upon occasion, and who can tell whether or not it is the intention of the individual carrying one of them, to make use of it in an offensive manner? It will be necessary to regulate the manner in which these weapons are to be carried for the future, more especially as certain evil disposed persons, frequenting a certain street, have a fashion of carrying their sticks under their arms, which

¹ An act was passed during the last session of Parliament, which does not differ materially from this one.

perhaps might be deemed sufficient evidence of an intention to dislodge the eyes of the passengers from their sockets.

Another provision, against which we must protest, is that against "all prostitutes or nightwalkers, *not giving a good account of themselves*:" what sort of an account, in the name of public decency, would they have them give of themselves? It is a roundabout way of saying no prostitutes shall walk the streets at night; and thus the natural order of things would be reversed, and we should have the streets blocked up by them during the day-time, to the great inconvenience of his Majesty's lieges, and the scandal of the Vice Society.

Credit must, however, be given, for having found out means of solving difficulties, which we are very sure the "ignorant crew" would never have overcome: hence, with the utmost simplicity, the *correction* of those rogues has been provided for, who have already been pronounced to be *incorrigible*.

So long as a man is working, it would appear, he is safe; to keep him constantly thus employed would seem to be the wish of the aristocracy; for when not so employed, he may be improving himself, by acquiring knowledge; and were knowledge to spread extensively, adieu to aristocracy. But what are the means taken to induce men to labour who have refused to labour? Force, nothing but brute force. Labour is to them already a painful exertion, for which it appears to them they cannot receive any adequate compensating good. To make it the more palatable, they are put into a prison, and are kept to hard labour as a *punishment*. This is where the mischief lies, in annexing to the idea of labour, which is already an unpleasant one, the idea of punishment. It is calculated to make all those who are thus forced to labour, come to the determination of getting their livelihood for the future, by any other means rather than by labour. And the remedy to this would consist simply in substituting to the unpleasant motive a pleasing one, which might be done, for instance, by leaving it to the option of the individuals so confined, whether they will work or not, with this proviso, that those who did not work should have very coarse food, and those who did, should not only have better food, but, after a certain time, should receive a proportion of their earnings. Here the idea of labour would be connected with pleasing ideas of two sorts; and would most probably induce many who before got their living by dishonest means, to change them for honest ones.

The importance of the subject must be our apology for this digression. We shall now proceed, however, to show in what manner the Vagrant Laws are carried into execution; and for this purpose our information is fortunately the best that the nature of the case could possibly afford, being obtained from the Report of the Commitments from January 1820, to January 1824, under the Vagrant Laws, ordered to be printed by the House of Commons.

(p. 12.) "George Rolls;—leaving service." So that when a man enters service, it is a crime if he ever leaves it.—"George Oxford;—refusing to drive his master's horses in reins." Upon all disputes between master and servant, then, the master has only to go before a justice, tell him his servant has disobeyed him, and the servant is sent to gaol, and is not only deemed to be a rogue and vagabond, but is treated as one.

(p. 14.) "James Smith, William Butcher, Charles Core, Maurice Quin;—pricking in the garter."

(p. 15.) "Using the *subtle art*—unable to travel from *sickness*." Houses of correction will thus render useless all doctors' shops.

(p. 13.) "Onesipherous Kent;—leaving his family chargeable."

(p. 16.) "Ann Dousett; was, upon *privy search*, found lodging in the open air, and not able to give a good account of herself."—"Margaret Fuller, Catherine Lindy;—wandering abroad, lodging in alehouses, being severally intoxicated, and not giving a good account of themselves." When drunk, people seldom can.

(p. 17.) "William Mace;—*absconding* and *running away*, leaving his family chargeable to the parish."

(p. 18.) "Catherine Barrack, and child,—wandering abroad in a state of intoxication, and not able to give a good account of herself."—"John Goodman;—wandering abroad, lodging in alehouses and *in the open air*, and not being able to give a good account of himself."

(p. 19.) "Thomas Hogg;—idle and disorderly; spends his money in alehouses, and doth not apply a *proper* proportion of his earnings in the maintenance of his wife and family. Richard Grapes;—refusing to work or maintain himself." We have shown above that men are committed for running away and leaving their families chargeable to the parish, but it is equally criminal if they threaten to do it: "James Young;—an idle and disorderly person, and hath *threatened* to run away from his family," &c.

(p. 20.) "Hammond Turtle;—wandering and begging, calling himself Jesus Christ."

(p. 22.) "Daniel Tomlinson;—wandering abroad, without any visible means of subsistence, *acknowledging* that last night he lodged in the open air, and this morning *begged relief* at the parish of Ingatostone."

(p. 24.) "Jonathan Richardson;—a poor person able to work, spending his money in alehouses and places of *bad* repute, and in an *improper* manner, and does not apply a *proper* proportion of the money earned by him towards the maintenance of his wife and family." We do not doubt but that the worthy gentleman who committed this man, was very well qualified to show how *he* spent his money in places of *bad* repute in a *proper* manner, but at the same time we cannot help lamenting he has not thought proper to edify the public in this mysterious art.

(p. 25.) "Salmon Connor;—wandering abroad, in a state of intoxication, at *midnight*, and not being able to give a good account of himself."

(p. 26.) "Mary Reynolds;—a pauper, residing in the poor-house, *misconducting* herself."

(p. 27.) "Mary Crane;—wandering abroad in the night, in a state of intoxication, drunkenness, and vagrancy." What exquisite distinctions!—"Sarah Boreham;—having been guilty of a certain misbehaviour in this, that Jane Orford, wife of Samuel Orford, keeper of a certain public workhouse, gave the said S. Boreham leave to take a walk in the afternoon, and to be sure to be at home in time, (*viz.* eight o'clock in the evening;) but that the said Sarah Boreham did not return to the

poor-house till about three or four o'clock in the morning of the 11th instant; that about eight o'clock the same morning, the said Sarah Boreham left the poor-house, and did not return till the evening of the 18th instant." How dare she ape the manners of the great?

(p. 27.) "James Pethur, wandering and lodging abroad in various outhouses, and particularly at night sleeping in a cart." A happy specimen of logic and grammar!—"Thomas Little; stands charged on the oath of the constable of Woodham Mortimer, and on his own confession." Confesses what?—he is any thing his worship pleases!

(p. 28.) "Hannah Campin;—wandering abroad, lodging in the open air, and parading the streets as a common prostitute."

(p. 29.) "James Huggell;—giving a *bad* account of himself, and being suspected of falsely stating himself a deserter, and confessing that he has *before* been committed under such statement." People are not generally fond of giving a *bad* account of themselves, even when that account is true, and still less so, when false.—"William Gowers;—wandering abroad in the night season *drunk*, begging from house to house, and not able to give a *satisfactory* account of himself." Which is rather odd, for we should have expected that being sufficiently collected in his mind, although in a state of intoxication, to be able to go begging from house to house, in the dark too, he would have been equally in a condition to inform any body *how* he got drunk, which is all that is wanted to make the account of himself satisfactory. 1406

(p. 30.) "James Ray;—wandering abroad in the night season drunk, and not being able to give a satisfactory account of himself or of his *way of living*." The way he spent half his time is already explained, namely to be out at night, drunk: the other half was probably passed in sleeping himself sober.

It is not only criminal to lodge in tents in bye lanes, but also in high-ways. (p. 31.) "Wm. and Eliz. Taylor;—lodging under a tent by the side of a common highway, and not being able to give a good account of themselves." We hope this will serve as a warning, for we have seen Nobility, ay and Royalty too, in the same situation.—"Sarah Poulter;—lodging in the open air, parading the streets for the purpose of prostitution, and not giving a *good* account of herself." If it was clear that she was parading the streets for the purpose of prostitution, pray what would the worthy magistrate have deemed a *good* account of herself?—"A person unknown, who appears to be deaf and dumb;—placing himself in the street and making signs in order to show he wanted victuals and lodging," (how excessively impertinent, he ought to have known better;) "appeared to have no means whatever whereby to support himself."

(p. 32.) "Hannah Gibbs;—refusing to work, at work suited to her strength and capacity, and guilty of *misbehaviour*, by using *bad* language to the master of the workhouse."—"John Mason;—wandering abroad, and applying to the overseer for a place to sleep in, and being a person unable to give a good account of himself."

(p. 34.) "Jean Cassenell, Ster Most, Jean Baptiste Lavillaire;—wandering abroad, exhibiting shows, and an animal called a Jackall, and afterwards begging and going about gathering alms, and being severally unable to give any *good* account of themselves." They could not talk English probably, for what better account could be given than that they

got their living by exhibiting shows? what more harmless? But it afforded amusement to the lower orders, there's the crime. "Luke Suckling;—threatening to leave his wife and family chargeable to the parish."

(p. 35.) "James Smith;—lodging in alehouses, wandering abroad in the night, telling fortunes by means and with the assistance of his dog, and *otherwise* behaving in a disorderly manner, giving a false account of himself, and having *no means of gaining a livelihood*, at Chelmsford." Is not fortune-telling a means of gaining a livelihood?—"James O'Bryan, Wm. M'Donnaugh;—wandering abroad, lodging in alehouses, not being able to give a good account of themselves, and having employed themselves in *purchasing* the copper coin of this realm at a *greater price* than it is denominated to pass for." Who would have imagined, that it was the intention of the Legislature to exterminate *Bullism* out of Irishmen?—"Hannah Campin, wandering abroad, *walking* in the streets, and *admitting* she had lodged with an ostler in a stable at a public house in Chelmsford." If all ladies would admit where they have now and then lodged in the same sort of way, the sooner we begin erecting more Houses of Correction the better.

(p. 38.) "David Mott;—*attempting* to impose on Edward Peek by a false and fraudulent representation, with a view to obtain a new pair of leather breeches." He ought to be made to go without breeches.

(p. 39.) "John Wakefield;—wandering abroad in the night, refusing to tell his *name*, and confessing that he lodged in a field in the open air," (mark well—the field was not in a back parlour, but in the *open air*) "being in possession of sufficient means to have taken his lodging in a house *adapted* for vagrant travellers." How can that be? for an alehouse is the only sort of house adapted for them, and we have seen that this is as bad as sleeping in the open air. Houses which are not alehouses, are not always proper places for these gentry:

(p. 51.) "James Baker;—for lodging in a *house*, within this city, (Rochester,) and not being able to give a good account of himself, or in what manner he obtained his livelihood (such house being a lodging-house for beggars)."

(p. 58.) "Catherine Ingram, John Robins;—paupers in the workhouse, idle and disorderly, and *refusing to obey orders* given them by the overseer and master of the workhouse."

(p. 60.)—"Duke Stirn;—going about the town (Leicester) as a juggler, *exhibiting tricks* with cups and balls, and collecting money of the bystanders for the same." "John Brown, John Reynolds;—wandering and begging when *very drunk*."

(p. 62.) "John Bennett, Thomas Waterfield, Peter Johnson;—wandering abroad, and exposing their *deformities*." Woe betide people who have long noses!

(p. 68.) "John Antony;—wandering abroad *pennyless*." He should have robbed somebody. It was very perverse in him not to do so, certainly.

(p. 69.) "John Bracchi, J. Solar, C. Solar, P. Runnel, J. Bracchi, jun.;—wandering abroad with a monkey, and *playing an organ*, thereby to obtain money, and not giving a good account of themselves."

(p. 70.) "Eleazor Turner, and five others;—demanding lodgings,

where it could not be *granted*, and *remaining* in the house all night, contrary to consent, although required to leave." Why could it not be granted? There was room enough, for they staid there *all night*; and if they had not staid there, they might have been punished for wandering abroad, or sleeping in the open air.

(p. 80.) "George Dorothy;—an idle and disorderly vagabond; *idle*, and *drunk*, and *noisy*, in the public streets on Sunday, during divine service." His idleness consisted, it would appear, in doing rather too much; besides, is it meant that men must not be idle on Sundays? Some of the Justices must be taught their catechisms.

(p. 89.) "James Birch;—singing ballads in the public streets."

(p. 91.) "John Woodhouse;—wandering abroad, and *insane*."

(p. 106.) "Solomon Goodfellow;—leaving his work *unfinished*."

(p. 111.) "Richard Scholefield;—a *lunatic*."

(p. 120.) "John Tackle, John Cooper;—for having wandered abroad and begging *out of their parish* unlawfully." Is it lawful for them to beg in their parish?

In some parts of Glamorgan, no sort of difficulty is experienced in committing individuals under this Act; for almost every person who is apprehended, *confess* that they are every thing that is bad, thus:

(p. 121.) "David Williams;—found in the streets of the town, (what an out-of-the-way place to find anybody in!) of Swansea, and by his own *voluntary confession* to be a person of dissolute habits, bad character and reputation, and living idle." "Mary Price, Jemimah Dufoe, Mary Gibbons;—found in the *streets*, not being able to give a good account of themselves, but, on the contrary, *confessed* to be common prostitutes and night-walkers."

We shall finish by giving two or three specimens of the returns in gross.

(p. 49.) "Committed to the House of Correction at Maidstone:

"Lodging in the open air 1061

"Begging alms 360

"Loose, idle, and disorderly 192

"Sleeping in out-houses 165

"Lodging in alchouses 147."

(p. 61.) "Committed to Kirton Bridewell, Lincolnshire:

"Exposing goods to sale 40

"Interludes and fiddling 4

"Privy search for Vagrants 22."

Such a picture of capricious oppression as is here exhibited would not have been credited, had it not been taken from such an authentic source: though we were prepared to see a great deal, we must confess this far surpasses our expectations: such *useless* oppression,—useless as regards the interests of those in power,—can only be accounted for in a thorough hatred of the lower orders, merely because they exist. We can now not only say that Aristocracies in general will oppress the people, but that the Aristocracy of this country puts out of countenance all others in this species of achievement; for in no country in the civilized world are the peasantry reduced to a lower state of degradation, than are the peasantry of England by the operation of these Vagrant and other Laws: and yet this is the country, we are told, which of all others is the envy of surrounding nations and the admiration of the world!

LOVE.

WHERE dwell'st thou, Love, serene and pure,
 With holy rites and statutes sure ?
 What changeless, placid sky beneath
 Ascends thy altar's smoky wreath,
 Rich Sabæan odours round
 Diffusing o'er the flowery ground ?
 What path conducts to thy retreat,
 Made bare by constant lovers' feet ?
 Or hast thou, long neglected here,
 Some seat beyond the starry sphere ;
 Where the Wood's chaate Goddess fixed,
 Earth's girdle and the Pole betwixt,
 The daring Hunter,¹ nightly seen
 Pacing his round with solemn mien ?
 Or sheddest thou thy mighty power
 From some unseen and magic bower ;
 Where thy beauteous mother lies
 On lilies and anemonies
 Mixed with the richer rose reclined,
 And works at will thy boyish mind ?

Oft wandering lone at evening gray,
 I think me of thy ancient sway,
 When first from mighty chaos sprung—
 So old art thou, though seeming young—
 O'er the ruddy age of gold
 Thou didst thy merry sceptre hold ;
 When on each sunny slope the ear
 Might oft thy earnest praises hear
 Floating down some woody dell,
 By watchful Echo mimicked well,
 When every oaten pipe to thee
 Poured forth its rustic melody ;
 And each slight nymph and ruder swain
 Graced with thy name their lively strain.

'Twas thou the Thracian shepherd's lay
 Taughtest to win its melting way
 Into Eurydice's young breast,
 Which care infused, and banished rest.

By thee the hapless Colchian maid
 Was won to lend her magic aid,
 And lovely person, to the Greek
 Whose many falsehoods who can speak ?
 I think upon the dusky shore,
 I see her, striving through the roar

¹ Orion.

Of dashing billows, to be heard
 By her too faithless lord on board.
 They hear, and up the Argo's side
 The dark Thessalian lifts his bride,
 The cable cuts, and ere the day
 Peeps forth, they plough the watery way.
 But, ah! the sad concluding scene—
 Medea, all thou e'er hast been
 Forget,—fierce Nemesis inspires,—
 And quench in blood thy fatal fires!

Next, the sweet Phœnician fair,
 With brow all pale and pensive air,
 Walks slow towards the dreary pile;
 And maids and matrons weep the while.
 In vain! the Trojans on the deep
 With heedless oars the billows sweep;
 And he, once loved too well, describes
 The fast-receding land with sighs
 Too soon suppressed, and weak adieus
 Scarce heard by the near-wheeling mews.

Why dost thou, Eros! wear that smile
 While pointing to Calypso's isle,
 That realm of love, which ne'er the main
 Shall circle in its arms again?
 That golden spot! where beauty shed
 Its magic round the Grecian's head;
 Where oft immortal eyelids, wet
 With pleasure, taught him to forget
 Awhile his wife and barren home,
 Entranced in her sequestered dome.
 He heard th' eternal surges roar
 Around the isle's romantic shore,
 And oft mixed with the wind his wail
 To see roll by without a sail
 The endless sea! and turned with pain
 To the sweet goddess' lap again.
 Meanwhile she yearned to make him blest,
 Of endless love and youth possessed,
 And oft, reclined on scented flowers,
 Discoursed of soft Olympian bowers,
 And nectared rills down slopes divine
 Bubbling like streams of purple wine;
 Where, through her love, he might for ever
 Drink life at every flowing river!
 In vain! his wife and barren reign
 Brought sweeter visions o'er his brain:
 With his old sire he longed to weep
 At every sigh the heart can keep
 For years against we meet, and see
 The eyes we loved in infancy.

Though old, affection makes them bright,
 Recalling all their pristine light,
 When on the knee beneath their beam
 We knew none might compare with them.
 Ulysses! may thy bard and thee
 Of song sublime and constancy
 The patterns be; from then till now
 Ye stand unequalled, he and thou!

Turn we now the lengthened rhyme
 To scenes beneath the eve of time,
 When the heart's soil, all shallow grown,
 Gone passion's mould, appears like stone,
 Shadowed o'er by poisonous weeds;
 But for all proud, heroic deeds,
 Alas, too poor!—But man is yet
 The point where all extremes are met;
 And lifts sometimes the veil that hides
 The simple shrine where Love abides,
 Warmed by Virtue's censer bright,
 Which that goddess fair doth light
 With the heart's thick cinders, driven
 Round her by the breath of heaven.
 Witness, witness, Lavalette,
 Thou name the heart can ne'er forget,
 Thou proof, that times corrupt nor war
 Can woman's home-bred virtues mar;
 Virtues, the dear domestic hearth
 Hides in its bosom from their birth,
 And only to the world displayed
 When Love conducts them from the shade!
 Be blest and sacred ever! be
 The lights of woman's infancy;
 Live round the cradle, cheer the board,
 And walk, next God, by men adored.
 Sweet Lavalette! let France in thee,
 Something beyond her chivalry
 Glorious, behold—domestic love!
 Relentless war and arms above.
 But, as drives the fitful wind
 Through twilight caves, where human kind
 Never listened to their roar,
 Echoed by the lonely shore;
 So, unheeded, through thy brain
 Passion's tides now float in vain;
 The all-observing mind dethroned
 That once so bright a temple owned.
 Let fame-dispensing Poesy
 The golden lay, howe'er, for thee
 Weave, with richest colours dight,
 As befits thy matchless sprite.

But, till that be done, from me
 One little sprig from Pindus' tree
 Take, and on thy glorious name
 Plant it deep, and give it fame !

Muse, now o'er the sylvan reign
 Direct thy hallowed step again ;
 Look where through embowering woods
 Tumble down the mountain floods ;
 See the goat adventurous leap
 From crag to crag along the steep,
 O'er fearful gulfs, while far beneath
 His keeper trains his pipe to breathe,
 To Rosalind, the thought that preys
 Upon the quiet of his days ;
 Yonder, o'er the restless stream,
 Whirling and fleeting like a dream,
 Stands his dog, whose yelping bay
 Is buried in the thundering spray.
 And see the dear beloved maid
 On tip-toe down yon verdant glade
 Tripping, light, to watch her swain
 Chant in solitude his strain.
 Now, howe'er, his restless look
 Observes her gliding by the brook,
 And takes at once a doubtful tone
 Which, who has loved and never known ?
 Around in clusters graze the herd,
 By no troubling passions stirred ;
 While their master feels a strife
 Dark as that 'tween death and life,
 When the Gladiator fell,
 As down-bent fingers tolled his knell.
 But the face of Rosalind
 Does not look like one unkind ;
 Nor do the roses in her hair
 Speak of frowns or dull despair.
 This the drooping shepherd sees,
 And, blithe as honey-laden bees
 Seek the morning hive, he flies
 To meet her, freed from cares and sighs ;
 Tells his tale, is blest—ah, who
 Is happier than that shepherd true ?
 Love, if these delights be thine,
 Come, live with me, and aye be mine !

BION.

ON THE EDUCATION OF YOUTH FOR CIVIL OFFICES IN INDIA.

No. IV.

Quod quando, et quomodo, et per quos agendum sit.
CIC. EPIST. AD FAM.

THE arguments in favour of a change in the mode of educating youth for civil offices in India, have hitherto been chiefly addressed to the feelings of the persons interested in the question at issue. We have endeavoured to show, that the individual prosperity and collective respectability of the Company's civil servants will be materially advanced by another mode of education. We have displayed the insufficiency and danger of the Haileybury system; its insufficiency as a place of preparation, its danger as a resort of wild undisciplined boys, a mere limbo of vanity between nonage and manhood. Addressing ourselves to the same selfish feelings, we have wished to enforce the necessity of delaying the age of appointment, by proving that the physical and moral excellence of the writer will thus be better secured, and the numerous, but concealed examples of early degradation and ruin diminished. Although the road to general must begin from individual improvement, and therefore, owing to the constitution of our natures, it is necessary to rouse the selfish, before we can reach the social affections of men, it becomes our duty, after propitiating these stronger but less worthy feelings, to turn to higher and nobler motives. "In a British House of Lords," said Lord Grenville, "I trust we are not deliberating on the means of ruling 60,000,000 of men in subserviency to our own advantage." Still less, I trust, are we deliberating on the means of forming fit masters for now nearly one hundred millions of men, in subserviency to personal and individual advantage. And can we believe that any man, at an age when he would not be allowed to practise as a village apothecary in this country, is fit to bear a part of the administration of government to districts which might constitute a kingdom? And have the people of India no interest in this question?

The natives scarcely know what it is to see the grey head of an Englishman— young men (boys almost) govern there, without society, and without sympathy with the natives. They have no more social habits with the people, than if they still resided in England; nor indeed any species of intercourse but that which is necessary to making a sudden fortune, with a view to remote settlement. Animated with all the avarice of age, and all the impetuosity of youth, they roll in one after another, wave after wave; and there is nothing before the eyes of the natives but an endless, hopeless prospect of new flights of birds of prey and passage, with appetites continually renewing for a food that is continually wasting. Every rupee of profit made by an Englishman is lost for ever to India.

This was the language of Mr. Burke in 1783. Since that time much has been done towards meliorating the Company's Government of India. From that time improvement took its rise; and let it be observed (and in 1833 let it be remembered) that the Ministers of the Crown then first controlled the Court of Directors.

But much, much more than has been done, remains behind. Mr. Burke's indignant eloquence has, even now, a large application. The money-getting spirit of the service must be laid; for the Company's

servants are yet to be taught, that gain is the consequence not the cause of their employment. But in order to exorcise this spirit you must begin with the civil servant in embryo ; you must teach him that his appointment is to be obtained by showing himself to be endowed with qualifications which promote the happiness of a community, as well as his own aggrandisement, and which are calculated to improve his fellow-creatures as well as his own fortune. To do this, you must make his appointment a prize to be contended for, instead of consigning it to him as a property, and thus beginning his education by rousing his dormant avarice. But, if a writership be made in truth, not in mere words, a prize to be contended for, what will become of this source of patronage to the Court of Directors ?

Mr. Malthus, whose duty, perhaps, it was to make every scheme of improvement conformable with the interest of his employers, has proposed a plan, by which the Directors may still retain their nominations, although they shall be precluded from sending out an unqualified person. As I am not embarrassed by a similar difficulty, my proposal will be of a very different nature. In 1833, I trust that the Court of Directors will be reduced to a Direction of the Company's Commercial Affairs, their political character annihilated, and their patronage confined within very narrow bounds. In order, however, to explain what is meant, it will be necessary to consider the patronage belonging to the British Indian Empire somewhat more at large, by which means much will be done towards showing that the proposed mode of distributing writerships is not a theoretical, but strictly a practical improvement.

In 1782, the state of British India forced itself on public attention. The great political parties of the country continued to try their strength on this momentous question till 1784. The historical¹ department of the Annual Register for 1783 and 1784, is wholly filled with the narrative of our Indian wars and policy ; and the names of Hyder Ally and Tippoo Sahib, of Lally and De Suffreine, were then as familiar to men's ears, as the names of nearer and more formidable foes in our own day. The feebleness of the Directors at home, and the misrule of their servants abroad, had conducted the affairs of India to the very verge of ruin ; the nation trembled for the loss of those vast but remote provinces ; the proprietors of stock looked imploringly to the Crown, for the security of their capital and interest. In 1782 Mr. Dundas proposed a bill to create a Secretary of State for India. Mr. Fox, in the following year, brought in his famous India Bill. The discussions of Parliament disclosed the real state of the Indian Empire, and the pitiful inefficiency of the Directors.

In the Direction, Mr. Fox said, there were generally two descriptions of men ; those who by promoting the Company's trade, endeavoured to make the most of their stock, and those who came in, not for commercial, but political purposes : meaning by this expression, political intrigue at home, not the superintendence of the Indian Government. Their Indian policy was confined solely to the management of their commerce. Hence their orders were usually disobeyed ; the King's Ministers and the Directors agreed only in one point, and in that they were mistaken. Both charged the civil government with an ambitious desire of aggrandise-

¹ Mr. Burke is believed to have then conducted this part of the work.

ment, which, it has since been proved, was the necessary consequence of circumstances. The Indian governments had only the choice of increasing their territory or relinquishing what they possessed. Who will now deny (although some will always differ about the means used) that Warren Hastings saved our Eastern empire? From home no instructions were sent out, except to prohibit wars which were already raging; no civil servants to assist the government, but boys to be enriched by plunder. Mutinies among the native troops, and dissensions between the King's officers, the treachery of native allies, and the union and energy of European and Indian enemies, distracted the internal government, and threatened the annihilation of our dominion in the East.

While combating with such unexampled difficulties, the House of Commons and the Directors passed a vote of censure on Mr. Hastings, and ordered his recall; when, strange to say, the Court of Proprietors resolved, that the order of the Court recalling the Governor-General should be rescinded, and the Directors obeyed their constituents in contradiction to themselves and the sense of Parliament. Their despatches were written and made up in opposition to the report of their own proceedings and the orders of Government, and were in consequence stopped by the Secretary of State, who had the power of controlling the Court's correspondence with the authorities in India. To complete the absurdity, the Proprietors followed up their former vote by a vote of thanks to Mr. Hastings.

It may well be believed, that Mr. Fox gave the most powerful effect to this example of the inconveniences inseparably connected with an *imperium in imperio*. To this argument was added, the embarrassment of the Company's finances, as a proof of their incapacity in trade as well as politics; and, while stigmatized by all parties as ruining themselves, tormenting their subjects, and risking the loss of India, the fear only of increasing the influence of the Crown saved them, for a time, from any restrictive control.—This apprehension, and the attack (as it was called) on the chartered rights of corporate bodies, agitated the country from one end to the other. Patronage, valued at 2,000,000*l.* annually would be placed, it was said, at the disposal of the minister, and Mr. Fox was accused of aiming at a perpetual dictatorship.

The language of opposition on such a subject, whatever fallacies it may clothe, is sure of popular applause; nor was it likely to lose any of its force in the mouth of Mr. Pitt: he thundered his eloquence against the bill, as a monstrous invasion of our constitutional rights, and a sacrifice of the people of England to an unnatural partiality for the natives of India. The influence of chartered companies, and jealousy of the Crown, finally threw out the Bill.

In the following year, however, with a new parliament, Mr. Pitt, after failing in a first attempt, succeeded at length in establishing a Board of Control for the affairs of India. To extend the patronage, is, in public opinion, to increase the power of the Crown. This power, therefore, was strengthened, by appointing a President of the Board, differing but little from an Indian Secretary of State, as first proposed by Mr. Dundas; and in addition to the President, two paid Commissioners were given him for his assistance. But, although ministerial influence was thus extended in this country, it was materially diminished in India; and, after the experience of many years, we may now, perhaps, safely assert, that in com-

parison with the growth of dominion, and consequently with the multiplication of appointments, there has been much less Indian patronage at the disposal of ministers since, than before, the institution of any government control over India. The reason is clear.—The Court of Directors being, by the nature of things, very much dependent on the ministers of the day, were at all times, but especially when distressed by the difficulty of their affairs, bound to propitiate those in power: a liberal supply of civil and military appointments was an easy method of creating a friendly disposition; and, as the ministers had no avowed patronage, they accepted what was thus offered as a gift, and were safe from the scrutiny of Parliament. Hence, we are not surprised to hear Mr. Burke, alluding to a letter from Mr. Hastings, make the following declaration: "Hastings himself tells you, that he is encumbered with two hundred and fifty young gentlemen, some of them of the best families of England; all of whom aim at returning with vast fortunes in the prime of life." All such as were of the best families of England may fairly be supposed to have reached India under Ministerial patronage, and to these may be added also many of the rest; for Mr. Burke afterwards says, "Governor Johnstone, who is well acquainted with the India Company, and by no means a friend to this bill, has told you, that a ministerial influence has always been predominant in that body; and that to make them pliant to their purposes, ministers generally caused persons meanly qualified to be chosen Directors. According to his idea they endeavoured to secure subserviency, by submitting the Company's affairs to the direction of incapacity: they ruined the Company in order to govern it. This was certainly influence, in the very worst form in which it could appear; at best, it was clandestine and irresponsible. Whether this was done so much upon system as that gentleman supposes, is a matter of great doubt, but such in effect the operation of Government on that Court unquestionably was; and such, under a similar constitution it will be for ever."—Certainly; and therefore, when that influence ceased to be clandestine and irresponsible, it began to diminish.

The country saw the ministry openly exercising an active control over India. Parliament knew the patronage which it opened to them, and the power which must attend it, and therefore circumscribed their reach with all the ingenuity of restrictive legislation. Ministers were prohibited from any share in Indian patronage. This, with deference be it spoken, was unwise. To let that, which must exist, exist by sufferance, and to give the Directors the power of conferring favours on the Indian minister, was to run the risk of making the minister complaisant to the Directors. Far better had it been to let such patronage be understood and defined as a right, that the vigilance of Parliament might be equal to the extent and importance of the power which might be abused, and the influence which might be misapplied. We should be startled if we were now told, what the Parliament of 1783 repeatedly heard, that the Bankrupt Nabob of Arcot had thrust five or six members into the House of Commons. When would the outcry cease at the existence of such an abuse?

But the great characteristic difference between the bill proposed by Mr. Fox and that brought in by Mr. Pitt was, that the former went to shackle and weaken the local government of India, and to enlarge and strengthen the control of the authorities in England; while the latter was calculated to give vigour and efficiency to the Governments abroad, and to secure, at the same

time, as great a power of control at home as was consistent with the vast distance which divides the superintending from the executive administration. Thus, as a part of these opposite principles, Mr. Fox would have thrown all the patronage of India, not only that of appointment but also that of advancement, into the hands of his Parliamentary commissioners; while Mr. Pitt left the appointment to the Directors, and the advancement of those appointed, to the Indian Governments. This latter principle should be carefully preserved in any future modification of the present system, both because it will be useful in setting limits to ministerial influence and in adding strength to the local authorities. The distinction between the two sorts of patronage is of importance to this argument; and as we shall have little to do with the patronage of advancement, except as illustrating the value of appointments, a few words here on its general nature will be sufficient for our purpose.

In Lord Grenville's speech before referred to, we find the following passage strongly corroborative of much that has already been said, and containing a clear and succinct account of promotion to office in India:

It is well known how great the influence of the King's ministers already is in the appointment of those who are to exercise the supreme authorities in India whether civil or military. The reason of the case has here controlled the strict letter of the law. And it would, in my judgment, be far more constitutional that the responsibility of the nomination should openly attach on those who have, in almost every instance for thirty years, discharged the duty of selection. But with respect to the offices of inferior trust in India, including all below the Councils, the general course of promotion there, both in the civil and in the military line, has rested, as I apprehend, where unquestionably it ought to rest, with the Governments on the spot. They are best qualified to discriminate the characters of those who act under their inspection; they are most immediately concerned to reward the merit, to discountenance the misconduct of those who are to execute their orders. Such then, I trust and I believe, is now the established practice; and few who are conversant with the affairs of India will deny, that more inconvenience than advantage is likely to arise from an occasional interference with it. But undoubtedly this power, in itself so considerable, and administered at so great a distance, cannot be, nor is it, left without limitation. The law has done much to remove the opportunity, and with it the temptation, to abuse. By the Act of 1793, fixed classes and gradations of office have been established in India, of rank and value proportioned to the seniority of those who alone are qualified to hold them. Within these limits all exercise of patronage is restrained, and the effective operation of this principle has been considerably extended by a judicious, but perhaps, still imperfect separation of the lines of civil service. But by far the most important provision, without which no other could be effectual, is found in those clauses of the Act of 1784, which corrected the abuse of appointing to high stations in India persons new to that service. No office under the Government of our Indian Empire can now be conferred except upon its regular servants sent out in early youth, and trained to superior trust by the correct discharge of subordinate employments. When your Lordships consider, therefore, the jealousy with which the execution of these regulations is watched by a whole body of public servants, whose prospects depend on their observance; and when you further reflect that the persons among whom the selection must in every case be made, have originally been named in the outset of their life by various choice, unmixed with politics, and from different classes of society, it will no longer surprise us to be assured that the political divisions of the state have, under this system, found no admission into the exercise of Indian patronage.

But how can it possibly be shown that these wise provisions of the law, this salutary course and gradation of public service, depend upon the East India Company's authority? The King's civil service in India, should such be its future appellation, would equally subsist under the same regulations, secured in the same prospects, animated to the same exertions, protected by the same just interposition of the law against the noxious influence of political intrigue, and deriving only fresh distinction to themselves, and fresh respect among the powers of India, from the stamp and sanction of royal authority.

By thus lodging and restricting the patronage of advancement in India, no danger could arise from handing over the civil and military officers of the Company to the service of the Crown. Mr. Pitt recognized this principle, and considered that by leaving appointments in the gift of the local Government, and by preserving the gradation of seniority as the rule of succession, "he provided a sure means of preventing the exercise of undue influence, and of clipping the wings of patronage." Ministerial protection and countenance of persons in India must of necessity, when ministers alone become responsible, be brought more immediately under the eye of Parliament. Nor will it have a wider field of action than now, for then as now it can only be exercised through the supreme civil and military authorities abroad, already in fact, although not in form, appointed by the Crown. The reason of the case has here controlled the strict letter of the law; for, as Mr. Fox forcibly observes,—

If there be a receipt, a nostrum, for making a weak Government, it is by giving the power of contriving measures to one, and the nomination of the persons who are to execute them to another. Theories that do not connect men with measures, are not theories for this world; they are chimeras with which a recluse may amuse his fancy, but not principles upon which a Statesman can found his system.

How much better would it be, were the appointments of Governor and Commander-in-Chief avowedly at the disposal of Ministers, instead of being vested in the Directors, subject to the King's approval. Suppose the Court in a contumacious temper of mind obstinately persevered in nominating persons unfit for those high stations, and whom therefore the Crown would not confirm;² so long as nominations were put in, those offices might be kept vacant for any length of time, and their duties left to whatever abilities the Senior Member of Council or the officer next in command might chance to possess. Or, if the contumacy of the Directors were part of an agreed plan, those offices might be preserved vacant in consequence of a known disposition in the acting Governor or Commander-in-Chief to meet any favourite views of the Court. Such an absurdity can never be allowed to continue when the present charter expires; it can never lead to any practical good, but may produce much practical evil. That it has ever been suffered must be attributed to the peculiar situation of Mr. Pitt when he established a controlling power over the Court of Directors. Although the bold and violent change attempted by Mr. Fox had prepared the Company to consider the more confined and moderate proposal of his opponent as a boon conceded, rather than a restriction imposed, yet Mr. Pitt was, in some degree, shackled by his previous opposition to Mr. Fox's measure, and the jealousy which he had raised through the country, of Crown influence and attacks upon chartered rights. Had he not been embarrassed by the strength of public prejudices founded on ignorance and error, we may infer, from his language in debate, that Mr. Pitt would have further reduced the power of the Court of Directors; above all, that he would have held in the hands of Ministers an unqualified right of appointing to the supreme civil and military offices in India. A body worse constituted than the Court of Directors, for a just and discriminating exercise of patronage and political influence, can scarcely exist; and it would appear that the more Mr. Pitt reflected

² If the Court of Directors neglect to fill up vacant offices within a certain period, the appointments lapse to the Crown.

upon this part of the subject the more he was convinced of their unsuitability for such a duty; for his second bill enlarged the authority of the Board of Commissioners beyond the limits provided by the first bill, which was thrown out. It is clear, too, that he anticipated the growth of a necessity for enlarging still further their control over the Government of India. That necessity, perhaps, is now matured; by what means we shall shortly consider, as bearing directly on the question of patronage.

Since the formation of the East India Company, the Crown has, from time to time, put in and maintained a claim to participate in the wealth and advantages enjoyed by those exclusive monopolists of East India trade. Sometimes money has been paid by the Company rather for the use of the Crown than the supply of the public treasury; but in some shape or other any extension of the Company's commerce or territory has always been followed by a certain consideration paid to the sovereign for the right, as it were, of enjoying the new benefit or acquisition.³ Although it thus seemed clearly intimated where the sovereignty of India lay, yet the charter of William the Third, which expressly reserved it to the Crown, perhaps created the doubt which it was intended to prevent. Mr. Fox, speaking in 1783, says—

Many and grave persons are of opinion, that the territorial possessions in India belong to the Crown; and they argue, that it is absurd to suppose, that a body of merchants should be capable of managing and governing great territories, and of entering into all the mazes and refinements of modern politics. I am aware that very weighty persons have, on the other hand, maintained, that the territories belong of right to the Company.

In fact, till 1813, the sovereignty of the Crown over India had been kept as a reserved point, and so to the partial judgment of the Company seemed almost questionable; but the preamble of the act 53d Geo. 3. cap. 155, then set the matter at rest by the insertion of the words "without prejudice to the *undoubted* sovereignty of the Crown, &c. in and over the same, &c." Thus, by precedent and law, the right of interference is now established, whenever any political or other change in the state of India should give cause, in the opinion of his advisers, for the King to modify or abolish, in the prescribed course, the Company's charter.

Yet, up to the present day, is not the Company talked of, and do not the Proprietors talk of themselves, as a Sovereign Company? Many of the facetious members of this imperial corporation will sometimes exclaim, "We are the King of India, but the Board of Commissioners is Viceroy over us."

If this feeling evaporated in a joke, however stale, the Proprietors and Directors might enjoy it among themselves; but, as the spirit of both appears by their debates to be impatient of control, and viciously opposed to every kind of check, we may be allowed to suspect that it must sometimes embarrass the most wholesome measures for the government of India. Such an opinion seems to have been long ago entertained by the legislature, for we find the following passage in the preamble of an Act of Parliament nearly sixty years old, for regulating the qualification of

³ Among other similar enactments we may quote, as an example, the 7th Geo. 3. cap. 24., by which 400,000*l.* was to be annually paid by the Company for a limited time, in consequence of certain territorial acquisitions and revenues.

members for voting in the respective general courts of public companies and corporations :

"Whereas of late years a most unfair practice has been introduced of splitting large quantities of stock, and making temporary and separate conveyances of parts thereof, for the purpose of multiplying occasional votes immediately before the time of declaring a dividend, choosing a director, or of deciding any other important question, and which practice," it is said, "would leave the permanent interest of such companies liable, at all times, to be sacrificed to the partial and interested views of a few, and those perhaps temporary proprietors....it is enacted" that stock as a qualification to vote, must have been possessed for six calendar months previously to the exercise of that right. This is again confirmed and made peculiar to East India proprietors by the 13th Geo. 3. cap. 43. sec. 3. which extends the period to twelve months, and raises the qualifying sum from five hundred to a thousand pounds.

What a scene of cabal and faction must have been displayed in a general court before the year 1784, when, as the late Lord (then Mr.) Erskine, expressed it, "so immensely important an empire was governed by a ballot of men and women, and foreigners." The Court of Proprietors is an exhibition, in a sort of minor theatre, of the vivacious but small orators of the day ; yet have they still the power, as we have lately seen, of sitting in judgment on the Government of India. To those influenced by the hope of support from women, foreigners, and others, or already pledged to some of the predilections or prejudices of such persons, is the administration and patronage of our Indian empire rashly intrusted. To the General Court itself, constituted as it is, has every modification of system for educating the Company's servants been solemnly submitted. But why is the creditor of the Company to have a direct political influence in the state, while the public creditor of the nation, the holder of government stock, is wholly excluded from any share of it ? Why is any person who holds India bonds to the amount of 1000*l.* to possess a privilege denied to the man who stands in the books of the Bank of England a creditor of the country to the amount of half a million ? This is the harder, because the state, and therefore the nation, have become security for, and guarantee the Company's debt.

It must commonly happen that gentlemen come into the Direction with a list in their pocket of persons to be provided for, dependent on the most powerful of their constituents ; a list quickly formed, but slowly disposed of. Who can resist the influence of the stars ?⁴ Whatever his birth or station, whatever his abilities, John Nokes or Tom Styles is to have a writership. But then he must pass through the ordeal of Haileybury College ; a terrible test, subject at any time to the regulation of those who are, or in future may be, the immediate superintendents of the College, and upon whom the institution itself is in fact dependent for its existence. As a consequence, influential persons, related by blood, or connected by marriage, get out to India, who gradually grow up, and combine to promote and protect each other. Who can resist them abroad, who dare resist them at home ? They come back with ample means to continue and increase the same interest which sent them to India. Which of them

⁴ The number of stars against a proprietor's name, denotes the number of votes which he commands for the election of Directors, and other jobs.

who chanced to be a delinquent could be pursued to justice or exposure? What object which they determined to carry could be defeated? Who would wonder if the most lucrative situations of India become almost hereditary? What better support of such a system could be invented than Hertford College? Preserve the nomination to appointments in the same hands, keep the nominees together in the same building, and leave the required test to become, as it must, a mere form, and we might venture to name those who would hold particular appointments, and some who would be in the Direction, a century hence, if India should then be in our possession, and the present system still in force. If the Directors had not been men of good intentions, however mistaken, and had they stood till this day uncontrolled, they must long since have done more mischief than any legislative enactment could remedy, or any regret on their part have atoned for. No man, or set of men, can withstand the irresistible effect of a bad system.

The Court of Proprietors elect from among themselves a Court of Directors. On their first entrance into office, the Directors are employed in superintending the Company's sales. They then rise by seniority to the duty of conducting the political administration of India. Thus, as young men are rarely, if ever, elected; individuals who have talents can seldom possess much influence over Indian affairs till they have gained the age of old men, and in most cases the character of old women. It was not, therefore, extraordinary, that the Court of Directors, before they were controlled by the King's Government, continued to blunder on in governing by theory, till one of their servants dared to disobey them, and save their possessions. At that time, we are told, "that if a man wished to read the finest system of ethics, policy, and humanity, he would find it in the letters of the Court of Directors to the Company's servants abroad;" but unhappily, which few if any then knew, there was nothing practical in these beautiful essays. The Court's orders were abstractedly good, but in application impossible. Since the interference of Government, although theory, favoured by ignorance, held its ground for some years, information about India has been gradually diffused, and its administration better understood. There is but one mode of conquering, there are many modes of settling a country. Even now the laws affecting the tenure of land and the right of the soil, are a subject of difference among those best acquainted with India. Even now (how many will hear it for the first time!) all the laws are promulgated and administered in a language^a almost always equally foreign to judge, jury, prisoner, accuser, and witnesses. All are dependent on an interpreter! Surely this is evidence enough of the wrong principle upon which our intertia! administration began, and of the prevalence of theoretical knowledge in England, and of ignorant precipitation in India. How little European theory can suit an Eastern country, we may be led to conjecture by the present land-tax of India. We calculate, in England, a third of the

^a Debates on the India Bill, 1783.

^b The judicial proceedings of India are conducted in Persian, a language vernacular only among the remnant of the Mohammedan conquerors of Hindoostan. When the Norman William introduced French into our Courts of Law, it had at least the advantage of being the native language of the judge, (see 'The Friend of India,' a periodical work.) This subject will be shortly resumed in a future Number.

produce of land for the landlord, a third for the farmer, and a third for expenses; in India, an average of 50 per cent. is paid on land to Government, and the other half must pay all expenses, and support the landlord and tenant. Whether this very land-tax be consistent with sound political economy may perhaps be doubted. Now that the question of governing in India is become almost wholly a question of internal administration, is it not time to take the superintendence of that government out of the hands of those, who, under certain limitations, declare the dividends on their own stock, which must depend on the revenue yielded by India? But if you remove the superintendence of the government, you must at the same time transfer the appointment of executive authorities, and of those who, under them, are the instruments of external and internal administration.

B. M. V.

OF TRUTH AND SIMPLICITY IN TASTE AND CRITICISM.

WHEN we find great writers differing on any important subject, it puts us on our guard against trusting to authority in matters we do not perfectly comprehend; and thus, while impressing a conviction of the fallibility of our common nature, generates a desire once more to try the effect of unprejudiced research. No subject of inquiry has baffled human sagacity more completely than *taste*. It seems indeed, as the author of the Inquiry into the Principles of the Sublime and Beautiful has observed, "too volatile to endure even the chains of a definition:" but, perhaps, whatever obscurity surrounds it, may be owing more to our unwillingness to see clearly, than to the circumstances of the thing itself. All mankind are pleased with novelty; writers, to gain their approbation, are therefore induced to depart from old standards, in search of originality; and this, possibly, could not be so well effected, if certain fixed principles of taste were acknowledged, by which the sallies of invention were to be regulated and restrained. In consequence, the majority of the republic of letters are not extremely anxious for the discovery of such principles, but, rather, are inclined to congratulate themselves on "the glorious uncertainty of the laws" of wit and eloquence. They are partly right, as far as regards their own interests. But looking simply to the public good, we may be tempted to decide differently, and to indulge a wish that the rules of judging in matters of literature were as certain and perspicuous as the principles of geometry. We make no pretensions, however, to the knowledge of any such infallible rules, and merely design in this essay to cast a hasty glance at that single and continuous method which seems most consonant to correct judgment.

Taste is, by M. D'Alembert, defined to be, "*le talent de démêler dans les ouvrages de l'art, ce qui doit plaire aux âmes sensibles, et ce qui doit les blesser*:" by Mr. Burke, "that faculty, or those faculties of the mind, which are affected with, or which form a judgment of, the works of imagination and the elegant arts." It may perhaps be found, upon inquiry, to be no distinct faculty at all, but merely "correct judgment united to a certain degree of imagination." If this kind of judg-

ment be applied to works of art, it will decide correctly concerning them; as it will of every thing else that is comprehended by the mind; but it seems not a little singular, to imagine that we have a distinct faculty purposely adapted for judging of works of art. If this were true, it would be equally so that the faculty itself must be artificial. It could not exist independently of the works of art, on whose qualities and merits it is to pronounce; for it appears absurd to say that nature endued man with a faculty for forming correct notions of things the very existence of which was problematical. But taking it for a peculiarly nice judgment, operating through the medium of the imagination upon the elements of beautiful forms and exact proportions, we have something intelligible before us, which may be applied with equal propriety to the productions of nature or art.

This judgment is not an acquirement, although something resembling it may be produced by study; it results from the original conformation of the mind, and evinces itself gradually as the intellectual powers are ripened and developed by time and application. Some men borrow a taste, as one might borrow a carpenter's rule, and, not understanding the scale, apply it most preposterously. They study the models, not the principles of art; observing what Homer has written or Raphael painted, not by what means they acquired the power so to write or paint. These are unfortunately the men who most commonly apply themselves to criticism. The pleasure of applying rules and citing precedents gives them vigour to wade with equal patience and complacency through all orders of books, from a profound tome of philosophy down to a romance, or fashionable volume of essays. "Experience is the mother of wisdom." "I have seen," says Mr. Merrick's traveller, "and sure I ought to know." These are the aphorisms of every fashionable "elegans formarum spectator" in the fine arts or belles lettres. Who can dispute them? Happily they are indisputable; but still prove nothing more, most venerable critics! than that you are certain of having seen what you say, but by no means sure that you understood what you saw.

Vast reading, directed promiscuously among authors of all casts, is apt to dull the perception of beauty; and as it is sure to be perceived, at length, that some books must be neglected, the mind makes rapid election of the class least consonant to its own views, and discards them for ever without a hearing, in order to have an excuse to itself for not reading them. Thus some persons hate the ancients, some the moderns, and some only the French. Among the latter are Mr. Coleridge, Mr. Southey, Mr. Landor,—in short, the Lake school. In return, there are those who *hate* them. Now all this *hatred* seems unintelligible to us, and appears, in whoever indulges it, a mark of spleen and littleness. The hatred of Mr. Landor is most peculiarly absurd, as there is hardly one of his notions the germ of which may not be traced to some French writer or another; but possibly he may wish to raise a smoke in the mouth of the cavern whence he has drawn his treasures, that it may not be seen from what point he escapes with them.

It was the French Revolution which in fact gave rise to the literary tastes now prevalent over the whole of Europe, although this be little suspected by those who cultivate them. In that tremendous convulsion, the reverence for ancient art, amounting almost to superstition, was swept away as a vulgar prejudice; nay, the elegant arts themselves

were undervalued, and the sciences, as more congenial with robust and martial minds, cultivated in preference. Afterwards, when it was perceived that civilization would not dispense with works of imagination, authors set themselves about the task of invention with the most astonishing realities before them, and quickly perceived that it required no small efforts of fiction to surpass what had actually been. Hence the marvellous and the extravagant, which appear to have taken root in a congenial soil, where they now flourish in defiance of taste and criticism. It has been observed by Payne Knight, that whatever may be the private taste of a writer, his practice, if he would be popular, must be conformable to the bent of the times. The remark is true; but it is equally true that a writer has, in a great measure, no choice in the matter. He travels on with his contemporaries, he views the same objects with them, and, if he respects posterity, makes his fellow-travellers the most frequent subject of his meditations. In proportion as he does this without trick or affectation, he is a great writer, or otherwise. The author above mentioned, elsewhere says, that every age accuses the one immediately preceding it, of bad taste in building, furniture, and dress. This it does to keep its own taste in countenance; but the accusation is sometimes just. The people who make it, nevertheless, are commonly those who have nothing else for a criterion but the prevailing fancies. Observe the detractors of Pope; what are their principles of composition or of criticism? Their first principle is a contempt of all principles; their practice the most wild and incoherent thing that has arisen since Chaos. They profess to loosen poetry from the trammels in which she had been made to move by that consummate poet, and engender in this solution a kind of monster that is neither poetry nor prose. Rhyme, to many of these gentlemen, wore a peculiarly ungracious aspect; it seemed like travelling in a state-coach, a mode by far too dignified for poetry. Accordingly they came up to her vehicle, and observing the lady seated much at her ease, with no care in her countenance, gazing in luxurious rapture at the rich fleeting landscapes around her, were indignant at her indolence, and thrusting in their rude hands and pulling her out, tore off her costly garments, and compelled her to stroll naked and barefoot, about the rugged moors with them! Ah, quantum mutata ab illâ!

The blank verse of the present period, is the Scylla, and our loose rhymes, the Charybdis of poetry. Not one poem written in the former will ever reach the next age, unless some unexpected miracle be operated in its behalf. Had *Paradise Lost* been written in rhyme, it would have counted a hundred readers where it now reckons one, and every beautiful thought it contains would have shone with additional splendour. Lord Kames and critics of his class, may say what they please about the light nature and jingling of rhyme, there is not in England an admirer of poetry who has not more frequently been melted to tenderness and tears by the Translations of the *Iliad*, *Odyssey*, and *Æneid*, by *Eloisa to Abélard*, by passages of *Don Juan* and *Childe Harold*, than by all the blank verse that ever was written in our language, excepting the plays of Shakespeare. The pathos and power of these latter are entirely independent of the nature of the verse; but Shakespeare might have been, had he not chosen the dramatic form, quite as pathetic and far more perfect in rhymed poems. Some of his little pieces in rhyme

are eminently touching, and the quaintness of the form certainly does not detract from, if it does not heighten their beauty; as

Blow, blow, thou bitter wind!
Thou art not so unkind
As man's ingratitude, &c.

Simplicity of style is so far from being an attribute of blank verse, that in a long poem it is almost incompatible with it. Milton's style is less simple than that of Spencer or Pope, its gorgeousness is often offensive, its inversions intolerable. No judicious reader ever looks to Milton for simplicity; he is the antipodes of it; is forcible, fiery, impetuous, energetic, sublime, and has almost every other beauty. Homer, in poetry, is the great model of simplicity; and in prose, Herodotus, Demosthenes, and Xenophon. In our own language Chaucer is perhaps the poet of greatest simplicity, and Swift may claim the same rank among our prose writers. But it is among the Greeks that simple beauty is principally to be sought. There is one example of it in the *Eidyllia* of Bion, surpassing whatever is to be met with of the kind in the poetry of the world: it is where Venus reclines upon the mountains, wearied by the tempest of passion, and giving vent to its last murmurs over the dead body of her lover. Suddenly, she seems to see his soul escaping over the gulf of death, with eyes averted from her, and with feet nearly reaching the mansions of "gloomy Dis." Her immortal nature is again shaken by love, she thinks him still within hearing, she exclaims, she conjures him to stay; and writhing in all the anguish of immortal wretchedness, closes her adoration with these inimitable words:

— ἂ δε ταλαινα
Ζῶω, καὶ θεὸς ἐμὲ, καὶ οὐ δύναμαι σὲ διώκειν.

For, wretched me!
I live, a God! and cannot follow thee!

This is the acmé of intense passion, and nothing in human language could add to its beauty. Our translation is literal, and conveys the sense; it pretends to no more. The passage next to it in excellence is that in the *Merchant of Venice*:—

On such a night as this
Troilus, methinks, mounted the Trojan wall,
And sighed his soul towards the Grecian tents,
Where Cressid lay that night!

This is enthusiasm and poetry! and where in books shall we find greater simplicity? It is possible that Homer was not *in posse* a greater poet than Shakespeare, but he produced vastly greater poems; poems that seem beyond the powers of humanity, since all attempts to equal them have proved fruitless and visionary.

The tendency of fashionable taste and criticism, however, is to put us out of conceit with these antiquated beauties. We recollect two examples. The close of the eighth book of the *Iliad*, beginning,

As when the moon, refulgent lamp of night, &c.

had been admired we believe by most readers of poetry, until Mr. Coleridge, in his *Biographia Literaria*, exposed the folly of such admiration. He attacked with vast patience and industry every single beauty of the passage, and they withered before him like flowers at the breath of the pestilence, until he at length found himself surrounded by the dry stalks and sapless pedicels of what had once been the pride of the meadows.

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E

But, alas! his industry has been ill requited, for the world still continue, with the swains of Homer, to

Eye the blue vault, and bless the useful light;

while the *Biographia Literaria*, with all its hidden beauties, lies snug in the warm corner of some bookseller's shop, or only travels forth at the evocation of some adept, who prefers the transcendental philosophy to Pope and Homer.

The other example is adduced by Mr. Payne Knight as an instance of the weakness of academical criticism. It likewise affects Pope, and occurs in Dr. Blair's Lectures.

"Addressing the several parts of one's body," says he in his sixteenth lecture, "as if they were animated, is not congruous to the dignity of passion. For this reason I must condemn the following passage in a very beautiful poem of Mr. Pope's, *Eloisa to Abelard* :

"Dear fatal name! rest ever unrevealed,
Nor pass these lips in holy silence sealed.
Hide it, my heart, within that close disguise,
H'ere, mixed with God's, his loved idea lies :
O write it not, my hand. — "

And he goes on to condemn it, at a length "which is not congruous" to the space we can allow for quotations; but his chief objection lies against the personification of the hand. "A personified hand is low," he says, "and not in the style of true passion." Ten to one the Doctor had not read the original letters between these celebrated lovers, or he would have found that very strange conceits were congruous enough with perhaps the most intense passion that ever existed. He had allowed the personification of the heart to pass, "as a dignified part of the human frame;" "but common readers," says Mr. Knight, "never think of making such frigid distinctions in the comparative rank and dignity of the different parts of the body, as that which the learned professor here makes between the heart and the hand: a distinction as unfair in its statement, as it is cold and frivolous in its application; for the hand is often used metaphorically to signify energy or power, as the heart is to signify affection, or the head intellect."¹

As long as criticisms of the kind here exposed are read and swallowed without reflection, so long shall we retrograde in invention and taste; for the greatest writers look up, when they begin in youth to compose, with some degree of veneration to established critics, and thus are in danger of having their powerful intellects bent the wrong way, until the force of after-discovery restore them to their original uprightness. It is true, time

¹ Shakespeare, against whose authority the Doctor might possibly desire to appeal, had a different idea of the dignity of *the hand*; making it a symbol of the whole Grecian power.

—both your speeches, which were such
As Agamemnon, and the hand of Greece
Should hold up high in brass.

Ulysses, in *Troilus and Cressida*, act. i. sc. v.

Again:—

The great Achilles, whom opinion crowns
The sinew and the fore-hand of our host.—*Id. ib.*

A thousand such examples might be collected from the greatest poets, in which the force and majesty of the verse is heightened and invigorated by the very figures condemned by critics like Blair, as weak, and not "congruous to the dignity of passion."

will set all these matters to rights, and teach these critics that the river Lethe runs, as Lord Bacon observes, as well above as under ground ; but it is no harm to present a slope to its current, that it may the more speedily rid us of that mischievous nonsense, which has confounded beauty with deformity in the heads of so many well-disposed people.

After all, there is much more uniformity in the taste than in the actions of individuals. For men are more passive and open to the operation of principles, in the act of judging of works of art, than it is possible for them to be while performing the business of life. We never know the better, and prefer the worse, in matters of taste ; if we err it is through ignorance. Taste, to return to our proposition, is indeed nothing more than the result of repeated actions of the mind, of numerous comparisons, of most delicate distinctions ; it is the habit of applying knowledge to distinguish rapidly between truth and beauty in works of imagination, and their mere resemblances. For this reason, therefore, an ignorant man cannot be a man of taste ; he may have had from nature a good judgment, and may be able to seize the more obvious distinctions of things ; but he will never make that perfect discrimination between what is beautiful, and what is only showy, the power to do which, we denominate *taste*. The mind that has been trained to judge, arrives at its conclusions so rapidly, that it seems to know by intuition ; hence it is that we sometimes consider taste as something distinct from judgment, losing sight of the mind's operations on account of their celerity, and thus imagining that those are faculties distinct in nature, which are only degrees of the same thing. The differences in kind which appear in this faculty of judgment, arise entirely from the different degrees of imagination which are united with it. The man who has much fancy will be led to exercise his judging faculty upon such forms of beauty and loveliness as art and nature have presented to his imagination ; whereas the mind of colder temperament and more rugged texture, will be apt to grapple with coarser objects, supplied by every-day experience, and less exquisite research. The latter will be denominated a person of strong mind ; the former, of elegant and refined taste. Dr. Johnson was a man of very strong mind : he could reduce realities to their value by a kind of alchemy which is perfectly within the competence of robust judgment. Beyond that he seemed incapable of going. Burke, with a mind every way superior, had an exquisite imagination, and while making his way among principles and metaphysical subtleties, could perceive and relish the most delicate charms of composition. Johnson was a plain round pillar ; Burke, the very " Corinthian Capital" of intellectuality. In these two men the principles of uniformity and variety may be seen in full contrast ; the former inducing sluggishness and distaste ; the latter filling the mind to the last with a kind of youthful vigour of appetite, which is never tired of the flavour of life, though at all times capable of distinguishing between its true and false seasoning.

It is doubtless the duty of an author to respect the opinions of his contemporaries ; but it is not clear that he should bow down before every idol they may choose to set up ; nor can he, without regret, observe them narrow the scene of their intellectual enjoyments. When criticism becomes intolerant, when it refuses to apply its principles to any particular subject, we may suspect that it does not act according to its own bias, but is swayed and directed by other influences. Now at present there are in

the empire of learning proscribed subjects; subjects that dare not lift up their heads in public, and with which it is deemed disreputable to have any connexion. The cultivators and abettors of these, are under the ban of popularity; are frowned upon by power, are shunned by fashion, are neglected by all. But there are two currents in the affairs of this age; one, produced by the great political leaders of nations, that tends backwards towards old institutions and opinions, which is the upper and apparent one; the other, generated by the inevitable progression of knowledge, which moving forwards under all obstacles, will in the end destroy the former, and draw all things into its own course. Those who co-operate with the former must of necessity be the popular men; but the fame of the latter will be more lasting, being borne up by a flood that can never cease to flow. It is a very mistaken notion that popularity is always the prelude of fame. Popular writers most frequently resemble those light pinnaces, that dance in summer upon the flood tide, which, when the waters ebb, are stranded or carried off by the current; while the writer of real merit, the man who adheres to just principles, who does not follow in the lead of circumstances, is like the rock whose greatness is hidden in the flood, which grows as it decreases, and is greatest when all is drained away.

At particular periods it is a mark of greatness to be singular; for in the midst of fluctuation and weakness there is no being so with genuine principles. With what a pitiful ambition do some men lift themselves up, to catch the breath of popularity; how do they tack, and shift, and struggle, in order to shape their course by it! There are many ZIMRIS at this moment in the world of letters, many PROTEUSES, who would willingly become a "flood" or "wasting fire," could they thereby gain their ends. These, of course, decry truth and simplicity of style; for amidst gorgeous inflation, and torrents of unmeaning words, it is difficult to discover differences; and therefore a writer may mean any thing or nothing, just as the reader pleases. It is something to find out that this is the case, that "counterfeits are abroad;" we may hereafter mark them individually as they come in our way, for good taste can in no way be so effectually benefited, as by exposing that which is false and factitious.

THE WINTER MORNING.—A SONNET.

Now, from his chilly chambers in the east,
Walks forth, close wrapped, the shivering Winter-day,
His torch just tinging the dun skies with gray,
And clouds and tempests beating round his breast.
The dusky air, by cutting cold possessed,
Makes the bright fire and pleasant room be loved;
And Homer, from the window-seat removed,
Seems, more than ever, on the hearth caressed.
But soon the Morn's short reign is o'er: and tea
Smokes on the board; and merry faces round
Inhale its grateful fragrance joyously,
While loud without the driving tempests sound.
That Nature courts no intimacy then,
We feel, and linger round our fellow-men.

BION.

SERVICES OF DISTINGUISHED MILITARY OFFICERS IN INDIA.

IN contemplating the extent of the British dominion in the East, and the seeming inadequacy of the means by which so vast an empire has been achieved, the mind even of the most careless observer cannot fail to be struck with surprise and astonishment at the spectacle which it presents. That a Company of merchant adventurers, who towards the close of the seventeenth century became possessed of a few trifling and unimportant settlements on the coast of Hindoostan, in which their power scarcely extended beyond the reach of the cannon which were necessary to the protection of their forts, should exist at the commencement of the nineteenth as sovereigns of an immense territory, comprising a large portion of the most fertile and populous regions on the face of the globe, inhabited by eighty millions of human beings subject to the nod of their distant and personally insignificant rulers, and passively obedient to their beck, appears almost beyond the scope of possibility to accomplish; but our wonder is still more highly excited when we consider that nearly the whole of these acquisitions have been secured during a space of little more than half a century, and with an aid from the mother country so comparatively trifling, as to appear utterly incapable of effecting the gigantic results which it has produced.

A hasty glance at the extent of the British possessions in India prior to the middle of the last century, will serve more forcibly to illustrate the rapidity of their growth. In the year 1639, the town of Madras with a territory extending about five miles along the coast, constituted the whole of these possessions; to this, after a lapse of twenty-five years, was added Bombay, and subsequently Fort St. David; and the acquisition of Calcutta, in 1696, completed the sum of their dominions in India at the opening of the eighteenth century. During the first fifty years which succeeded, the weakness of their resources and the jealousy of the surrounding nations restricted the Company from all attempts to extend their limits, which continued nearly the same until the year 1750, when those wars commenced between the English and French in India, which in their course involved on one side or the other most of the neighbouring states, and which terminated in the expulsion of the French, and the subjection to the British yoke of the greater part of their native allies. It was thus that a petty contest between the rival traders of two distant and hostile nations, who had obtained a peaceable footing on the shores of India, laid the foundation of the British empire in that quarter, and gave the first impulse to that restless spirit of grasping ambition by which the Company's government has never ceased to be actuated, and which has continued to agitate that unhappy country up to the present moment.

In the course of the almost uninterrupted series of military successes which have since this period distinguished the career of the Indian army, numerous instances of distinguished merit must of necessity have occurred, which it is one of the most pleasing of the historian's duties to record. The character of the British soldier is universally acknowledged as pre-eminent in cool and undaunted courage, in discipline, in hardihood, and in perseverance; and these qualities have been conspicuously displayed by that portion of our army which has been fated to encounter in India

difficulties and dangers unknown to those who have never braved its fervid clime. Neither has the enemy with whom our handful of brave soldiers have had to contend, however deficient in that moral energy which cannot be expected to exist among a people who have for ages bowed beneath the iron yoke of oppression, been despicable or inefficient. On the contrary, to their vast superiority of numbers and physical force they have added, especially of late years, considerable skill in the management of those destructive implements of modern warfare, (for the first knowledge of which it has been more than surmised that we are indebted to the inventive genius of the East,) together with a degree of discipline which, though far from rivalling or even approaching to that of our own soldiers, or of the native troops in our ranks, has on many occasions been displayed in so cool and determined a manner as to call forth the admiration and applause of those British commanders who have been opposed to them. The introduction of these essential improvements in the native armies has been in a great measure accomplished by means of Europeans, and especially of Frenchmen, whom they have had the policy to attach to their service; and whose instructions have succeeded in imparting to the once feeble and disorganized masses of which they are composed, a character of order and regularity, together with a degree of skill and precision, which render them a formidable enemy even when opposed to veteran and well disciplined troops.

To put on record the distinguished services of the Indian Army in particular, which has been so actively engaged in contending with these numerous and formidable foes, and to supply the deficiencies in 'The Royal Military Calendar,' there appeared in the course of the last year, from the pen of the editor of that very excellent and highly interesting review of the services of the Royal Army, the first volume of 'The East India Military Calendar.' This production was briefly noticed in terms of just commendation, in an early number of the *Oriental Herald*, and a feeling of regret was at the same time expressed that the plan which the editor had thought proper to adopt for the execution of the work, precluded him from noticing many of those celebrated martial characters whose gallant deeds shed a lustre on our arms during the wars which led to the establishment of the British dominion in the East. We feel great pleasure in informing our readers that this desideratum has now been supplied, by the publication of a second volume of this highly meritorious and useful compilation;¹ in which the editor, taking a more extended range, has been enabled to give insertion to the services of Lord Clive, and of those other gallant and distinguished officers, his companions and successors in arms, who commanded in India during the latter half of the last century, and with whose brilliant exploits the military history of that portion of the British dominions may be regarded as having commenced. To some of the more considerable and important of these accounts we propose briefly to advert, dwelling chiefly on those points which appear to be the least known and the most interesting.

Before we proceed to this portion of our subject we may, however, be allowed to notice a circumstance which, though not immediately connected

¹ The East India Military Calendar; containing the Services of General and Field Officers of the Indian Army. By the Editor of the Royal Military Calendar. Vol. ii. 4to. pp. 571.

with the military services of our Eastern army, is calculated to cast additional lustre on its reputation; we allude to the literary and scientific talents which many of its officers have possessed in a high degree, and which the peculiar circumstances in which they have been placed have so frequently called into action, to the great advantage of the world of literature and science, which has been indebted to their zeal for much valuable and useful information. To illustrate this position it is surely unnecessary to mention the names of Col. Symes, Col. Wilford, Col. Mackenzie, Col. Lanibton, Sir John Malcolm, General Hardwicke, and of many others almost equally distinguished by their attachment to these pursuits, since the memory of every one who is at all conversant with the literature of the East will doubtless furnish numerous instances in its support. Proud as we are of the military talents and glory of our countrymen, we feel more pleased in the contemplation of this fact, which is at once so creditable to the men who amidst the horrors and fatigues of war have devoted the energies of their active minds to the investigation, at every leisure moment, of the history, the antiquities, and the manners of the people among whom they have been engaged; and on which they have been able to furnish such important information, and so highly illustrative of the gentlemanly character and acquirements of the British officer. It was indeed requisite that those on whom so frequently devolved the task of representing the interests of their employers at the courts of the native princes, should possess the education and the talents of civil life, and become versed in the department of the diplomatist and the politician; and we accordingly meet with numerous instances among them in which the necessary acquirements for these important offices were admirably displayed. These however, as adapted to their personal interest and advancement, and as meeting with their reward in the good things of the world, possess fewer claims on our commendation than those studies to which the philologist, the antiquarian, and especially the geographer are so deeply indebted, and for which their gratitude is more fully merited by the army of India than by any other military body. It is however time to return to the work which we have just introduced to the notice of our readers.

In the military history of Lord Clive, with which the present volume commences, connected as it is with the general history of India, much novel or additional information cannot be expected. His splendid career was marked by a succession of fortunate enterprises which deservedly secured for him the character of a most able commander. To use the words of the great Lord Chatham, he was "a heaven-born general, who, without being versed in military affairs, had surpassed all the officers of his time," and presented an almost singular instance of a man transplanted from the counting-house to the camp, and wielding alternately, as circumstances dictated, the pen and the sword with equal ability and success. The memorable battle of Plassy, to which he was indebted for his title, and which, according to Forbes, "not only amply revenged the perfidious cruelty of the Mohammedan despot, but gave the Company power, wealth, and territory, in the finest provinces of India, where from a set of licensed foreign merchants they became sovereigns of the country," terminated the military career of Lord Clive. His conduct on this occasion was severely animadverted on by his adversaries, who pretended that their accounts of the battle were taken from the journal of Sir Eyre Coote,

then a Major commanding the third division, as read by him in the House of Commons. To rebut the charges which thus originated, the editor of the East India Military Calendar has given a detailed account of the events of that memorable day, from the pen of an officer at that time a Captain in the army, which corresponds in every material particular with that of Sir Eyre Coote, and appears moreover to indicate great military judgment on the part of Col. Clive. His arrangements for the engagement were admirable, and his conduct during the whole of it worthy of the high character which he had previously acquired; and though in its progress errors were committed by the eagerness and unmilitary conduct of the commanding officer of one of the divisions, who advanced without orders about 600 yards in front of the line, the ready genius of Col. Clive enabled him immediately to prevent the enemy from availing himself of this indiscretion, and finally carried him on to a complete and decisive victory, with a loss comparatively trifling on the part of the British. In reward for this service Col. Clive was presented by the Nabob with a jaghire of 30,000*l.* yearly; the payment of which was withheld by the East India Company on his return to England, where this unhappy man terminated his existence by his own hand, after a continuance of the most dreadful depression of spirits under which any one man ever laboured, and which has usually been attributed to occurrences in his life that did not properly fall under the cognizance of his military biographer. The military history of any individual, and especially of Lord Clive, is indeed by no means adequate to furnish a just estimate of his character.

The succeeding articles, which are dedicated to the military biographies of Major General Lawrence, who first introduced a regular discipline among the British forces in India and trained the natives in their employ to fight in the European manner; of General Caillaud, of General Carnac, of Lieut.-Col. Hartley, and of other distinguished officers, bring down the history of the wars of Hindoostan beyond the year 1770. Abounding with exploits, many of which are of the most spirited and interesting description, it is difficult to select from among so much valuable matter the most striking incidents. One instance, however, of coolness and intrepidity, which occurred at the siege of Ahmedabad, in 1780, deserves especial notice. A breach had been effected in the fort, and Lieut.-Col. Hartley led in person the column of grenadiers which followed the forlorn hope; but on reaching the foot of the breach intended to be stormed, he found that a trench had been dug during the night too wide and deep to be passed. In this critical situation, on casting his eye to the right he perceived a tower which had been breached, and the ascent, though difficult, not impracticable. With that ardour, that quickness of conception, and that *coup d'œil*, which form the leading features in a great military character, he immediately ordered the forlorn hope and column to wheel to the right, saying to them most emphatically, "Follow me, my lads!" and was himself the third or fourth man on the top of the newly discovered breach, where the British colours were immediately displayed. "Never," says the writer of the note from which these particulars are extracted, and who acted on this occasion as his aide-de-camp, "never while existence lasts will the figure of Col. Hartley, when he turned to give the word to his men, be erased from my recollection. Col. Hartley was rather above the middle size, with a handsome and gentlemanlike figure. He carried no weapon, but an Andrew Ferrara, which had belonged to his

brave brother-soldier, Capt. James Stuart, who fell mortally wounded on the advance to Poonah in the preceding January; but the dignity of his figure, the warlike spirit that flashed from his eyes, and the eagerness of his gallant soldiers to follow his orders, would have formed a grand military subject for a painter."

The services of Major Torriano, which occupy an important station in the present volume, will long be remembered with pride by our Eastern army; and his admirable and obstinate defence of the fortress of Onore towards the close of the war with Tippoo Sahib, has peculiar claims on our consideration. The account of the operations of this important siege is given at considerable length from a manuscript narrative drawn up by Mr. Cruso, an intelligent surgeon, who participated in the perils and fatigues of the besieged, and whose opportunities of acquiring a full and accurate knowledge of the whole proceedings were much increased by his having been generally employed as the medium of communication between the respective commanders. On the first of January 1783, the British batteries under the command of Capt. Torriano opened against the fort, which was taken by storm on the 6th of the same month. Being disabled, by a wound which he had received on this occasion, from proceeding with the army, Capt. Torriano was left by the unfortunate General Mathews in command of Onore and its dependencies, and the fort was at the same time constituted the grand magazine of the army. On the fall of Cundapore the stores were subsequently removed to that place, and a series of successes distinguished the progress of the British arms during that and the ensuing months, until the commencement of April. At this period, some reverses having been experienced, a sudden panic seized the army, and a council of war was held at Cundapore, by which it was decided that that post was no longer tenable. Measures were immediately taken to abandon it, though not a man of the enemy had yet made his appearance; the stores were burnt and destroyed, and the whole garrison retreated in a confused and straggling manner to Onore. Apprehensive of the bad effects which might be produced among his own garrison by this pusillanimous conduct, Capt. Torriano, who had determined to act up to the spirit of his orders by defending the fort to the last extremity, issued a general order, which declared that the first of those persons lately arrived from Cundapore who betrayed a want of the proper spirit of a soldier, should be put to death, even without the form of a Court Martial. By this vigorous step he succeeded in protecting his own troops from the panic which had seized their fellow-soldiers, whom he also had the good fortune to restore in some measure to their duty. He then made a spirited exertion to recover the artillery which had been abandoned at Cundapore; it however failed, as the whole was by this time in the possession of the enemy, into whose hands, from a want of the necessary precautions on their part, more than half of the detachment which had been employed in this expedition also unfortunately fell.

In proportion to the superior importance it derived from the losses and disgraces elsewhere incurred, and to the necessity of making preparations for a vigorous defence, the exertions of the garrison continued to increase; nor were they at all suspended in consequence of the orders which soon after arrived from the Committee for the civil government of Bednore, which directed Capt. Torriano to evacuate and demolish the fort, and to proceed with his troops to join the army at

Mangalore. To this communication the Commandant replied by urging his orders from the General, and the serious detriment which could not fail to result from his neglecting to fulfil them under existing circumstances; he therefore declined to obey the instructions thus transmitted to him, and they were subsequently so modified as to leave his proceeding entirely at his own discretion. He however despatched to Mangalore the whole of the troops which had come in from Cundapore, and prepared with the remaining garrison for the defence of the fort.

At this period, the commencement of May, the garrison of Onore amounted in the whole to 743 persons, nearly one half of whom were raw recruits from the country, and only forty-two of the remainder were Europeans. These, in order to give some confidence, were encamped near the glacis on the outside of the fort, where they awaited the arrival of the enemy, who made his appearance on the 14th of the same month, upwards of 10,000 strong, under the command of Lutoph Ally Beg, a Persian veteran officer in the service of the Nabob. Several well directed sallies annoyed the enemy on his approach, but did not prevent him from taking up a position under the walls, which he commenced cannonading on the 26th. A well directed sortie, which took place on the 14th of June, enabled the besieged to spike the cannon of their adversaries; but this spirited exploit was rendered unavailing by the speedy reparation of the works, and the operations on both sides continued with unabated vigour.

On the 1st of July a proof occurred of the expertness of the enemy's French artillerymen, which was productive of serious personal consequences to Capt. Torriano. While laying an 18 pounder in the breach during the heat of the cannonade, immediately after having stepped from behind it, on his first taking aim, a shot struck the muzzle of the gun; and just as he had moved from the second similar attempt, the trunnion was grazed by a second shot; however, as the gun still remained serviceable, though moved from the direction given, he made a third effort, in doing which, a shot struck the cross-iron that is bedded in the cap squares of the carriage, and carried off the coils, which taking him across the breast, inflicted on him a very severe wound. From this time until the 25th of August, the enemy's fire was kept up almost daily with great activity, and did considerable damage to the works; to repair which the continual attention of both officers and men was required, which was given with such laudable alacrity, that the ruined defences were generally rendered before the next morning not merely respectable, but even in many cases additionally strengthened.

By this zealous perseverance the enemy was prevented from gaining any advantage during the three months through which his cannonade was maintained; and he subsequently changed his plan of operations on receiving intelligence that a cessation of hostilities had been agreed on between Tippoo Sultaun and the Commander-in-Chief, in which Onore was included. By this it was arranged that all operations should be suspended, and that every thing should remain in the then existing state; that the garrison of Onore should be furnished monthly with provisions from Bombay, and that a market should be daily supplied to the fort. With these equitable arrangements Lutoph Ally Beg did not, however, think fit to comply; and by the obstacles which he opposed to the introduction of provisions, the siege was converted almost into a

blockade. No communication was allowed to pass, except through his hands; and while he prevented, by the most vigilant attention, the least attempt at repairing any of the damage sustained by the cannonade, even within the fort, he not only strengthened his own intrenchments, but even took possession of several posts which had been previously left unoccupied, and actually assaulted and captured Fortified Island, within sight of the garrison. In vain did Capt. Torriano remonstrate against these violations of the treaty; shuffling excuses, apologies, and the whole train of wily artifices which disgrace the diplomacy of Eastern courts, were resorted to, but no beneficial result was derived from his repeated applications. Famine and disease began now to cause dreadful havoc among the small garrison, from which daily desertions took place; and it appeared to be the determination of the Sultan's General, to weary out the perseverance of the Commandant. By similar means the officer commanding at Mangalore was induced to surrender that important station; and this intelligence was forwarded by Lutolph Ally Beg to Capt. Torriano, with an offer of the same terms, provided he also would capitulate. To this summons, that officer replied "that it was wholly incompatible with British honour to surrender a post while it was tenable, and that Onore would be held while there was a horse, a dog, or a rat, living in it." This food the garrison was, in fact, reduced to at the commencement of 1784: rats were roasting in all quarters of the town; and when any cavalry horse was near death, his throat was ordered to be cut, and his flesh preserved for food. Salted buffalo's and horse flesh mixed was the best diet which could be procured for the troops, who were now reduced to about sixty effective men; and a dish of the same was constantly served at the table of the commanding officer. From this distressing situation they were not relieved until the 16th of March, when Capt. Torriano received orders to deliver up the place, under the treaty which had then been concluded. These instructions were willingly obeyed; and having succeeded, by very decisive measures, in rescuing the whole of the Brahmans who had taken refuge in the fort from the dreadful fate which would have awaited them, had they been left behind to the tender mercies of Tippos Sahib, he landed at Bombay with the remains of his garrison, 238 in number, sick included, on the 18th of April, having lost, during the eleven months of the siege, by death, desertion, &c., 505.

The novelty of most of the details of this brave and gallant defence, and the spirited and judicious conduct of the able officer who commanded, have insensibly led us into greater length than we had contemplated, in noticing its more prominent features. We must, therefore, hasten to call the attention of the reader to a few of the more striking points which are comprised in the remainder of the volume, but must not omit to notice that Major Torriano, on his return to England, presented to the Court of Directors a memorial in defence of the Indian army under the command of General Mathews, from the charges of wanton cruelty and barbarity which had been brought against them in the Annual Register for 1783, which is given in a note to his memoirs; and is stated to have been perfectly satisfactory to Mr. Burke, who expressed considerable regret at having so hastily given publicity to this offensive matter, which he promised to take the earliest opportunity of contradicting. An extract of a communication from Lieut.-Col. Gordon to the editor, which is ap-

pendent as a note to the biography of that gallant officer, also fully contradicts the statements in the article referred to, relative to the barbarities which are there detailed as having accompanied the storming of Annantapoor. So far from "four hundred beautiful women, pierced with the bayonet, and expiring in one another's arms," being "in this situation treated by the British with every kind of outrage;" Col. Gordon declares that "not a woman lost her life within the garrison excepting one old woman and a child, who were accidentally wounded on the first fire from the forlorn hope, after forcing the second gateway." It is pleasing to see, even at this distance of time, these calumnies thus completely rebutted; and these replies cannot be too frequently repeated, nor too widely circulated, since the human mind is so readily and deeply imbued by detraction that it is all times difficult to obliterate its impressions.

Passing over the distinguished services of Lieut.-General Brown, Major-General Burrell, Col. Pearse, Sir Barry Close, and many other highly meritorious officers, which our space prevents us from noticing, we stop for a moment at a singular circumstance which is mentioned in the memoir of Sir David Ogilby, and which can scarcely, we believe, be paralleled in the history of European warfare. At the siege of Cotampallum, the garrison of which amounted in numerical strength to twelve times that of the detachment sent against it, which this gallant officer commanded, two Poligar princes, affected friends to the English interest, but whose troops actually held the place for the Sultaun, came without leave of admission into the lines, to pay, as they alleged, a visit to the English officer. Conversing, however, without reserve in his presence in the Tamul language, in which, unluckily for them, Sir David Ogilby was a proficient, their astonishment was great when they found themselves arrested as spies and traitors; and orders were given for their execution, by being blown from the three-pounder piece of ordnance, precisely at seven o'clock the next morning, unless the fort had previously surrendered at discretion. It is almost unnecessary to add that this bold stroke was productive of the desired effect.

The services of Major-General Beatson, which were chiefly directed to the engineer department, and in which he displayed talents that have seldom been exceeded, are given with considerable detail, and merit the conspicuous station which they occupy. To him was Lord Cornwallis indebted for that important discovery which induced a total change in the mode of attack on the strong position of Bangalore, and which occurring at a period when nearly the whole of the ammunition had been expended without effect, was then the means of achieving its conquest in twenty-four hours with a very trifling loss on the part of the besiegers. By this fortunate circumstance many lives were saved, the siege incalculably expedited, and the army was released from the constant harassing to which it was exposed from that of Tippoo Sultaun, which continually hovered around the English lines. In the glorious and decisive campaign of 1799, the merits of Major Beatson were equally conspicuous. Not only was the plan which he presented, and which pointed to the reduction of Seringapatam as the first and immediate object of the campaign, approved by Lord Mornington, to whose previously conceived ideas on the subject it was opposed; but the attack of that important fortress was conducted in conformity with his advice. The Madras and Bombay engineers had presented a different plan for the operations against that

stupendous fortification, which was set aside in favour of that of Major Beatson; and few men would have possessed like him that moral energy which strengthened him to undertake the sole responsibility of a mode of attack which was opposed to the opinions of those men to whose hands its execution was necessarily intrusted. The complete success, however, which attended it, amply demonstrated its excellence; and gratifying as the result was to all who had a share in that gallant struggle, to the heart of Major Beatson it must have been productive of a triumph which amply recompensed him for his previous anxiety. Subsequently to this period, this able officer was not engaged in active service, although he was still most beneficially employed in new modelling the East India Company's establishment at St. Helena, in which command he conducted himself in a manner worthy of the high character he had always maintained. The Report, from his own pen, of "the operations of the right column in the attack upon Tippoo Sultan's fortified camp on the night of the 6th of February 1792," which is appended to his memoir, contains much interesting detail, and develops the real cause of the failure of that well conceived enterprise, which appears to have been entirely owing to an error in the wording of the orders, to the letter of which, Col. Nesbitt, in opposition to Major Beatson, obstinately persisted in adhering.

The services of Major-General Goddard, of Major D'Aguilar to whose gallant exertions was chiefly owing the progress made by the British arms in Java, and of Lieut.-Col. Nugent, are strongly calculated to excite the attention of all who feel an interest in the affairs of India; but for these we are compelled to refer to the work itself. The defence however of Delhi, by Major-General Burn, requires to be briefly noticed, and will always be regarded by military men as a most successful effort of united skill and fortitude. A mere sketch of the nature of the place will sufficiently illustrate the untenable nature of this city, the walls of which are upwards of ten miles in circumference, the whole much decayed, and were never intended to be used as defences; yet this immense extent was successfully maintained by a comparatively trifling force, until the siege was raised by the approach of the grand army, against nearly 20,000 men with a full train of artillery, which was employed with almost incessant activity. This gallant defence well merited the approbation which it still continues to receive, and which should always accompany such spirited and unabating firmness as was displayed during its course.

Here, however, we must pause; and, after exhibiting to the European reader a sketch of some of the difficulties attendant on the march of an Indian army, which will also be strongly exemplified by referring to the original and authentic details of the retreat of the detachment under Brigadier-General Monson, which concludes the volume, proceed to close this notice. A detachment of the army under the command of Col. Leslie, after crossing the Jumna, arrived, at the end of five hours' march, at the only well which had been seen on the road; the spirits of the troops became instantly cheered with hope, but they were doomed to further suffering, as the well was found to be quite dry. Proceeding on its march in this distressed condition, the intense heat of the sun, with scorching hot winds on a dry extensive plain, was dreadful; and nearly fifty sepoy and followers of the camp perished from the want of water. Some of the wells at which they arrived about noon had been stopped up, and others poisoned, by the enemy; fortunately however this was not the case with

all, and the detachment halted from its fatigues. Upwards of twenty officers fell sick in consequence of this day's march; Captain James Crawford, one of the best officers in the army, died raving mad, and three or four others died a few days after, from the same cause. The thermometer was from 114° to 120° in the tents, notwithstanding thick linings and a large fly five or six feet from the tent.

We have now, as far as the limited space to which we are necessarily restricted will allow, passed in review some of the most considerable and interesting of the biographical notices contained in the present volume, and have also, by compressing as much as possible several of the curious details with which it abounds, endeavoured to introduce our readers to a more intimate acquaintance with the valuable stores which it comprises. From these brief sketches, some judgment may be formed of the variety and importance of the matter which the editor has collected together from private as well as public sources of information. The novelty which attaches to many of the details given in this work, as well as the authenticity which is stamped upon them by the character of the men on whose authority they rest, must give it a peculiar value in the eyes of the historian; while the brilliant exploits of which it is destined to perpetuate the memory, cannot fail to stimulate the young aspirant after professional fame, to emulate the gallantry and conduct of those whose glorious deeds are here recorded.

It will be seen by a reference to the title, that the editor has confined himself to notices of the "General and Field Officers" of the Indian Army; but we are happy to perceive that he purposes speedily to publish a third volume, which shall contain, in addition to the services of the Field officers not yet given, those also of the Captains who have most particularly distinguished themselves, many of whom, we well know, have fully merited the honour of a station in such a work, by the side of officers who have attained to a higher rank in the service.

ON MY GRAY HAIRS.

My night-complexioned locks are tinged with snow,
 But not through years; nor know I other cause,
 Unless pale thought Time's livery doth bestow,
 Forestalling Age's pity-lacking laws.
 Yet can't I quench the hope my soul that draws
 To search for fame about oblivion's stream,
 Whose banks, just like the footing of a dream,
 The sluggish current ever wastes and gnaws.
 And as Pelides, in Scamander's flood,
 Retreating, battled with the angry wave,
 So strives my pen to rear some slight abode
 To house my name, when the devouring grave
 Shall over me and all my friends have strode
 With haughty foot that tramples down the brave.

BRON.

ASIATIC JOURNAL—LIBEL ON LORD HASTINGS AND OTHERS.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,—In the Asiatic Journal, for November, I have seen a letter signed “JUSTITIA,”—the continuation of some former correspondence with you.

With those portions of its spiteful contents which concern you personally, it is none of my business to meddle: you are *possibly* able, and probably willing enough to defend yourself, at this time of day, against the second-hand abuse of second-rate slandermongers.

Neither do I consider it worth the while, or becoming the station, of any freeborn and free-hearted Englishman, to waste argument or notice on the unworthy opinions disclosed by this degenerate countryman. In the East Indies, in the baleful service of the Company, and under such Despots as your ADAMS and AMHERSTS, it may be the fashion to think that simple “*contumacy*” on the part of any subject towards any “*Government*,” is at all times a crime *per se*,¹—without reference to who is right and who wrong. It may be *there* allowable to hold, that Englishmen in civil life should be “*sent about their business*”² for treating “*orders of their SUPERIORS (!)* with contempt:”—that it is criminal in so mean a creature as a British Free Mariner³ to set up his pretended dignity in opposition to the opinions or mandates of the delegated administration of a British Dependency:—that “*apparent contempt*” for such “*LEGITIMATE authority*” is irreverence⁴ towards God!!!—that a religious, because a *legitimate-revering* Journal, like the Asiatic, is justified in the pious fraud of falsely reporting a rival’s speech.⁵ If such doctrines be the fashion under the India Company’s system, I can but say that the Company and their system, which breeds such principles and such men, are a nuisance in a free state, and cannot too speedily be abated.

But my immediate business, Mr. Editor, is with the conclusion of this letter. The writer, unknown it is true, and only to be guessed at from his warm defence of the Court’s notorious despatch of the 28th November 1821⁶—this professed abhorrer of all “*anonymous appeals involving slander on individuals, and unfounded calumny*,”⁷ has not scrupled to indite and publish the following atrocious and actionable libels on the Marquis of Hastings, Mr. and Captain Russell, Sir Wm. Rumbold, Dr. Lamb, Messrs. Hastings and William Palmer.

I heartily congratulate the Proprietors in having a Court of Directors who have manfully and fearlessly exposed and reprobated the *shameful intrigues* which the Hyderabad Papers disclose. I single out no individual—BE HE HIGH OR LOW—who may have taken a part in the business. It appears to be of a *most nefarious character*; and whether one party is to blame or another, all I care about is, that the Court of Directors should set their faces against such measures, in a manner so decided, that it shall be a guide to all future Governments to avoid lending

¹ Asiatic Journ. p. 553. ² p. 552. ³ p. 553. ⁴ p. 552. ⁵ *ibid.*

⁶ P. 70, Hyderabad Papers; not the 1st Nov. as erroneously quoted in Asiatic Journal, p. 553.

⁷ p. 553.

themselves to the *insidious* representations of interested parties, imbued with a *cupidity* that would WRING THE HEART'S BLOOD FROM THE POOR Native Prince⁸ whose coffers were doomed to be the prey of such USURIOUS VULTURES.

I am not so unreasonable as to expect the assent of a single reader to my anonymous declaration of individual opinion concerning the transactions or the men, thus spoken of by this most foul-mouthed calumniator. But of the Hyderabad Papers, multiplied copies are in circulation among the Proprietors of India stock, and their friends; the questions are of great public interest, likely to become matter of Parliamentary discussion in both houses;—and it is in the power of almost every one to get access to these papers. I do therefore earnestly entreat those who desire to think and judge for themselves, to withhold all manner of belief and confidence from the slanderous and libellous denunciations in this manifesto; from the demi-official press of the ruling party in the Direction. I entreat them, by their love of justice towards so many men; towards the absent, the oppressed, the ruined,—to read and judge for themselves. I have no fear of the result; being persuaded that no honest and *unbiassed* man can read this volume through, without being fully satisfied of the innocence of the accused on *all* the material points, and of the guilt, madness, or folly of their oppressors, the late and present Government of Bengal.

But those who would read the Papers to advantage, must do so with perseverance; as they go along, they must make their own notes and references:—for, with felicitous carelessness, the editors of this fearful-sized volume have *omitted* to smooth the reader's rugged path by such aids of indexes and references as might tempt perusal, and take off something of forbiddingness. It was *no* part of their object so to do.

The essence of the infamous charges countenanced by the majority against the individuals particularized before, is specified with concentrated venom in the quotation from the Asiatic Journal recited before. The shufflings and affectations about "HIGH and low," "naming no *individual*," "teaching FUTURE governments," &c. are quite needless; the innuendoes of the libeller are plain enough. They wound, inasmuch as it is profoundly humiliating to those against whom they are anonymously levelled, to have been subjected to such assaults of the base and vulgar, even when unsuccessful.

But if a perusal of the Papers shall fully prove to general satisfaction the *converse* of all the assertions against the Marquis of Hastings, and the other gentlemen, what will be the consequence to all parties, accusers and accused?

1. If it shall be demonstrated, in respect to the Marquis of Hastings, that he did not spend one shilling of his ward's fortune; that he did not approve, but discouraged, her husband (Sir W. Rumbold's) joining the Hyderabad Bank; that he sanctioned no transaction of that house with the Nizam, but for public ends—*bonâ fide*, to benefit that state, and strengthen the alliance:

⁸ This *poor* Native Prince is a personage whom the Resident at Hyderabad himself declares to have a hoard of private treasure not surpassed by any Monarch in Europe, not a rupee of which would he suffer to be touched for any purpose but to minister to his private pleasures. His public coffers were emptied by his own minister, Chundoo Loll, whom the East India Company's Government had fixed on this *poor* Prince for their benefit rather than his own.

2. If it shall be proved with respect to the Resident, Mr. Russell,⁹ that he is innocent of any connexion, combination, or other unworthy or concealed acts, in dereliction of his duty; that he did not promote the advantage of the bank under colour of public good; that he was a most deserving and able servant; and, in the most trying times, through his energy, backed by the sinews of war furnished from this bank, did cause a disaffected ally to render all the service of a zealous friend:—

3. If it be made to appear, incontrovertibly, with respect to the bank of Palmer and Co., at Hyderabad, that their transactions were fair, honourable, above-board, beneficial in an eminent degree to the Nizam's country and government, by creating and organizing public credit; by lowering the general and ancient rates of usance; by introducing largely the consumption of British manufactures, and by sinking vast sums in opening new channels for the produce of the country; that their conduct was even signally patriotic and most beneficial to the British Government, in the critical moment of a general native confederacy against England, by their large and hazardous advances of funds, without which the Nizam's regular troops could not have moved, or been kept embodied; far less have co-operated so effectually as they did in all Lord Hastings's military operations; that the loan so gratuitously assumed to be fictitious, was real, its interest and bonus reasonable in rate, and equitable in principle, under due advertence to time, place, and like transactions, in England and elsewhere:—

IF ALL THIS CAN BE PROVED from the Papers before the public, and there is no doubt but it will be so proved, what will that English public then say to those rulers abroad who have, nevertheless, first calumniated the Marquis of Hastings and Mr. Russell, or encouraged their being calumniated behind their backs; and, following that up in a blind and mad career of persecution, proceeded, step by step, 1st, to cut down, arbitrarily, and ex post facto, the contracts of the bank to an assumed standard of English interest on a doubtful point of law; 2d, to forfeit their own pledged security; 3d, to interdict all intercourse between the bank and its great state debtors; 4th, to inhibit the said debtors from paying acknowledged and guaranteed balances which they were honourably ready to discharge; 5th, to outlaw the bank, by proclaiming it out of the pale of British countenance and protection; 6th, to proscribe and banish the European partners, without trial, or without giving decent time for winding up their vast concerns of a million and a half; and, 7th, to expel the native partners, by force or influence, from the territories of a nominally independent ally!

The close of this eventful history may easily be anticipated. It ended, a few months ago, as it could not but end—in the bankruptcy of the firm, involving not only the total ruin of the unfortunate and persecuted partners,¹⁰ but an infinite destruction of property, in the persons of numerous creditors and constituents, European and native.

It is not the least remarkable feature in this memorable and successful campaign of might against right, to see their creditors and trustees

⁹ His convincing and most eloquent Vindication, with the forcible Memorial of Mr. William Palmer, are in print also, and form essential portions of the evidence on these Hyderabad questions.

¹⁰ See the Courier newspaper for December 1824, in which have been advertised meetings of the creditors and trustees at Hyderabad; their strong resolutions, &c.

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assembling and condoling with their bankrupt debtors, assuring them of undiminished confidence and esteem, even after the house was irretrievably crushed—actually voting, out of the little divisible property and scanty funds, gratuities and allowances to the unfortunate partners, and finally declaring, on a review of assets and debts, that the firm was fully solvent, and possessed a large surplus of 140,000*l.* if the Nizam's Government were not forcibly prevented from paying its just and admitted debts.—This too, under the very nose of "their superior,"¹ the jealous Resident, the party mainly concerned in the tragedy, and possessed of the irresponsible power to deprive of employment, and "*send about his business*"² every refractory resolutioner and protester, who should not sit down contented with the loss of his property.

It will be seen that the above view of this Hyderabad story differs *not a little* from that given to the world by the majority of the Directors, and now bitterly re-echoed in their Asiatic Journal. This view, nevertheless, is the true one—fully supported by the Papers; and whatever may be said *now* by *House-list* majorities of voters at Leadenhall-street, when the question is tried, *this* is the view that will be taken of their odious and disgraceful violences, by those who come after us, and who are likely to judge more impartially, perhaps.

In these Hyderabad Papers, one looks in vain to discover the secret motive for so much cruelty and persevering oppression. Was it fatuity—was it madness—was it wickedness—on the part of Governor ADAM and his followers in and out of Council? *They are all of them India Company's civil servants*: they seem to have taken every thing in trust from their partial and prejudiced fellow-servant the Resident; to have examined into no facts; scrutinized no accounts.³ Judging by dates, they seem even to have hurried on one of their most frightful decisions,⁴ and most indecently partial Reports to the Directors, *after the arrival of Lord AMHERST*, but before he assumed the government, as if to preclude the new Governor-General from going into the merits of the question at issue, or from interposing to prevent the oppressive deportation of the European partners, a matter of prerogative, resting not with the majority of Council, but with the Governor-General *for the time being*.

They might have saved appearances, and spared their breathless haste, if they had better known their man. His Lordship appears to have been speedily bitten by his rabid associates; to have joined full cry in the hunt; and to have come gallantly in at the death.⁵

IF ALL THIS BE PROVED, will the citizens of London—will bankers and merchants, or any who appreciate the importance of holding property sacred in a free commercial state like England—will they endure that such governor, councillors, and public officers, &c. &c. shall remain

¹ See *Justitia's Letter*, p. 552.

² *Ibid.*

³ See the unanswerable and pithy protests of Messrs. Pattison, Elphinstone, Daniell, and Mills, p. 395, Hyderabad Papers.

⁴ On the accounts of W. Palmer & Co. See *Hyd. Pap.* 589—701.

⁵ In justice, however, to even an incapable Ruler, it must be noticed that the main acts of atrocity towards W. Palmer & Co., and, in particular, the transporting of the partners, are not Lord Amherst's doing, but the undivided honour belongs to Governor ADAM, a gentleman who has acquired sufficient notoriety in this line of business. My Lord, however, soon showed himself an apt pupil, emulous of his Teacher and Predecessor's glory, in the case of poor Mr. Arnot.

in possession of power, to play these fantastic tricks with the PROPERTY, to say nothing of the PERSONS of their fellow-subjects, in the remote East? Will they be satisfied with procuring the removal of the individual despots, without also destroying the despotism? Will they tolerate that powers, useless for any honest purpose to a just administration, but shown to be susceptible of such mischievous abuse in the hands of infuriated or infatuated party spirits—shall be any longer intrusted to men virtually irresponsible, from remoteness, and from the costliness of judicial redress?

It is indeed high time to establish some check of public opinion by the press, whether by institutions and corporations, or by infusion of other elements than Company's servants into the Indian councils; such deeds of darkness as are here disclosed could scarcely have occurred where there was any fear of the local community's opinion.

Yet be it well remembered, when the hour of reckoning arrives, that only four out of twenty-four Directors appear, from these Papers, to have testified disgust or abhorrence of the abominable proceedings of their servants abroad. Frenzy and party violence in the councils of the Directors seem to have well kept pace with the precipitation of Governor ADAM—a name now become associated, during a very brief possession of supreme power, with two or three memorable things in the annals of Indian pro-consular tyranny.

But no press—no institutions—no courts—can avail; nor can property and industry ever be truly secure, so long as the awful power of arbitrary and summary banishment is allowed to remain with the executive abroad, while no available mode of easy and cheap redress against its abuses exists at home. This flagrant case of the dispersion of innocent partners, and the compulsory bankruptcy of a vast establishment, as exhibited in the Hyderabad Papers, shows to what disgraceful purposes arbitrary power HAS BEEN perverted by wickedness once, and may be again, by incapacity or weakness. Whether we are to profit by the experience, remains to be seen.

I conclude with a few words to the slanderer whose letter has given rise to this defence of those against whom he has gallantly endeavoured to sharpen public prejudice, by aggravating and exaggerating, as far as the language of "gentlemanly tirade" can do so, the ridiculous, insulting, but self-disgracing abuse of the majority among the Directors.

The words shall be taken from his own letter:

Let the galled jade wince, and not complain if he now winces under the chastisement given him in an anonymous mode, the principle of which he has himself vindicated, whatsoever slander upon individuals it involved, or however unfounded the calumny.—p. 533.

A FRIEND TO THE ABSENT.

NOTE.

It was intended to have given a detailed reply to the tirade of JUSTITIA, in our present number: as well as to present the readers of this work with an analytical review of Captain Seely's late volume, entitled 'A Voice from India';—the writers of both these productions deserving to be associated, for the equality of their talents, and the similarity of their views. The unexpected and protracted illness of the Editor, which has prevented the accomplishment of many other intended labours, compels him to defer this also to a future opportunity. The delay is, perhaps, of less importance in this, than in any other case; from the little probability of such writings, as those adverted to, making any unfavourable impression; or exciting any other sensations than those of pity for the feelings, and contempt for the understandings, of their authors.

TO THE WANING MOON.

UPON the dusky wave
 Thy crescent plays,
 What time the silent Night
 Flies through heaven's lofty ways,
 Like a mute Turkish slave,
 Before the Morning bright.

'Tis sweet to see thy horn
 In sky serene,
 When crowding stars appear,
 Thick as, in Autumn seen,
 The golden ears adorn
 The quick retreating year.

We see thy changeful face
 Grow bright or pale;
 And feel the link of time
 Drawing us to the vale,
 With unrelaxing pace,
 Whence none can backward climb.

Yet, yet we love thy light,
 Auspicious Moon!
 And landscapes tinged by thee;
 Nor does the flaming noon
 Of Summer, put to flight
 Thy gentle memory.

Perchance, old fables may
 Increase the glow
 Of what we feel at night;
 And thou to Dian's brow
 Owe half the silver ray
 That makes thy look so bright.

If so, I love thee more,
 Neglected Queen!
 Whose thousand altars smoked
 In Hellas,—sacred scene!
 Where lovely dames of yore,
 Thy *nymen* chaste invoked.

BROW.

ON THE CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION OF IRELAND.

To the Editor of the *Oriental Herald*.

SIR,—I have read in the public prints of this day, with no small satisfaction, the spirited, yet orderly proceedings of the *Catholic Association*, at Dublin, on the 9th instant. He must be, indeed, unworthy the name of Protestant, (if that name imply a regard to what is just and reasonable,) or rather would exemplify the spirit of Popery in its worst times, who should withhold from the Catholics of Britain and Ireland, his best wishes for the successful assertion of their too long disregarded claims to the rights and immunities of free citizens.

The purpose, however, for which I now refer to the proceedings of the *Association*, is to notice a passage in the eloquent and argumentative speech of Mr. Devereux. That gentleman remarks, that "in every reign, from Cromwell downward, the British ambassador has had specific instructions to protect the Protestants."

I was immediately reminded of the highly-eminant protection, not only of English Protestants in France, but also of French Protestants themselves, which, though so honourable to the reign of Cromwell, has been, so far as I have observed, unnoticed by republican or royalist historians. I refer to the secret articles of the "Treaty of Peace between the Kingdom of France and the Republic of England, Scotland and Ireland; done at Westminster, the 3d of November, 1655." The contracting parties were "Louis XIV. the most Christian King of France and Navarre, and the most serene and potent Lord Protector of the Republic," &c. I have the treaty, translated, no doubt, from the Latin of Milton, in 'A General Collection of Treaties,' 1732, vol. iii. p. 149.—The seven secret articles, in French, appear to have escaped the researches, even of Dr. Harris, the biographer of Cromwell and the Stuarts. I find them in an 'Appendix to Political Essays,' 1701, by Charles Davenant. The two concluding articles were as follows:

"Art. VI.—Qu'en toutes les villes et bourgs de ce royaume, où il y aura des havres et des ports, la nation Angloise y aura commerce, et y pourra faire bastir des temples pour l'exercice de la religion, et sera permis aux Francois de la religion, qui y seront aux environs, d'y faire prescher en Francois." That in all the cities and towns of the kingdom, where there are harbours and ports, the English nation shall carry on commerce, and may erect temples for the exercise of their religion, and that the French of the religion, residing in the neighbourhood, may have preaching there, in French.

"Art. VII.—Que les Edits de Janvier et de Nantes seront executez selon leurs formes et teneurs, et toute la nation Angloise demeurera caution pour l'execution des dits Edits." That the Edicts of January and of Nantes shall be executed according to their full import, and that the whole English nation shall be a perpetual guarantee for the execution of those Edicts.

The Edict of Nantes, which was finally verified in 1599, is well known, especially from the injury to France and the advantage to England, occasioned by its impolitic revocation. What was the Edict of January, I cannot ascertain. Sully (b. 1.) mentions as "the famous Edict of July," under Hen. III., one of a very different tendency, wherein all the Huguenots were ordered, either to go to mass, or to leave the country in six

months." The Edict of January, named no doubt, from the month of its registration, might be "the Edict of sixty-three Articles" in 1576; by which, according to Sully, "chambers of justice, composed equally of Protestants and Catholics, were granted in the principal parliaments;" an equitable provision, which may furnish a seasonable hint to *Protestant* legislators for *Catholic* Ireland. Yet it is to be feared that Protestant legislators will be the last among Protestants to discern *the signs of the times*. The reign, however, of the *Peels* and the *Eldons* cannot be endless.

A CATHOLIC PROTESTANT.

Dec. 14, 1824.

ORDERS OF THE DIRECTORS, TO APPEAL AGAINST ALL JUDICIAL
DECISIONS AGAINST THEIR GOVERNORS IN INDIA.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,—A discussion arose a few days ago in a company of East Indians, out of the case of the Bombay merchant, Cursetjee Monackjee; and, although you have already given much attention to this case, yet as what I am about to submit to you, extends to subjects not confined to that matter, you will, perhaps, kindly endeavour to find room for my present communication.

A civilian of the company was at a loss to discover the good grounds on which the Judge, who last tried the cause, complimented the present Government of Bombay, at the expense of the Government under whom the transaction took place. It was contended that the then Government acted on the legal opinion of their established law officers, on the legal construction of a legal instrument, and that such Government had scarcely an option as to the line of conduct adopted towards Cursetjee Monackjee. And it was farther contended, that if the present Government should persevere in their apprehended intention of appealing the cause to the King in Council—after three trials at bar, all given against the East India Company—the eulogy of the Judge who last tried it (then ignorant, as it may be supposed, of such intended appeal) will be proved to be undeserved.

Be this as it may, another of the company made the following assertion (and this is the immediate cause of my troubling you), viz. that the Indian Governments have no choice in cases of this kind given against them in the Supreme Courts; that the positive orders of the Court of Directors are, to appeal all such cases *to the King in Council*, without considering their merits or any other point connected with them.

Several of the company believed this to be true. I am disposed to doubt it. I will admit that formerly, in Bombay, when there was no higher a civil-tribunal than the Mayor's Court, (and in earlier days possibly at the other Presidencies of India also,) such orders were binding on the Bombay Government;—but I cannot believe that, with the extended jurisdiction and superior respectability of the present Courts, such orders can continue to exist.

The point resolves itself into this—If the present Government of Bombay be actually subject to such general instructions, no blame can rest with that Government on the ground of its obedience, in so appealing the case in question:—the blame, if any, rests elsewhere. But if such general instructions do now bind all, or either, of the Governments of India, are they in accordance with the common principles of English law and equity? Have they, in their spirit, a reasonable respect to the Supreme Courts of Judicature now established at all the Presidencies of India? Ought such instructions to continue to exist?

If you, Sir, possess the means of informing the public on the matters indicated in the preceding paragraph, you will render an acceptable service to many of your readers. If you do not, some of your legal or other correspondents may, perhaps, afford us satisfactory information.

I remain, Sir, yours obediently,

A. Z.

NOTE OF THE EDITOR.

WE have no knowledge whatever of the existence of such an order as that adverted to by our inquiring Correspondent; but we shall be glad to learn from those who may be able to offer accurate information on this subject, and, when possessed of the fact, we shall be the better prepared to offer an opinion on its consequences and effects.

TO MY FIRST-BORN.

I think of thee with many fears,
For what may be thy lot in future years.
WORDSWORTH.

SAD welcome to thee, sinless child!
Sad welcome to this land of grief!
Alas! the thorns that strew the wild
May make thy path as sad as brief;
While pleasure's meteors cross thy way,
And lead thy weary feet astray!

With sighs I hail thy presence here,
Nor hope nor joy my bosom warms;
Who gave thee to this world so drear,
May see thee in its darkest storms;
May hear thee curse thine hour of birth,
And mourn thy pilgrimage on earth!

Short course thy father's years have sped,
But not untainted in their flow;
The shades that Time's dark wake bespread
Are marked with hues of varied woe;—
I dare not, sweet one, hope for thee
A fate from kindred sorrow free!

To my First-born.

True, that on life's bright-dawning day
 Is shed a spotless beam from heaven,
 And purity and rapture play
 Around the home by fond love given,—
 But, oh! how soon such scene is clouded,
 Such bright, but short-lived beam enshrouded!

Ah, yes! e'en Childhood's holy smile
 Fades like the glow by rainbow worn,
 And Grief's big gems have hung the while,
 Like dewdrops on the rose of morn,—
 Those bend, yet nurse the tender flower;
 But Sorrow's dews have sterner power!

Darling! by many a pang endeared!
 Sweet bud of life! so passing fair!
 Though 'neath Love's fostering smiles thou'rt reared,
 My sad heart throbs with bodings drear;
 That fell Misfortune's blast of doom
 May blight thee in maturer bloom!

Joy's halo circles o'er thine head;
 No thrill is thine of grief refined;
 No thoughts of doubt and anguish bred
 Raise the dark phantoms of the mind:
 'Tis well on entrance here below
 We little dream the future's woe!

Awhile beneath the morning ray
 Content and innocence shall glow;
 But, oh! when *these*, as soon they may,
 Shall leave thee to a world of woe,
 How changed will be thy bosom's feelings,
 How dim thine eye now bliss revealing!

A grief-proof shield hadst thou, my boy!
 Did aught avail the fondest prayer;
 But vain the wish! for when hath Joy
 Withstood the venom'd shafts of Care?
 And all parental love may gain,
 Is but to soothe the throbs of pain!

But yet if brighter star be thine,
 Than on thy father's morn did glow,
 My heart shall own that hope is mine,
 A sweet and holy peace shall know,—
 Like the storm-troubled billow's rest,
 When sinks the light breeze on its breast!

Camberwell.

D. L. R.

DEBATE AT THE EAST INDIA HOUSE.

[THE severe and continued illness of the Editor prevented his being present on the occasion of the debate at the India House, of which the following is a report; a circumstance to which no material importance is meant to be attached, but which is nevertheless adverted to, for the purpose of explaining what might otherwise appear to indicate indifference to the issue of the principal questions there discussed: as well to account for the absence of those notes and comments on the speeches of the several members, with which it is his wish and intention to accompany all the reports of public proceedings, which may take place either in the India House or in Parliament, where prejudices and fallacies are made to pass current for sound opinions and truth.]

On Wednesday, December 22d, a Quarterly General Court of Proprietors was held at the India House.

The CHAIRMAN took the Chair at 12 o'clock, and, the minutes of the last Court having been read, laid before the Court an account of Stock, per computation, up to March 1824, as regarded this country, and March 1823, as regarded India.

The CHAIRMAN then presented an estimate of the actual expense of the East India Volunteers, for the last year, ending August 1824, and for the ensuing year, ending August 1825. For the former the sum was 4,795*l.* 5*s.*; for the latter, 3,128*l.*

In answer to a question from Mr. R. JACKSON, the Chairman stated that the number of men was 700.

The CHAIRMAN moved that the Court do agree to a resolution of the Court of Directors of the 15th inst., declaring a dividend of 5*½* per cent. on the Company's capital stock, for the half year commencing on the 5th of July last, and ending on the 5th of January next.—Carried unanimously.

THE MARQUIS OF HASTINGS.

The CHAIRMAN.—I have the honour to inform the Court, that two days ago, the Court of Directors received a letter from the Marquis of Hastings, dated Malta, the 22d of October; in consequence of which, they came to a resolution, to lay before the Court of Proprietors certain papers. Perhaps, I can best inform the Court of the nature of those papers, by calling your attention to the resolution of the Court of Directors; which, is as follows, "Resolved, that, agreeably to the request of the Marquis of Hastings, contained in a letter written by his Lordship, and dated Malta, October 22, the Political Despatch, from Bengal, dated March 13, 1816; together with the documents and papers referred to

therein, be printed, for the use of the Court of Proprietors, and also, that a letter, written by his Lordship, to Col. Baillie, be added thereto." These papers will be printed, and laid before the Court, together with other papers relating to the Marquis of Hastings.

Mr. D. KINNAIRD.—Sir, I do not wish to appear to do any thing impertinent, but I feel myself called upon to say a few words on the present occasion. The Court will recollect that, in June last, a motion was made for the printing of a letter, which had already been printed and circulated by the Marquis of Hastings, together with other papers. On my return to town, at the end of October, or the beginning of November, I found that those papers had not yet been printed. The Marquis of Hastings's letter having been once printed, might certainly have been reprinted in the course of a week; and the other papers consisted only of two letters of instruction to the Resident at Lucknow. Six months have been occupied in the printing of these short documents. I, therefore, merely wish to know, whether there is any prospect that these papers will take less time to print than the others? If any information can be given on that point, it will be some satisfaction; for, really, if they take as long to be printed as the others, it is impossible to say when the subject to which they refer, can be brought before the Court.

The CHAIRMAN.—The Court will be pleased to recollect, that the resolution of this Court in June was not confined only to those papers, which the hon. Proprietor has particularly mentioned, but also included others, which it was not in the power of the Court of Directors to lay before the Court of Proprietors, without the sanction of the Board of Commissioners for managing the affairs of India; they being in the secret department. The Court of Di-

rectors made application to the Board of Commissioners, through the medium of their Secret Committee, for permission to produce the papers in question, and that application was met by a negative; of which notification was given to the Court of Proprietors. But while the matter was pending, and until the answer of the Board of Control had been received, the Court of Directors thought it inexpedient to put forth any part of the papers. So far from there being any ground for complaint, the hon. Proprietor must permit me to say, that every attention possible was paid to the Court of Proprietors. The Court of Directors laid before this Court every thing which it was in their power to produce. With respect to the rest of the documents, they are exceedingly voluminous. The Court of Directors have exercised their judgment in selecting what they thought fit; they are in a regular course of compilation, and when completed and printed, they will be laid before this Court. But some time must elapse before that can be done, on account of the voluminous nature of the papers.

MR. D. KINNAIRD.—I am surprised at the explanation which the hon. Chairman has given, respecting the delay in the production of the papers to which I alluded. When I make a motion for the production of a particular paper, which receives the sanction of the Court, is that paper to be withheld because some other paper, which another Member has moved for, cannot immediately be laid before the Court? If such a principle be admitted, any Gentleman may be prevented from obtaining the production of a document, by another Member moving at the same time, for a paper which he knows cannot be produced. There was no connexion whatever between the papers which I wished to be produced, and those which were moved for by an hon. Gentleman within the bar; and yet I am told that the Court of Directors could not produce documents to which there was no objection, because others were called for which were objected to. Such reasoning appears to me quite inconclusive. Why should those documents which were ready to be published, be withheld, because some correspondence was going on with respect to others? In such a case we are completely at the mercy of individuals, who, from caprice or any other motive, may move for papers of an objectionable nature, and thus defeat the object of those who desire to obtain information. I have no

wish to pass censure upon any individuals; I only hope that the practice which has been avowed, may be discontinued, and that papers, against the production of which there is no objection, may be laid before the Court, in compliance with their resolution, as soon as they can be prepared.

MR. R. JACKSON.—I am of opinion that the noble individual who has been alluded to, has much reason to complain of the impediments, which have wantonly been thrown in the way of the production of the papers, relating to his administration. However, I am not disposed at present, to blame any body. We have at last got some papers, and the Noble Marquis' *exposed* among others. I understand, now, that some papers are to be laid before the Court at the Noble Lord's request; no contrivance of ingenuity can possibly delay the printing of these for more than a week. The hon. Chairman has attempted to account for the delay in the production of other papers, by saying that a correspondence was going on between the Court of Directors and the Board of Control, respecting a different set of documents, and that the Court of Directors did not like to produce the former, until the question with respect to the latter had been decided. On that point I shall say nothing. But I understood the hon. Chairman to say, that there are certain other voluminous papers to be presented, as soon as they can be selected and arranged. The hon. Chairman will permit me to ask him, whom I know to be as perfectly acquainted with every part of these proceedings, as honest industry can make him, whether the papers still to be produced relate to the Hyderabad affair?

THE CHAIRMAN.—Certainly not. I beg leave to remind the honourable Proprietor who preceded the learned Gentleman, that so far back as the 22d of September, I informed the Court that the papers ordered on the 23d of March, were printed and ready for delivery, and that part of those ordered on the 23d of June, were in the course of printing, the other part being withheld by the direction of the Board of Control. The learned Gentleman talks of the papers which the Court of Directors have just ordered to be printed, being to be got ready in a week; but I think it will take a great deal more time for that purpose, for the minutes of a Governor-General in Council are usually very voluminous. The other papers to which the learned Gentleman's question referred, do not in any way relate to the Hydera-

had loan, but only to the Government of Oude. They were moved for by a Gentleman within the bar, (Sir G. Robinson.)

Mr. R. JACKSON.—I thank the hon. Gentleman for his candour. He does not affect to treat as secrets, matters which are no secrets at all. I understand that the hon. Gentleman, who moved for the Oude papers, had some engagement which took him from the metropolis, and the exigency of which has been such as to prevent him from selecting and arranging those documents. I do not wish to discourage the production of the papers respecting Oude. Quite the contrary, I am glad they are about to be printed; and I wish that every thing relating to the conduct of Residents in any part of India, may be published as soon as possible: for I am convinced, that if any one thing more than another connected with the affairs of India requires the sacred revision of Government, it is the duties of the various Residents. [Hear, hear.] I wish to remind the Court that no candour, or concession, or complaisance can exceed that which has been shown by those who are called the friends of Lord Hastings. I do not object to the term; for believing myself to be as independent as any member of this Court, I nevertheless glory in being thought the Marquis of Hastings's friend. I have no desire, therefore, that the designation should be withdrawn. There has been no appeal made to the candour or patience of the Noble Lord's friends, with which they have not instantly complied. Several months back my hon. friend near me (Mr. Kinnaid,) moved a resolution founded—on what? Upon a resolution agreed to by this Court and the Court of Directors, after a review of the nine or ten years' administration of the Marquis of Hastings. The resolution of my hon. friend did no more than pledge the Court to follow up their former resolution, by doing what the public will bye and bye cry out "shame" on us for not doing: namely, giving the Noble Lord a suitable, fair, and honest remuneration for conduct which it had delighted to honour and to praise. The resolution went no further than this, but an hon. Member (Mr. J. Smith,) whom I am glad to see in his place, suggested that before the Court agreed to the motion, they ought to be in possession of certain papers relating to the Hyderabad Loan. The instant the subject was mentioned, my hon. friend and myself said, "for God's sake let the papers be produced."

The papers have been printed and laid before the Court. Two months have passed since, and I regard it as the bounden and sacred duty of the Court of Proprietors to proceed with as little delay as possible, and determine "aye" or "no" upon those papers, whether the Marquis of Hastings is in future to live in a state of disgrace, or honour; and whether his fame is to go down to posterity with undiminished glory. I will myself, if I am not anticipated by any other Member, call a Court to consider this subject. I will pay the utmost attention to the Oude papers, but they shall not delay the consideration of the Hyderabad papers, beyond the time which may be fixed upon as fitting for the discussion. If the Oude papers be produced before the middle of January, well; if not, *coute qui coute*, I will bring the Hyderabad question forward.

COLONEL BAILLIE.—What has fallen from the hon. and learned Member calls upon me for a few words of explanation. The Oude papers were moved for by my friend Sir George Robinson at my suggestion; but they were not moved for with the view of depreciating the character of the Marquis of Hastings. When his Lordship's pamphlet was brought under discussion, I felt myself called upon to declare that I could not admit the correctness of its statements upon two points. The first was that the Government of Oude had been maintained in a state of thralldom, in contravention of treaties, by former Governments. That was an assertion which implicated the character of Lord Minto, and therefore I felt it necessary to deny its accuracy. The second passage of the pamphlet to which I objected, was that which represented the loans made by the Vizier to the Government to have been perfectly voluntary. Having been called upon in another place to give evidence, which was quite contrary to his Lordship's statement, I felt it due to myself to express my belief that his Lordship had incorrectly stated the fact. In supporting the motion of my hon. friend for the production of papers, I had no view beyond, in the first place, defending the character of the former Government of India, inasmuch as no thralldom was ever exercised over the Government of Oude, as I know from having held a situation there; and secondly, vindicating my own character, and supporting the statement which I had made in a committee of the House of Commons. Not having any duty to attend to in this place for the last six months, I

went to my country residence. I certainly am not answerable for the publication of the papers within any particular period. The papers are of considerable length. They embrace a period of eight years, and must therefore necessarily be very voluminous. The cause of the delay of their publication is obvious. [Hear, hear, from Mr. Kinnaird.] It must require a considerable time to collect them from the records of the India House, in addition to which, though I am not called upon to vindicate the proceedings of my ex-colleagues, they must be looked over and arranged. I again repeat, I am not aware that the papers in question will in any way influence the decision of the Court with respect to the Marquis of Hastings, nor were they moved for with that intention.

MR. R. JACKSON.—I understand the hon. Ex-Director to say, that the papers in question refer to a period of seven or eight years, during which he was a public functionary in India. But I request the hon. Gentleman will condescend to recollect, that my hon. Friend and myself, stand on this ground, and this ground alone, that long subsequent to the period of which he speaks, the Court of Directors, with all these facts before them, came to as flattering a resolution with respect to Lord Hastings, as could be framed in honour of the most favoured public officer; which resolution was cordially and unanimously agreed to, by this Court. [Hear.] This is the rock on which we stand; and if you were to publish as many papers as it would require seven years to prepare, this rock would not be shaken. There was only one point upon which a doubt could hang with respect to the propriety of the Marquis of Hastings' conduct, and that was brought under the notice of the Court by an hon. Member, whom I now see in his place (Mr. J. Smith.) That hon. Member admitted the general merit of the Marquis of Hastings, but entertained some doubts with respect to the propriety of his conduct in the Hyderabad affair. I admit, that if when the papers relating to that transaction are considered, it shall appear that the Noble Lord's conduct has not been correct, a strong case will be made out against him; but if, as I verily believe, it shall turn out quite the contrary, what can be more simple than the task we have to perform? namely, when next we meet, to determine whether any thing has occurred since the passing of the unanimous resolution of the Court, which

should lead us in any degree to revoke it. The simple question is this "Has any thing derogated from the reputation of the Marquis of Hastings, since he received the unanimous thanks of both Courts?" If that question can be answered in the affirmative, the Marquis must take the consequences; but if not, we are bound by every obligation of honour, which is binding between man and man, to dismiss the question as soon as possible, and to declare his Lordship acquitted from every imputation of blame.

MR. HUME.—I understood that the papers which were moved for, by the hon. Ex-Director and his friend, were moved for with the view of criminating in some degree, the Marquis of Hastings; and I stated, five months ago, that I thought it impossible to proceed to the consideration of the Marquis of Hastings's conduct, until every thing which bore upon the question should be fairly before the Court. But, what the hon. Gentleman has stated removes every difficulty, for it appears that we are in possession of every thing which is likely to criminate his Lordship. It was very natural that the hon. Gentleman should feel offended at any statement tending to censure his conduct at Oude. But, he says, that in the papers which he has moved for, respecting that Government, there is nothing which can criminate the Marquis of Hastings. It is not likely, that in the papers which are to be produced at his Lordship's request, any thing hostile to himself will appear. It must, therefore, be taken, that the whole of what can be considered as criminatory matter is before us. This being the case, it only remains for the friends of the Marquis of Hastings to consider, whether it be expedient to delay the question, until the remaining papers shall be produced. I think not, and I hope we shall decide, before we leave the Court, to proceed to the consideration of the question on some future day. The only difficulty remaining is, to ascertain what are the intentions of those Gentlemen who have moved the papers on the subject. Do they mean to originate any thing themselves, or to leave the whole question in the hands of my hon. Friend (Mr. Kinnaird)?

MR. KINNAIRD.—I take the liberty of asking my hon. Friend, (Mr. John Smith) who sits behind me, a question, which I have already proposed to him in private; and which he has courteously answered. The question is important, as it has reference to a form of proceed-

ing, which may affect absent persons. I propose it publicly, that the hon. Gentleman may have an opportunity of making any explanation that he may think fit. I wish to know, then, whether my hon. Friend intends to propose any resolution, or to originate any proceeding, after having made himself acquainted, as I suppose he has, with the contents of the voluminous papers, relating to the Hyderabad affair, which have been laid before the Court, in compliance with his motion? I particularly refer to the Hyderabad papers, because my hon. Friend originally moved for them alone, and it was only upon a subsequent suggestion that he included in his motion all other papers relating to the Marquis of Hastings' administration. It was currently reported at the time, that circumstances were connected with the Hyderabad transaction, which might induce the Court to revoke its former favourably expressed opinion of the Marquis of Hastings. Under these circumstances, when the question of further remuneration to the Noble Lord was brought forward, the hon. Proprietor very properly objected to the question being propounded, till his doubts were satisfied on the subject of the Hyderabad affair. The papers moved for have been for some months before the Court, and I suppose that every member has come to a definite conclusion with respect to them. It is not pretended in any quarter that any further papers are necessary to elucidate this subject. I am bound in honour and justice to Lord Hastings to postpone bringing forward the question of remuneration until the papers before the Court have been disposed of—disposed of not by any gentleman getting up and saying that he does not think they criminate the Noble Marquis, but by a formal resolution of the Court. It is usual for an assembly to expect a person who moves for papers, to found some resolution upon them. If I had moved these papers, I should naturally expect hon. members to say to me, "We have read the papers which you caused to be produced; what resolution do you intend to propose respecting them?" I therefore feel that I have a right to expect from my hon. Friend, some resolution expressing his opinion of the papers which he moved for, although I have not the slightest notion of what that opinion may be; but I am prepared to contend against it if it be adverse to the Noble Marquis, and to coincide with it if it be favourable. It would be indecorous on my part to pro-

pose any resolution at present. I should be taunted if I should do so. "Oh!" it would be said "you were willing to give his Lordship a grant in defiance of the rumours about the Hyderabad business—your mind is prejudiced—let us hear what the hon. Proprietor says, who had doubts on the subject, now he has read the papers." Under these circumstances I call upon my hon. Friend to declare whether he intends to submit any resolution on the subject of the papers before the Court?

Mr. JOHN SMITH.—The hon. Gentleman, in proposing the question of which he had the courtesy to give me notice, appears also to have entered into an argument to show that it is imperative on me to bring forward immediately, some proposition on the subject of the Hyderabad affair. I totally differ with him in opinion. I beg leave to remind the Court, that on a former occasion when I moved for the papers in question, there were in the mouths of a great many persons, certain rumours respecting Hyderabad loans. [Hear.] I then stated what was strictly correct, that I knew of nothing affecting the honour of the Marquis of Hastings, but that many rumours of a doubtful nature were afloat. I apprehend that in alluding to those reports, I performed a public duty. [Hear.] With respect to bringing forward any motion on the subject, I beg leave to state to the Court, the difficulty in which I am placed. In common with other Proprietors, I have perused the papers again and again, and I can on my honour say, that I think the case is a mixed case. There are certain points of a nature of which I by no means approve. But I had rather not enter into this question at present. There are other points again with respect to which I do not concur with the reasoning and conclusions of Sir C. Metcalfe. I am bound to state that this is my opinion, or, to speak more correctly, the disposition of my mind. What then can I do? Can I under these circumstances bring forward any specific motion? But even if I had made up my mind, with respect to these important documents, another consideration would at this moment prevent me from bringing forward any proposition. I understand that my hon. Friend himself, whose talents are well known, is to put forth some publication on the subject. I for one, should be happy to see that publication; it might serve to explain some difficulties which I have met with in these papers. [Hear, hear.] It might

illustrate points on which every man desires information. But there is another circumstance: Sir William Rumbold, one of the parties implicated, is now in Europe. Will he stand by and say nothing? It may be said, that all I am saying is quite informal; but I am a friend to no formalities which would prevent substantial justice from being done. I have no prejudices on the subject, and have no particular knowledge of any of the parties. In moving for the papers, I thought I did what was just and reasonable, and I am of the same opinion still. It may also be said, why wait to hear what other persons may say? confine yourself to the papers only, as far as they regard the Marquis of Hastings. I cannot possibly enter into the subject at all, without taking it altogether at once. If the house of Palmer and Co. have done nothing but what is meritorious, it is impossible to blame the Marquis of Hastings. I do not know whether I have sufficiently explained myself, but the difficulties which I feel are honest. If I were called upon at this moment to give an opinion on the papers, I should be obliged to enter into considerable explanation. There are some points which I like not at all. There are some persons in my eye, who have held high situations in India, and who have taken a strong part in the proceedings described in the papers, have marked their censure of them in various ways. That is a circumstance which demands much consideration. My hon. friend is at liberty to take what course he pleases; but I deny that it is the general rule, that if an individual moves for papers to explain a particular transaction, he is obliged, afterwards, to follow it up by a subsequent motion. If so, I believe we should not have a great many motions of that nature. I desire to be distinctly understood as giving no opinion on the papers, with one slight exception. I have, in a great degree, made up my mind to think that the house of Palmer and Co. has been treated with a severity which, with my present views, I do not quite approve of. [Hear, hear.] I shall be extremely happy to explain myself more fully if it be required. If there be any intention on the part of any person concerned in these transactions, to put forth a statement, let it be made known. If there was any principle more sacred than another in the minds of Englishmen, it was that conveyed in the words with which he should conclude, *audi alteram partem*. [Hear.]

Mr. D. KINNAIRD.—As the hon. Proprietor does not intend to originate any resolution on the subject, because he has not conclusively made up his mind with respect to it, I hope he will not think me wanting in courtesy if I give notice of a substantive motion connected with it. If, however, the hon. Gentleman wishes for further time to make up his mind, I will grant it, because I think the motion ought to originate with him. The hon. Member seems to think that he cannot make up his mind until he sees something to which my name is to be affixed; but that publication will have reference to far greater questions than the character of Lord Hastings. Indeed, no explanation of mine is necessary to raise the character of the noble Marquis. The task having been forced upon me, it will be my duty on many future occasions to submit resolutions relating to the parties implicated in the transactions detailed in the papers before the Court. The Marquis of Hastings's character is the least implicated in those transactions; indeed, I should rather say, it is not implicated at all. There is not a single document which comes near touching him; but, with respect to other persons, I shall be compelled to take the opinion of the Court. I now give notice, that I shall endeavour to get some other Proprietors to join me in calling a Court for the purpose of putting on record a distinct opinion with respect to the Hyderabad Papers; and I challenge any man who entertains doubts on the subject, to come forward on that occasion, to hear an explanation, which will make him proud to turn round and acknowledge that they have unjustly suspected the noble Marquis. [Hear, hear.]

CUSTOMS REGULATIONS BILLS.

The CHAIRMAN, in conformity with the bye law, laid before the Court certain bills passed in the last session of parliament. Their object was to repeal certain acts affecting the commerce of the country generally, and that of India in particular.

Mr. HUMZ.—Are they the Customs Regulations Bills?

The CHAIRMAN.—Yes. They repeal laws to the amount of nearly two hundred relating to the Customs, some of which were passed so late as last year.

Mr. HUMZ.—They are Consolidation Bills, applying to the whole empire, and not exclusively to India.

General THORNTON asked whether the letter of the Marquis of Hastings,

requesting that certain papers should be printed, was itself to be printed?

The CHAIRMAN replied in the negative.

HAILEYBURY COLLEGE.

Mr. HUME inquired whether any report had been prepared with respect to the last examinations at Haileybury College. He understood the bye laws required, that a report of every examination should be made at the first subsequent General Court.

The CHAIRMAN replied, that the hon. Proprietor was misinformed. The bye laws required that a report of examinations should be made at the General Court in September, which had been done.

DECCAN PRIZE-MONEY.

Mr. S. DIXON.—I took the liberty some months ago, at the desire of some persons materially interested, to inquire whether the Deccan booty was likely to be distributed? The hon. Chairman replied, that the matter had been referred to the Duke of Wellington and some other persons. It must be the wish of every person that the booty so honourably acquired many years ago, should be distributed. Every Proprietor is interested in the safety of India, and nothing can tend more materially to promote that safety than a proper regard being paid to the distribution of booty. I wish to know whether any thing has been done on this subject since I last mentioned it in this court?

The CHAIRMAN.—I can only repeat, that the matter is not dependent on the Court of Directors, but is under the consideration of the Treasury. Since the hon. Proprietor last spoke on the subject, a correspondence has taken place between the Court of Directors and the Treasury, the particulars of which I cannot state.

THE BURNING OF WIDOWS.

Mr. BUTTERWORTH.—I wish to put a question to the Chair, but with no view of provoking discussion. By the papers lately laid before parliament, it appears that, in the space of five years, upwards of 3000 widows have sacrificed themselves in India. I wish to ask whether the Court of Directors has issued any regulation to discourage the practice of suttees? I am unwilling to interfere with the prejudices of the natives of India, but some measures ought, if possible, to be resorted to for putting a stop to a custom which involved so serious a proceeding as self-murder.

Many persons acquainted with India, are of opinion, that the practice might be discouraged without occasioning any disturbance.

The CHAIRMAN.—In June 1823, the Court of Directors sent a despatch to the Bengal Government, referring to the subject to which the hon. Proprietor has referred. The despatch was subsequently presented to parliament and to this Court. No reply to it has been received.

Mr. BUTTERWORTH.—I understand that Mr. Elphinstone and Mr. Money entered a protest on this subject. I move for its production.

Mr. HUME.—As the subject is one of great importance, I think the hon. Proprietor had better give notice of his motion for another Court, that individuals may have an opportunity of satisfying themselves how far they ought to proceed.

Mr. RANDLE JACKSON.—I wish to know whether, as a public document, the despatch in which this subject is mentioned is not acceptable? It is very important, I think, to see whether it was meant to discountenance this dreadful practice, or directly to forbid it. If it be made out clearly that danger would attend an immediate interference with the natives upon the point, then, perhaps, our authorities ought not to be pressed; but I do protest that, if any person living under the subjugation and dominion of the East India Company, assists in or countenances the destruction of these unfortunate women, such person seems to me to be either directly guilty of, or accessory to, murder. It appears, according to all statements, that our interposition with regard to the infants, has been successful; and I can assure the Court, that it has more than once occurred to my mind, whether we ought not at once to say (on behalf of the women), within our dominion, this practice shall not take place.

The CHAIRMAN.—I have sent for the despatch, dated the 23d of June, to which, as I before said, no answer has yet been given. But the hon. Gentleman seems to think that a protest has been entered into by two of the Company's Directors on this subject. That is not the fact.

Mr. BUTTERWORTH.—With permission, I will explain what the paper is (as I take it) which I alluded to. I had understood that some time ago, there was a difference of opinion among the Directors of the Company with respect to this practice. Two Directors,

as I understood, long resident in India, had entertained a very strong feeling—different from that of the Court generally—upon the subject; they were of opinion that the practice might be put a stop to without any danger of ill consequences from the feelings of the natives. Now those gentlemen, Messrs. Money and Elphinstone, as I took it, had delivered a protest to the Committee; and as I have, in fact, privately, by courtesy, a copy of the paper which they did deliver, I wish to know if there be any irregularity on my desiring to see the same produced? It appears, from the returns laid before Parliament, that 3000 widows have been burned within the last five years, besides a great many more, no doubt, of whose deaths no record was received or kept; and I have no hesitation in saying, that I concur entirely with the hon. Gentleman who spoke last (Mr. R. Jackson) in thinking that such an evil calls loudly for the Company's interference, as far as it can be possible to use that interference with safety.

The CHAIRMAN suggested, that the Directors would consider the subject if Mr. Butterworth would postpone his motion; which course, after a moment's reflexion, the hon. Gentleman agreed to.

HAILEYBURY COLLEGE.

MR. D. KINNAIRD.—Before the Court proceeds to any other business, I feel it necessary to say a very few words upon the condition, or rather upon the constitution, of the East India Company's College. In the observations which I shall have to make, I beg first to be understood as by no means intending to cast any reflexion at all upon the professors of that institution. At the same time that I regret most deeply the consequences to which the system of expelling young men necessarily leads, I feel quite sure that, as regards the superiors, they have never resorted to the measure of expulsion, unless where such a course became absolutely indispensable to the safety and moral example of those who remained. Therefore, in calling for a list of the number of lads expelled upon a late occasion, I desire again to say, that I cast no blame, as regards that proceeding, upon the conduct of the heads of the establishment. There must be power given, and a discretionary one, to those who stand over young men in *loco parentis*; and I verily believe that they felt, within their limited society, that unless they got rid of some, they could not be

responsible for the conduct of the others. Any thing like a vote of censure as to what has passed would be foreign, therefore, as it seems to me, to justice, and to the purpose; but, although I admit this, in its full extent, yet I cannot help considering, every time that an expulsion takes place, that here is a gratuitous, an unnecessary ruin of a young man's fortune and prospects in life, without the slightest necessary imputation upon his honour or his moral character. Now this is not at all a consequence upon the act done by the professors; for the most venial irregularity, frequently repeated, may be a fair cause, and a necessary one, for getting rid of the offender; but it is the consequence of that most cruel and inequitable resolution of the Court, which attaches nothing less than ruin, to the sentence of expulsion from the College; the expelled party having no other means of education, but there, which can qualify him for the Company's service: really, this is a hardship, not only upon the pupils, but upon the professors. It is putting those gentlemen in the situation of harsh and unfeeling task-masters. If they have only common feelings, they cannot do otherwise than regret that they are compelled to destroy an individual entirely, in order to get rid of his misconduct, which may be a nuisance for the moment. I will not trouble the Court with a long address upon this subject; but these are the considerations which induce me, as often as I hear of an expulsion taking place, to ask the Court of Directors to produce the record of it. I do this, that the evil and the extent of the evil, may be made known; and I am quite sure that, if it be but brought sufficiently before Gentlemen's minds, their reflexion will do more than I can hope to do by any speech of mine. For myself, I am satisfied, and I do not stand alone in my opinion, that the mischief is one from which both scholars and teachers ought to be relieved. Upon the former class, the system inflicts a punishment monstrously disproportionate to any offence which they can commit; the latter persons have a right to be released from the odium of being compelled, from time to time, to do acts of great cruelty, merely because they have not sufficient time or convenience to correct two or three bold striplings for casual faults. I by no means would infer that the professors are wrong in making these expulsions; but I am sure they must lament, and every body must lament, the consequences which

follow upon their doing so. The present system has no other effects than to excite a general ill-feeling from the pupils towards their teachers, instead of that cordial sentiment which ought always to exist between the parties instructing and the parties benefiting. Instead of tending to make the professors looked upon in the College almost as parents, it has the effect of causing them to be regarded almost as executioners; and it is with a view to mark decidedly my reprobation of our continuing to act on such a principle, that I move for the record of any expulsions which have taken place from the East India Company's College, and the last Report from that establishment presented to the Court.

Mr. HUME.—I shall certainly feel great pleasure in seconding the motion of my hon. Friend. I think it is of the highest consequence both to the public interest, and to the cause of education, that the truth of these affairs should be fully known. And it is not at all less important, that that great body, the East India Company, which maintains this establishment, should learn the reason why the young men in their seminary, more than those of any other school in the country, should be subject to this sentence of expulsion, and all the distressing train of consequences which it carries along with it.

Mr. DIXON.—I hope that every information will be given upon this subject; decidedly, I think it ought. At the same it might be convenient if the hon. Gentleman would now give notice of the resolution which he means to ground upon the intelligence when he has it.

Mr. D. KINNAIRD.—The fact is, I do not mean to found any resolution upon the paper, I only wish to have the facts upon the subject laid clearly and fully before the Proprietors. The right course for them to take, is, I think, without any explanation, sufficiently obvious.

Mr. BUTTERWORTH.—May I ask the hon. Gentleman whether he desires to have the names of the young men expelled read before the Court. If he does not—

Mr. D. KINNAIRD.—By no means. That of course would only be to make the matter worse. They have suffered, one and all of them, already too much from our obstinate perseverance in this objectionable system. The numbers, without the names, will be all that I desire.

The CHAIRMAN.—I have sent to the *Oriental Herald*, Vol. 4.

proper department, but I am not sure that such a paper as that asked for has been made out. Because, in truth, since the last Report was laid before the Court, I am glad to say, that no actual expulsion has taken place. One young gentleman, whose name I will not mention, has been removed from the establishment, but not expelled, because he was only, as yet, in what is called his "probationary term." The Directors, upon their general opinion, have ordered this probationary term to be established, at the end of which, if the pupil has not given satisfaction to the professors, it is competent to them to remove him, without a sentence of expulsion. In the present instance, since the last report, one of these young gentlemen, and one only, has been removed. A second has been removed for a period of two terms, that is, twelve months; with an understanding that he shall not then return unless the professors shall be satisfied that his disposition and habits are much altered, and that he is likely to be of advantage to the service. Perhaps, without any records being called for, this statement may be satisfactory to the Court. Because, if the record is read, the names of the parties will be known; a consequence which most persons interested for them would be desirous probably, if possible, to avoid.

Mr. D. KINNAIRD.—I concur, certainly, upon the last point, in opinion with the hon. Chairman; but still, although the reading of the names were a necessary consequence upon its production (which need not exactly be), that consideration should not hinder me still from calling for the record. It is of the highest consequence that the Proprietors should know for what cause these young men have been removed or expelled; otherwise, there comes to be no distinction between the fault which is a fault in itself, and the fault which is only a fault as regards the situation. A lad might be expelled for such an offence as amounted almost to a capital crime; and he would suffer just the same sentence for a long series of orchard robberies, or for having made a blow at a professor in a rage, an act which, although it would well warrant, perhaps, the sending him about his business, carried no moral guilt or disrepute with it.

The CHAIRMAN.—I have sent for the record. Here it is; but, if it is to be read, then the names of the parties, as I before said, will appear.

Mr. BUTTERWORTH.—I think that
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ought not to be the case. I think that, for an act of simple indiscretion, a young man's name ought not to be held up to public odium; and for an act too, which, perhaps, he regretted almost before it was completed. I submit, that the record may be read, that is, the substance of it, without giving the names of the parties.

The CHAIRMAN then stated the contents of the paper, according to Mr. Butterworth's suggestion, as follows:

'A. This young gentleman being found to have been engaged in a series of disreputable transactions, and having failed to give satisfaction to his superiors during his probationary term, it is resolved that he be removed from the College, and not allowed to return.'

'B. This young gentleman having committed the same offence with the last, but in a less degree, is removed for the space of twelve months, to be allowed to return in case the professors shall be satisfied that there is an alteration in his habits.'

'C. This young gentleman having been examined as to some points, and detected in a wilful falsehood, is removed from the establishment for the term of six months, then to return.'

Mr. R. JACKSON.—It may not be known universally, perhaps, the extent of ruin which waits upon these sentences of expulsion. The young men expelled are declared incapable of ever after serving the East India Company in any capacity whatever, either civil, military, or naval.

The CHAIRMAN.—No; that is not quite the case. They are eligible to military employment. Persons who have been expelled from the College may be chosen for military service.

Mr. R. JACKSON.—That provision is extremely humane, and I am glad to hear of it, though its existence is something recent; for, up to a very late period, I am quite sure that a lad of sixteen, for stealing apples, was liable to be made incapable of serving the East India Company in any office or employ whatever. I would just beg to ask farther, whether this sentence of "removal" in the probationary term, carries with it all the same consequences as to non-eligibility, be they more or less, which are attendant upon expulsion?

The CHAIRMAN.—Where young men are removed, as where they are expelled, they are still eligible for military duty.

Mr. HUME.—I am very sorry indeed to hear of that provision; nor do I by any means understand upon what principle the young gentleman who has forfeited his word should be receivable into the military service rather than the civil. I have passed a great many years of my life in the society of soldiers; and I think that this is paying them a very ill compliment, or, to speak more plainly, casting a stigma on them which they by no means deserve. It seems to me to be sufficiently absurd to say, that a man who is held to have forfeited his honour, should be made peculiarly transferable to a profession of which honour has been supposed to be upon all occasions the moving principle. But it is a monstrous folly, altogether, while the universities of England are bringing up men for the highest departments of her state, to say that none can be educated, except at their private College, fit for the service of the East India Company.

The CHAIRMAN.—There is not the slightest intention, on the part of the Directors, to cast any stigma upon the military character or profession. But, with reference to the matter of falsehood, the young man charged with that fault, is only rusticated for one term. He may still, if his conduct be correct, become eligible as a civil servant. Under these circumstances, if the Court is satisfied, I trust that the hon. Gentleman will consent to withdraw his motion.

Mr. D. KINNAIRD.—I am quite ready to do that. All I wish is to induce Gentlemen to think upon this subject. If they will do that, we shall soon be right.

Mr. R. JACKSON.—I am glad, certainly, that it so happens, that the Gentleman who has uttered falsehood, is eligible either to the civil or military service; but that does not, as it seems to me, get rid of the objection taken by my hon. Friend (Mr. D. Kinnaird). We must be all off, I think, in a matter of this kind, or all on. I do not understand making very subtle distinctions. Here are two young gentlemen, as we find by the Report, in a state of removal "for a series of disreputable practices." Their final removal for these "disreputable practices," would make them incompetent to serve the Company in any civil department; but, with all their "disrepute," they may go into the army directly!

Mr. KINNAIRD's motion was then withdrawn by consent, and the Court

proceeded, according to its summons, to deliberate upon the matters of

THE PRESS IN INDIA.

The Chairman stated, that the Court had been made special, in consequence of the following requisition :

'To the Chairman of the Honourable Court of Directors of the East India Company.

'Sir,—We, the undersigned Proprietors of India Stock, duly qualified, do hereby request that the next Quarterly General Court of Proprietors, to be held on the 22d of December next, may be made special, for the purpose of taking into consideration the propriety of laying before the Court Copies of all Correspondence, Minutes, and other Documents connected with, and explanatory of, the suppression of the late Calcutta Journal, and the subsequent objection made to the renewal of its license ; and also copies of all documents explanatory of the banishment from India of Mr. Sandford Arnot, an Assistant in the office of that paper.

'We remain, Sir,

'Your obedient humble servants,

'JOSEPH HUME.

'DOUGLAS KINNAIRD.'

'Bryanstone-square, Nov. 27.'

This requisition having been read, Mr. HUME addressed the Court as follows : Mr. Chairman, As one of the individuals who considered it their duty to call the attention of the Court to the subject now before it, I rise in pursuance of the intention with which I made the requisition, and I can assure the Court that, if at this present moment I did not feel myself imperatively called upon to proceed in this subject, if I did not feel it to be one of the subjects materially connected, not only with the interests of India, but with those of every country in which any thing like a Free Government is intended to exist, I would not waste their time so far as to devote five minutes to its discussion. I come forward, Sir, now, with my honourable Friend who is near me, after having well considered the transaction upon which I am to speak. We are not likely now to fall into any irritation, or to be hurried away by any impulse of sudden feeling—by any gust of passion, which should divert our due consideration from the great question which stands involved in it. Therefore, in coming before the Court to perform a public duty, for my own part, I have no more to do than to request a patient hearing—pledging myself to be as brief as the momentous value of the sub-

ject will allow. Upon a former occasion, I stated to you, Sir, that, in every country, as far as my experience went, however admirable its general institutions might be, there was always something blameable in them, and in others, however generally objectionable, always some portion of good. Through life, Sir, as through governments, we must look for a mixture of good and evil ; and the man who is visionary enough to expect perfection either in systems or individuals, will be deceived. Therefore I do not rise with any expectation that I can hold out in this country in which we live, or in any country in the world, an example which it would not be possible, as regards some points, to improve upon ; but among the numerous privileges which British subjects enjoy, I declare that I cannot think of one which tends more to the promotion of good government—more to the progress of knowledge and information—more to the enforcement of morality, and to the correction of immorality, than the moderate liberty of the Press. Can it for a moment be denied, that the art of Printing is one of the greatest discoveries—perhaps the most beneficial discovery—ever made by man ! and he who rejects that advantage—the advantage of the rapid diffusion of knowledge, which all the world, until within these few years, had agreed to hold invaluable, it is his business to point out the evils likely to accrue from its entertainment—it is for him, who opens this new doctrine, to show the dangers attendant upon the old system, and not for me, with all experience and all authority in my favour, to enumerate the blessings which have been, and continue to be, derived from it. It is with that view, Sir, that, standing as I do here, I would be understood to court opposition, rather than to lay down the principle. Those who object to what I argue for—let them make out their case against me. And looking round me, at the enviable situation in which Great Britain stands at this moment—I say enviable, meaning enviable by comparison ; for we have yet much to complain of, and, I hope, to amend—I ask, is there any man, no matter of what politics, of what religion, of what opinion upon those great points on which men are allowed to differ—is there any such man will lay his hand to his heart, and say, on his honour, that he believes England would have been in the comparatively prosperous condition that she is, without the art of

printing, and her great addition to it, the benefits of a free press? Then show me why, in another country, which Providence has placed at the disposal of Britain, show me why we should sanction those measures, why we should uphold those principles which we feel would be destructive of our happiness at home? show me why we should barbarously extinguish the light of improvements, which is just dawning in that distant region, and call back into ignorance so many millions of people who are just awaking from the darkness in which centuries and ages have confined them? In every point of view, we do mischief even to ourselves by such a course. How do we benefit by the advantage of free discussion which we seek to withhold from this great empire! what do we do (after succeeding) but destroy our own greatest safeguard? the strongest check we have against abuse of power there—against that unfortunate disposition to excess which men in authority—the very best of them—are always subject to; and which is the more likely to visit them in a country like India, from the distance at which it places them from all control. My honourable friend Mr. Smith, who has just addressed the Court, will not fail to recollect the words of the hon. Member for Bramber (Mr. Wilberforce), as applied to this subject. Speaking of the effect of power, and of the little dependence to be placed on whosoever possesses it—speaking of the conduct of a gallant officer, late Governor of New South Wales, Mr. Wilberforce said, “my experience teaches me that power is a fascinating charm for individuals; particularly for such as are raised suddenly to high situations in life, which they never looked to. I am now forty years an observer of life, and I cannot consent to allow any person to enjoy authority unchecked. I will go farther—the individual who means to do well—who means to perform his duty to God and his country, cannot be ashamed that his conduct, under any circumstances, should be known and scrutinized.” On these very grounds—on the very same principles laid down here by the hon. Member for Bramber, it is that I now call upon this Court—that I call upon it as the Government of India—(for its Directors are only servants acting, and worthily acting, for its benefit)—it is upon these principles that I remind the Court, that, for every ill act done by these Directors with its consent, it is in itself morally responsible for a full share

in the mischief; and that I call upon it attentively to hear me, and to understand fully the transactions which have lately taken place in India. We have one advantage, at all events, in this country, generally rising out of discussion, and it is a great one; the point in question always is canvassed by the high and low, and it is hard if we do not get a glimpse of the truth from some quarter or other. Since this subject, which we are now debating, was first brought forward, the press of England has been actively employed upon it—employed in showing the paramount advantage of a well-conducted press (wherever a good government has been concerned) in every part of the world. God forbid that I should ever agree in the proposition which I hold myself unfortunate to have heard fall from the Chair: that India was a despotism, always had been so, and must continue to be so!—That I, living in England, should concur in a resolution which makes a hundred millions of my fellow-creatures slaves; and so leave them, under the despotic lash of every living man; even were he checked by the power which it is now sought to destroy: the strongest engine that human ingenuity ever hit upon to curb authority and bridle its abuse. I deny that proposition—that India is a despotism—deny it altogether. I am aware that her great distance from us—the weakness—moral weakness of her population—the difficulty there is of maintaining a sufficient vigilance over her, gives but too much opportunity for arbitrary acts; but it is one thing to say this toil is almost endless—with all our increased exertion, and with our increased European population, we can scarcely entirely repress that conduct which we scourge and reprobate, and almost shudder at, and another for our constituted authorities to treat such measures as necessary, as of course, to defend, to justify, and openly to approve them. I admit it, that up to the year 1775, India was, as the hon. Gentleman had said, a despotism; but at that date she ceased to be so. Government said, “We cannot allow this system to go on. If India is to remain a portion of this Empire, we must introduce into her policy something of the spirit which is breathed by our own Constitution.”—Government said this; and the very first act which was passed with respect to India, put the most distant and the meanest Hindostanee under the protection of the Supreme Court and of its laws. Then, therefore, at least, the le-

gislature of England did not contemplate that India should remain a despotism, although she had been one. Is there any Director present who happens to have read through the voluminous report of evidence, which led to the bills passed at the time to which I am alluding? If there be, he will have waded through strange recitals of acts of tyranny and oppression; and he will have seen something too (which let him not forget) of the results which proceeded from such a system. But let him contrast with that system the spirit, the intent of the legislature, in the very first act which was passed with respect to India, and in which every soul in the country is declared to be under the protection of the Supreme Court, sent out for that purpose; and then let them consider whether the Chairman, the great organ of the East India Company, ought not to be as circumspect as he is high, and whether it is not a disgrace to every man who sits and hears such declarations without contradicting them. Every such declaration, I insist, is flatly contrary to the facts of the case. India, since the period to which I refer, has not been a despotism, and I hope that she will never again be one. No doubt, after that act was passed, and authorities sent out to administer the provisions of it, difficulties were found, and very serious ones, in the way of applying its views—in many cases, by being hundreds of leagues off from the chief seat of Government. In the end, these objections were found to be surmountable; an alteration took place; courts of justice were established in different provinces, and the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court became in a degree limited, but yet every man who chose to appeal to it, within those limits, was entitled to its protection; and therefore, I ask, where is the foundation for that assertion, that India is a despotism, and that she must continue to be so? I do feel it necessary—rubbish as this is, to clear some of it away before me as I go along; and to assure the Court, when I address them upon my main subject, that I do not appeal to them as despots, or the task-masters of slaves; but as the Government—I had hoped, until within this short time past, of a state benefiting, and to be benefited by their will; though I am sorry to say now, that, as information increases in this country, it seems to be retrograding in the East; and that India Proprietors seem disposed to sanction acts of tyranny in their dependent country, which they would blush but to hear spoken of in their own.

In fact, the charge which is intrusted to the body of Proprietors is more important than I suspect they hold it. Accustomed as I am to act in concert with my Friend before me (Mr. R. Jackson), I cannot but regret that we should not be ranged on the same side with respect to the present question. How or why this difference occurs, I profess I am not able to understand; but I am not yet without hope to bring my hon. Friend over to my way of thinking. No man in the country is more ready than he is to enter into every thing which, on this side the water, concerns the happiness of mankind. I only call upon him to apply his ordinary principles to the condition of the suffering millions in India, who are so unfortunate as to have no power to which they can raise a hand for help on earth, if it is refused to them here. It was, a little while back, just humanly possible that, through the intervention of the press, the complaints of oppressed wretches might find their way across to England; but that would not do; no such chance could be permitted; the medium is now destroyed entirely; and half India might now be put to death, or tortured, or robbed and plundered (for life is not the only consideration; when men are made completely miserable, tyranny has done all it can do), without England having any knowledge of the fact. But having so far, and perhaps farther than was necessary, entered my protest against the doctrine of India being a despotism, I wish to call the attention of the Court more immediately to the condition of the press in that country. We have derived at least this advantage from the proceedings taken against Messrs. Arnott and Buckingham, that it has brought about discussion, and discussion elicits truth. The newspapers get to work; fresh facts and fresh discussions come out day by day. And if men will only read (and think), they will be safe. I am never afraid of a judgment from a man who reads, unless he is biassed by party feeling, or by his interests. Let proprietors read the "letters," published on this subject, addressed to an hon. Baronet (Sir Charles Forbes), whom I am sorry not to see before me. Let any man read those letters, and meet me fairly in discussion; and I tell him that he will be converted. On the same subject, I have another publication in my hand, addressed to the Marquis of Hastings; in which I and many passages so well written, that I should only weaken them by endeavouring to translate their spirit. These

letters to the Marquis of Hastings were published about three weeks since; and, though not equal perhaps to those addressed to Sir Charles Forbes, yet they put matters in rather a different point of view. For they bring home to the judgment the fact that, in every country in the world, since the press has been an operating agent, the state of that country has depended upon its greater or lesser freedom; that its restraint has always been followed every where by anarchy, bloodshed, and revolution; and that, in direct proportion as it was free and fearless, has been the improvement of men and the tranquillity of Governments. I say, therefore, with the experience of ages before us—with our own experience before us—why should we object to hear the conduct of the Government of India freely spoken of in any quarter, and discussed? Is there any man who knows the proceedings of the last twelve months in this country, who can have any doubt that the lectures read by the press to men in power have done more to check abuse than any laws could have done in the world? It is not that which we are to do here can help the parties that have already suffered; but the lesson read to those who have done wrong, will be a beacon to warn and to startle others. There is nothing that power dreads so much—nothing that ice has so instinctive a horror of—as publicity. The worst man has grace enough to wish to pass for virtuous. The constant fear, when any thing wrong is done, is—“this will be known!”—“It will be known by means of the press!”—“I must take care what I do!”—This is precisely what every body would desire; and we punish a man at the same time, probably for that act which every man deserves to be punished for, for attempting to exercise arbitrary power in any country which has even the shadow of a licence to call itself a free one. And for these reasons it is that I put it to my hon. Friend before me—can it be doubted that the liberty of the press has every where done good? He who is a friend to truth, must, as seems to me, be of necessity a friend to inquiry. It is by discussing our different views that we arrive at what is right; and this can be done in no way so well, nor so conveniently, as by the medium of the Press. How constantly do we find two men, of perfect honesty and impartiality, looking carefully at the same subject, and taking extremely different views upon it. These men would make different reports as to the same act or case, with-

out any fault attaching to either. But let them meet; let them discuss their views; let each hear the arguments and opinions of the other; and both will probably, in a very considerable degree, stand corrected. As this course is successful in every question and in every country, it really behoves my hon. Friend before me, I think, to show cause, why it should be unsuited to the climate and latitude of India—wherein that country, especially, differs from all others: But if I am asked, will I, in a country so ignorant as India is—will I venture upon discussion—will I dare to give them so much light at once? my answer is, that it is a disgrace to us that they have been so long in ignorance—that they have not had this light before. The Press it is, Sir, I say once more, that brings men to think; and when a man thinks, depend upon it he is safe. It is nothing more, nine times in ten, than a want of the habit of reasoning—a want of moral consideration, which leads men into those errors and excesses which ruin themselves, and do mischief to society. Then why, I ask, is it that the people of India should not think? What is there about them that they are unfit to be informed of? Why would it be either dangerous or criminal to raise them in their moral and intellectual situation? The whole page of history shows that the more you improve men, and give them information, the more you secure yourself against those lawless acts, which are the result of ignorance and merely brute animal passion. But these Letters to the Marquis of Hastings, that I have in my hand, are written—to the disgrace of England, I was going to say; but I will not say so:—to the honour of the writer of them he is a foreigner. And I do confess, it is to me scarcely comprehensible, how a stranger to England should so perfectly have got hold of all the benefits which are to be derived from the system of a free press; and have been able to collect moreover, so fully and so accurately, the history of the effects of that engine upon the peace, at different times, of every country throughout Europe. For it is a curious argument that Gentlemen on the other side are driven to use:—they say, “We cannot educate the people of India;—we cannot allow them to have the advantage of a free press, because, if they had it, they would become irritated against their government.” Why, was ever proposition so monstrous? It is not the conduct of the Government, then, that

would irritate the people, but the publication of that conduct ! It is not the suffering of injuries that would make them discontented ! No—only the being told that they suffer them ! I think, Sir, nothing is more absurd : But the writer of this book I have in my hand says, “The principal object of a free press in every country, is to expose abuse, and to prevent the repetition of evil.” “Its tendency must be unfavourable to the power of individuals; and subservient to the purposes of good governments.” “It is conducive to order, and necessarily opposed to confusion.” Now let every man look to his own experience, if he will not be judged by his own feelings. Is it not the natural disposition of every being that has power, first to keep, and next to extend it ? I do not blame any man for the disposition to do this ; I only ask—Aye or No—has he not constantly that disposition ? Is he not naturally desirous to get as much of the comforts and advantages of life as he can for himself, and with as little as possible of trouble or exertion ? This is human nature. A man will advantage his own convenience, where he can, by oppressing others. The fact is, he cannot get more than he works for, unless he takes it from somebody else. Now the object of the press is to expose all misrule of this description. To hold out a warning to persons in authority.—“You are invested with a sacred power ; on your due exercise of which depends the welfare of the community ; and here is the press ready to publish your abuses to all the world, if abuses you do commit.” Who then, I say, are those who open the door to revolution ? For this is what is charged.—“The natives of India will rise,” it is said, “and expel us.” Why, if words will expel us, we ought to be expelled. If we are to keep India as a despotism, deprived of a free press and of its hourly effects, my answer is, that I had rather not keep India at all than upon such terms. But I say, the man who seeks to do this, who would work only with the strong hand—stifling all knowledge of misconduct, and giving the rein to power in whatever hands that power might be to oppress—that man is the friend, and real friend, to revolution: not he who, by destroying mischiefs before it become intolerable, takes the sure and the ready means to avoid it. “By what measures,” says the author of the letter to Lord Hastings, “By what measures can sedition and disorders be prevented ?” “By those only which will

put a stop, in time, to the abuses of governments.” Why, does not that come home to the breast of every man ? If a man is inclined to behave improperly in moral life, or in civil life, can anything be so likely to restrain his disposition as the fear of exposure ? I do not mean to say by this—Heaven forbid I should—that I would sanction the uttering a word of untruth as to any man, nor yet any unnecessary exposure of his private character or conduct. His conduct is only so far fair matter of examination, as it is mischievous to the community in which he lives ; and I wish that the Court of Directors, who have so long condemned the free press of India, would turn their eyes upon the pages of the ‘John Bull’ of that country—a paper written by the Secretary of the Government, and established only for the diffusion of private scandal. But they are not hostile to discussion altogether, I am afraid, but only to free discussion. They would admit papers fast enough, I have no doubt, which would undertake to do no harm to them. If they could secure their acts being painted in fair colours, as faithful servants, and good men—as pious men too (for some of them, when they have leisure, are given to piety)—there would not be the least objection to newspapers, but rather an encouragement of them, if they were published every day. The Court would recollect the old fable of the wolves and the sheep. It is difficult to steal the sheep while the dogs are on the watch ; but muzzle the dogs, and then you deal with the flock at your leisure. Such was the parable read to the Greeks;—such is the view now entertained by the Government of India. They have muzzled the dogs ; the wolves are let in in a body ; and abuse is now running riot in every quarter of India. For is there any man who is in the habit of receiving communications from that country, and who will say that he has not already heard of the effect of suppressing the Free Press ? We hear of the unlikelihood of gentlemen’s being changed ; Mr. Canning tells us that Lord Amherst’s friends would as soon believe he had become a tiger as a tyrant ;—but the Judge of Bengal (though he has not become a tiger) has declared him to be a tyrant ; for he says, “all that tyrants can do is to make men wretched ;” and he says, “Lord Amherst has made Mr. Amherst ; therefore I say he is a tyrant.”

“The Government,” continues the author, “which takes no care, even

to assist these expositions, forgets its duty." Why clearly it does so; exposition is all that reasonable individuals desire; on every case, let but the facts be fairly known—let there be no attempt at concealment; and, whatever has happened, the community is satisfied. I do think, and I repeat it, that opinions such as these must carry conviction—backed, as they are, by our daily experience to every man. "By the fair expression of the national voice," the writer goes on, "upon the acts of government,—by this it is that the state acquires a true knowledge of the character of those acts, and of the impression which they are producing." Why, can language utter any sentiment more obviously just to every person of common reason? Turbulence is spoken of by the opponents of vices like these—turbulence (or the expression of it) is a good safety-valve to prevent explosions in the constitution. Persons proceed openly, when they are what you call "turbulent," instead of proceeding in secret. The complaint is stated; meetings take place; discussion abroad and in the newspapers follows; men think, (they need do no more) and errors are corrected—corrected before they reach that height which they would attain under a close and silent system, and at which the ready remedy is commonly resorted to for them—revolution, rage, and bloodshed. But I say that the thing goes farther yet than this. I say that a free press, by which the public voice can make itself heard in this manner, has another most important and valuable effect—it brings home to the mind of a man in power himself many facts, which would otherwise never come to his knowledge. Many persons are in the daily habit of committing acts which they do not—for want of hearing the opinions of others upon them— which they actually do not know to be faults. By being reminded from time to time of what it is they are about, these very persons, perhaps, see their duty, and adopt, in the end, the courses which are proper for them. They read, at all hazards; and that can do them no harm. If they see cause to believe what they read, a hundred to one that they are benefited; if they find the view given incorrect, they pass it over, and it can do them no mischief. If they alter their conduct in consequence of what is said, then there is good; if they do not alter it, they suffer nothing, and have no cause to complain. My own experience, small

as it has been, since I have been a public man, convinces me of the truth of this principle. The greatest favour that any individual can do me is to send me a *critique* upon my conduct. —I am always pleased when a man does this. I hold him, whatever side he comes from, to be a good friend. I examine his opinions—ask myself if I have been wrong—and, if I find I have, correct them. I had much rather that a man would do this—tell me I am wrong openly (though it were in hard words) than run about to utter slander of me in secret. He will always say less ill of me to myself, let him say as much as he will, than he would say to any one else. I have no opinion in common with that individual who would crush, if he could, a free Press, and yet not scruple to blast a private character; and I do hope that there are others about me, who look at the subject in the same fair and open way. I think that the free Press, to every public man—and to every private man as far as he is concerned—is as a looking-glass held up to him in which he may see his real image; and, if he has it, his real deformity. While he has this, if he will reform, he may reform; and governments are reformed by just the same process as individuals—therefore, I say that he who would strike away from us the free Press, would deprive us of the firmest pillar upon which a good government ever can rest or ever did. I will not take up the time of the Court with lengthy quotations; although it is curiously shown, in the book which I have before me, the effects which have resulted from different conditions of the Press—to wit, that every Government in Europe, while a free Press existed under it, has uniformly been free from revolution or scenes of violence; and that, on the other hand, when that freedom was abated or put down, seditious meetings and associations have followed. And in the nature of things it must be. Men will have their rights, in the long run, by some method or other. What are these meetings which some call seditious, but meetings fairly held to repress and to defeat unlawful and unconstitutional force? Be they what they may, however, it is clearly demonstrated in this work, that wherever there has been a restraint upon the Press, a tendency has manifested itself to the assembling of them immediately. Now, then, therefore, to come to the plain broad question—are the East India Company's ad-

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ministrators unworthy, or are they not? If they are, why let them not blink the fact—let them leave their seats, which they disgrace, and make room for better men. If they are unworthy, let them do this; if they are not, what is it that they fear? But I say they are unworthy! Sir it is no wonder that they fear. The existing Government of India is almost beneath contempt. They *are* unworthy—I stand here to tell them so—utterly unworthy of the stations and of the confidence which they hold. They have fulfilled my predictions, Sir. I do not thank them for it; they have answered the opinion that I always entertained of them. I always said, “let them come to the hour of trial!” They have not disappointed me, Sir, either as to their parts, or as to their merits. Why, look at these men, who are so potent where they have chains to apply, and weakness to oppose them; look at their conduct, where real courage and decision is required! look at these men, who were so lordly in the cases of Messrs. Arnot, and Palmer, and Buckingham, when their antagonists were bound and naked, and they needed only use their 50-horse power to crush them with; look at them as soon as the Burmese appeared!—alarmed, trembling, frightened out of their lives! Bullies, Sir, ever have been cowards; they never know what moral courage means. Lord Anherst, Mr. Adam, and their friends, I say, were bullies to Mr. Buckingham and Arnot, in their official situations; they are cowards now that their firmness is put to the real test: Sir, I say this of those gentlemen, and I say it fearlessly. It is my duty to take the course which I am taking. And, if my friends will assist me, I will go still farther: I will bring these persons over to answer for their misconduct, to receive the penalty of their monstrous abuses, to be examined, and forced to answer (with all their hauteur), and to be punished for the wrong that they have done. If I do not prove Mr. Adam to have been, to say the least of him, blinded, grossly misled by passion, disposing of matters which affected the happiness of thousands upon thousands, with the haste and fury of a very few hours, I will ask no assistance from this Court. Let the Court recollect the words just said by the hon. Member for Medhurst. Let any gentleman only take the trouble to look over the Hyderabad papers. And, here, I am pleased to see before me a certain honourable member (Mr. Stewart) who will have to answer, when the

proper time comes, for a minute which he has put upon the record. I consider those documents (and I tell him so fairly) to hold the honourable Member up in a light very exceptionable indeed. The conduct of the Bengal Government, and that of Mr. Adam in particular, does appear to me, and I avow it, to have been oppressive, up to a degree actually of atrocity. Mr. Adam dismisses the affairs of a house which held a million and a half of property in its hands; dismisses their affairs, which involved the safety of all those who were concerned with them, in eight-and-forty hours. He does this—for consideration is beneath him; he does this in such language—in language, which, mark my words! will yet recoil upon himself. I shall be happy to see that day arrive, and to take part in bringing such a culprit to justice. The affairs of the house of Wm. Palmer, and Co., in which the happiness of thousands and tens of thousands of persons are involved; these are dismissed within eight-and-forty hours after the accounts have been received!—the people themselves treated as though they had been the greatest rogues—the most absolute wretches and impostors, in the universe! The Affairs of the house of Palmer! Why, there scarcely ever was an account of £10. 10s. challenged before any public body in England which did not receive more consideration. Condemned summarily! and in such language! but, in fact, I believe the whole of that condemnation will turn out to be unfounded. On July 28, (let the Court mark this,) these important accounts were received. They are the accounts of a house established under the sanction of Government; individuals of all classes had become their constituents. In forty-eight hours, that is to say, in a term of three days, (a Sunday intervening,) in this space Mr. Adam and his friends discuss and decide the whole matter;—run over the documents (if they thought that measure necessary); make up their minds (if their conclusion was not come to before); and, in conclusion, stamp their seal to the ruin and reprobation of the individuals.

MR. R. JACKSON.—My hon. Friend will excuse me, if I just interrupt him here for one moment. I understood him to set out,—he will correct me if I am wrong—with an intention to support the production of certain papers connected with the question of the freedom of the press in India. He has since, however, in the warmth and hurry of his elo-



quence, got chin deep into the matter of the Hyderabad papers, the discussion of which, a short time since, it was agreed to defer for the present. I would submit to my hon. Friend, whether it would not be more advisable that he should refrain from commenting upon a subject into which the Court is not prepared to enter. He has just levelled, in the way he is going on, an hon. Member near me, with a knock-down blow, who says—"I cannot answer any of this, because the question is not before the Court." So, with respect to my Friend's strictures upon the conduct of Mr. Adam. I hope that Mr. Adam will come out of all formal inquiry in as honourable a light and situation, as he stood by an almost unanimous resolution of this Court passed the other day. With every deference to my hon. friend, I think it would be more convenient for all parties, and for the purposes of discussion, if he would not enter into matter which cannot be answered, but confine himself, as far as possible, to the question before the Court.

Mr. STEWART.—The hon. Gentleman has certainly, in a very feeble manner, denounced me to the Court. He thinks, what I am sorry to hear, that my condition is not at present unexceptionable; but he says, what I am rather pleased to hear, because it affords me an opportunity, that my conduct demands explanation. Now perhaps, the hon. Gentleman will go further than he has done, and have the goodness to name the points, on which he takes an explanation to be necessary.

Mr. HUME.—Sir, the hon. Gentleman is adroit enough at making out his own case. I never doubted his ability that way. But I will state my view to the Court as briefly as, consistently with being intelligible, I can. The conduct both of Lord Amherst, and of Mr. Adam, had, long enough, been sufficiently extraordinary; and it happens at last, that their measures are brought to light by the very parties whom they fancied they had crushed. Gentlemen complain of my making statements which cannot be answered! What answer did Mr. Adam ever wait for? Did he not gag an individual—transport him—then denounce him—as far as he could, destroy him, without listening to a defence? And is it he who now comes forward—or gentlemen come forward for him, to complain of an *ex-parte* statement! *Ex-parte* statement! Why, we are now only discussing, only questioning, the *ex-parte* statement—the *ex-parte* conduct—of Mr. Adam himself.

Because I mean to say that the conduct of Mr. Adam, and of his counsel, towards Messrs. Palmers, is very nearly coupled with the treatment which Mr. Arnot has received. We need only look at Mr. Adam's conduct in a case like the Hyderabad, to have a key to his whole feeling and conduct with respect to the liberty of the subject and the press. The liberty of discussion would not suit a medium in which such measures, from day to day, were taken. Either such government must be changed, or it must not be talked about; and the latter seemed the easier alternative of the two. With respect to the hon. Gentleman who has just addressed me, I feel it my duty to say to him, that I do think his conduct very much requires explanation. I could state the points on which I think it needs explanation, and I should be ready enough to do so now, were it not that such a discussion is not necessary to the immediate object which I have in view. Now I beg to be understood here fairly. So much has been said of the difficulty of changing our character, from one sentiment to another—every body has been so much amazed at the notion of its being possible that their personal friend should change his conduct or ever do wrong. Is it recollected that changes of feeling—if there should have been any in this transaction, will not be quite peculiar to the parties immediately concerned in it? That individuals may be named, who, for thirty years, had been the most firm supporters of the freedom of the press; and who yet could turn round to applaud and exculpate the man whose conduct they had reprobated, and whose principles they had so long been opposing? But, to come to the main question! Unless I satisfy you that the freedom of the press is beneficial, valuable, desirable, in India (as well as every where else,) it is in vain to call upon them to continue it. I take therefore two divisions of my subject; one the act of the deportation of Mr. Arnot; and the other, the suppression of the newspaper called the *Calcutta Journal*; and perhaps it will be most convenient in the way of arrangement that I should begin with the measure that I have last mentioned, first; both these acts are acts of high importance; and those persons who do not go all the length of condemning the system of deportation, will still allow that it becomes a serious matter, when it is attended with ruin to the fortunes of the party who becomes the victim of it. Mr.

Buckingham's case, as regards the deportation, has been discussed again and again; but there are important circumstances attending on, and arising out of it, which have not yet been properly brought under the notice of this Court. I address myself therefore peculiarly here, to such of those before me, as esteem themselves individuals of a Company of Merchants; for as merchants, peculiarly, they ought to have respect, and if they are wise they will have it, for the rights of trading, and the security of private property. In fact, the degree in which that feeling operates throughout the whole country, is so generally excessive, that it sometimes becomes almost ludicrous. Nothing is more common than to find persons possessed of property by that which is a breach of every law, and of equity; and yet, such is the respect here for what a man *has*, that his fellows, even for their own advantage, are very cautious about touching it. The monopoly of beer-houses in London—it is a great abuse; but you are answered, "It is an abuse in which a million and a half of property is embarked." "It is an evil," people tell you, "but it is an evil which has grown up by degrees. You would not destroy the brewers—ruin all whose money is involved in it?" Now it is to persons who entertain this feeling, and, within reasonable limits, there can scarcely be a more commendable one—it is to the persons who entertain this feeling that I would here most particularly address myself. Perhaps, Gentlemen who would have very little feeling for the fate of Mr. Buckingham, may have some feeling, some sort of instinctive dislike, to the destruction of any man's property. It is a subject which does naturally touch every man's feelings. Ill examples are catching; the case might by some accident become his own. The late Mr. Perry, the Editor of the *Morning Chronicle*, raised the value of that paper. I believe it was sold at his death for the sum of 40,000*l*. He raised it to that value by a course of honourable industry; and, speaking of him only as a public journalist, without reference to politics, I may say, perhaps, that he was a man as little likely to incur censure, as likely to deserve praise, for conduct in his calling, as any individual who could be mentioned. Mr. Perry raised the value of his paper, the *Morning Chronicle*, in England, to the amount of 40,000*l*. Mr. Buckingham went out to India with a regular licence, and he established a paper

also, which he raised to the value of 40,000*l*. Mr. Buckingham considered himself entitled to act, as a public journalist in India, in the same way that a public journalist of respectability would do here. No law at that time existed (fortunately for the country) to prevent his doing so. Accordingly, he conducted his paper as an Englishman, and a man of ability would be likely to do; he endeavoured to convey information to the community, and, morally and intellectually, to improve it. Mr. Buckingham, therefore, acted in India, as Mr. Perry had acted in England. He only took that course which, at home, he would have been justified and honoured in taking. What would have been said, I ask, in this country, if the Government had suddenly sent an order to Mr. Perry, to put down his press, to stop his paper, to ruin himself, and destroy his prospects; and all this done without either cause or compensation? Why, is there a man present who does not feel that the whole country would have been in arms at such an act? Is there a man who does not know that no government which was to authorize such an act could continue to exist? And yet this is just the act which Mr. Adam and his friends have thought proper, in the plenitude of their potency, to commit against Mr. Buckingham! Are we, or are we not, bound, standing where we do, to see that he has justice? Mr. Buckingham had raised his paper to the value of 40,000*l*. when this act of aggression took place. The proof of that fact is, that a fourth share of it had been sold for 10,000*l*. Under these circumstances, the Government objects to his further residence in India. By the power which it has of removing its subjects, a power sufficiently odious in all cases, however necessary; by this power, which is detestable when used, and should be employed only under the heaviest necessity, and with the greatest caution, the Government of India, when Mr. Buckingham censures its improprieties, very reasonably objects to his further continuance in the country. The particular act of Mr. Buckingham which drew down this punishment upon him was an act which this Court itself has censured—namely, the appointment of a Scotch clergyman to the office of "Clerk of the Stationery." The gentleman in question was Dr. Bryce, the head of my Church, Sir, the Presbyterian Church—(I think him no honour to it)—in India; and he had



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either rejected just before, or given up, some duty connected with the operations of the Missionary Society, upon the plea that he had already sufficient employment upon his hands. Now, because Mr. Buckingham, in his paper, mentioned the impropriety of Dr. Bryce's appointment to this lay office, as unsuited to the dignity and sacred character of his profession, for this act, the Governor-General, Mr. Adam, puts him on board ship, and hurries him away from all his property--from all his established means of fortune--to England; using a power, let it be remembered at the same time, for the exercise of which, although it be committed to him, he is responsible. If the professional adviser of Mr. Buckingham in India--to the scandal of his legal calling--had not taken office under the Government abroad, and left his client without that evidence which it was his duty to have procured for him, Mr. Buckingham would not have been barred of his means, as he now is, of obtaining compensation by an action for damages. Mr. Buckingham is removed from India by this act of the Governor-General Adam's arbitrary power; but the intention of the British Government, as proved by its letters; has always been, that every removal of this description, should be made with as much respect as possible for the property of the party. Now this is the point which has not yet been discussed here. Mr. Buckingham has been robbed of property to the amount of 40,000*l*. When Mr. Buckingham left India, he transferred his property in his paper, to a gentleman named Sandys.

The Indian Government determined, then, to visit Mr. Arnot; who, unfortunately, was not a native, but who, according to the letter of Mr. Sandys himself, as well as the letter of Mr. Buckingham, was declared and known to have nothing whatever to do with the responsibility of this paper. Now, if it is meant to be said that the course pursued by the Bengal Government was justified by the circumstances of the Presidency itself, I shall reply, that there can be but one principle of action in such cases for the whole Indian Government. It never can have been meant that there should be one rule for Bombay, and another rule for another Presidency. And in the present instance, the more it has been attempted to evade the spirit of that policy, which alone the British Government would sanction, the more I shall insist that the Government of Mr. Adam has failed in doing its duty; but it was obviously the most cruel thing that could be done, to select a British subject for an

infliction that could not be visited on a native. [Hear, hear.] I consider myself bound to say, that so far as I can at present form my opinion, it will be impossible for Mr. Adam and his coadjutors to assert in their defence any legal grounds to justify the shamefully oppressive system upon which they have been acting. When application was made by them to the Supreme Court in India to sanction their resolutions in respect of the press there,—the newspapers' proprietors (I am not now speaking of natives, but of Europeans, or Englishmen rather) said, and very naturally and very properly,—“Why we shall be ruined if you take away our licence, you will utterly crush us;—and this paper, (Mr. Buckingham's paper) which is at present worth 40,000*l*. sterling, will be entirely stifled and destroyed.” [Hear.] And let honorable Proprietors observe what the Judge of that Tribunal, Sir Francis Macnaghten himself, said on the occasion. So far was he from consenting to countenance any such tyrannical operation of the resolutions, as Mr. Adam had since given to them, that he made this remarkable declaration:—“If I thought they would have the injurious effect which has been apprehended, I declare, pledging my word as a Judge for the sincerity of the declaration, that I would not sanction the resolutions by affixing to them my signature.” [Hear.] All this passed some time in the month of July; but in the beginning of September, it should seem that some paragraphs appeared in the same Journal, which gave so much offence to this very sensitive Government, that their Secretary was directed to write to the Editor, complaining that highly objectionable articles had been so allowed to be inserted. Now I have had the curiosity to look at these alarming, these reprehensible paragraphs, in order to satisfy my own mind of their real tendency, and to see whether there was any thing in them that ought to have been considered objectionable. I should state, by the way, that I have met with them in a clever and most excellent publication [Hear]; Gentlemen, I mean “*The Oriental Herald*” [Hear, hear]; a publication, the tone and merits of which I am willing to hope may in some degree compensate the world for the loss of a free press in India. At any rate, we may hope that it will inform the public mind in this quarter of the world of those malversations of our Government that seem of late to be going on in that part of our empire. And if it have but that effect, it will work the remedy of the mischief which Mr. Adam and his government have done; for, as I take it to be unworthy of Englishmen to suffer, so I believe it impossible for them to encourage, oppression any where. [Hear.] An Englishman, acting under prejudices,

or on false representations, may go on for some time, giving aid or countenance to injustice and wrong: but the moment that it is shewn to him that he has been supporting wrong—the moment he finds that he has been supporting a tyrannical measure, I believe that he will instantly abandon a cause which he ought never to have sustained. In the letter I was just alluding to, the Secretary intimates, “that the Government of the Honourable Company hold the editor and sub-editor as accountable *together*,” when they had been already certified by a letter, addressed directly from them to the Government, that the sub-editor would not be deemed responsible unless he should have written something which might appear to the Government of an unwarrantable kind, and which the editor himself might not choose to avow; and then, indeed, the sub-editor might be called to account for what he had thus written. But the Secretary, as if it were with a view to show the calm, deep, and reflective cunning and injustice, I may say, of the Government, and at the same time to demonstrate the manner in which it had been determined, at all hazards, to carry the ruin of this paper into effect, joins the two editors together in this novel prosecution, as if they were (to use a phrase of our laws) “*particeps criminis*,” and equally responsible for every thing inserted in the paper. [Hear!] If any body will only take the trouble to read over the articles that were so much objected to, he may refer to the same publication,* and see the very curious situation in which the Government, by their rash and vindictive proceedings against Mr. Buckingham and Mr. Arnot, have managed to place themselves, in regard to another newspaper. I do not know whether my Learned Friend (Mr. R. Jackson) has read the passages in question; but he will find them fully stated in the Oriental Herald, from which I read. Strange to say, they are, almost all of them, answers to articles that had appeared in the John Bull, [Hear!]—a paper which, as it professed to uphold all their acts, was allowed by the same Government the fullest range it might be pleased to take, in its observations and its strictures upon every man and every measure, not connected with those in power. [Hear!] I find there a letter or article, signed “Paul Puzzle-brain,” that is answered in one of the “objectionable passages,” which contains some remarks and animadversions upon its statements. The article in the John Bull, it appears, was a criticism upon me, [Hear, and a laugh] and as I am in the habit of seeing *such* critiques, all equally unfounded, I am sure I care not a pin for

them. It charges “Mr. Hume with gross inconsistency, [Hear!] for pursuing the line of conduct he did upon Indian affairs, after having taken contracts to the Company in India.” This insinuation happened to be just as correct as those which I am accustomed to, at home, from a similar quarter; for it is a falsity from first to last. [Hear, hear!] I never undertook any such contract, at any time, in India or in Great Britain. Now, from this little incident, unimportant in itself, we may in fact discover what is to be expected from the impartiality and fairness of the Bengal Government. The John Bull is to be allowed to attack me as much and as falsely as he likes; and when Mr. Buckingham’s paper comments upon his observations, and endeavours to show that they are destitute of truth, this very squeamish governor, Mr. Adam, and the serious Mr. Bayley, and the two other old women—[Laughter]—(for I shall prove that the whole of them together are no better;) the moment I am so defended, say, in effect, to the other party, “You have no business to do any thing of the kind; whatever may be said, let Mr. Hume hear it himself, and all alone! We shall punish you for your interference.” [Hear.] And this is your fair, your upright Governor-General of India. [Hear, hear, hear.] This is the man who we are told was worthy of a trust which appointed him to preside over, and to do justice to, one hundred millions of people who are under your dominion. But I think hon. Gentlemen will agree with me, that there are individuals who are determined, no matter what may be the consequence of their proceedings, to make themselves notorious. [Much laughter, and cheering.] I am really obliged to my learned and to my hon. Friends; but I hope that if my humble exertions in such a cause as this, have subjected me to the application of a similar remark, no blame will attach to me on that account. [Hear.] I have, I can assure this Court, studied a good deal to find out, if possible, whether any reason can be assigned to account for this extraordinary precipitation of which my hon. Friend and myself so much complain; and which may be best shewn by stating the single fact, that it was on the 12th of January, as I think, that my Lord Hastings left India; and on the 15th of February, that Mr. Buckingham was banished from that empire. There is a well-known and beautiful poem which we have all read, and which all, I should think, must join in admiring, by that great and excellent poet, John Milton. I allude to ‘The Fall of the Angels;’ a work with regard to the first suggestion of which there has been some dispute, and the exact origin of which I do not now precisely understand. But, not being

* The Oriental Herald.

able to persuade myself to attribute such an origin to it as some people have inclined to do; I confess that I have been apt to believe that Milton, who certainly had a great knowledge of mankind, intended to paint the motives and actions of men on earth rather than of angels in heaven. The same evil passions are portrayed therein, which we see so often at work in the world. In applying this observation to the case before the Court, I do not exactly mean to compare Mr. Adam to Beelzebub; [a laugh,] but I remember that such was Beelzebub's passion for authority, that he thought it "better to reign in hell, than serve in heaven." [Hear.] Now I certainly do believe that this furious and unbecoming haste on the part of Mr. Adam can only be accounted for by supposing him to have been actuated by this earnest solicitude—this breathless anxiety—to have his name and his authority as widely known as possible. I believe that he and his Government were determined upon doing something—no matter what—which might hand their names down to the knowledge of posterity, and save them from an oblivion in which they must otherwise have sunk. This eagerness for notoriety, they, can alone explain a conduct marked with such extraordinary precipitation. [Hear, hear.] Whether my hon. Friends will join with me in this opinion, I know not; but I do say that this was altogether a painful and a most unjustifiable case of abuse of authority by Mr. Adam's Government. Let us only look for a moment at the mischiefs which followed upon it. Some knowledge with regard to what had taken place in this business, has been communicated to us by means of the public press, and some discussions that had subsequently occurred in India, have completely cleared up this case. Applications, as I have already said, were made by the Proprietors of the paper to the Indian Government; and, on the appearance of the second letter, Government signified to them that they would withdraw the Paper's license. This happened on the 6th of November. In about a month afterwards, to a person, Mr. Arnot, who was employed by the Proprietors, but merely charged by them as a commercial agent, it was intimated, in a manner not to be misunderstood, that if the Proprietors of the Columbian Press (for that was Mr. Buckingham's own paper,) would allow some person to be appointed by the Government as its editor, the license might be retained. [Hear, hear.] And a negotiation for that purpose was, in fine, actually entered into. And who, now, does this Court think the person was who was so proposed by the Government? I think it will be astonished when it learns; not, however, that I blame those who do

notlike to have their acts looked into and discussed, for taking such a step even as this. Why, it was a Mr. Muston. And who was he? Why, Mr. Muston was the son-in-law of one of the members of that very Council who had already put down Mr. Buckingham's paper! [Loud cries of Hear, hear, hear.] The son-in-law of Mr. Harrington. Now this is a somewhat startling coincidence; though I will not say that the peculiar nature of the relationship was the actual reason for such a proposal. But such a feeling was abroad—so fallen was the crest of every freeman in Bengal, on account of these acts of oppression over the interests and the diffusion of knowledge, that the unfortunate Proprietors could not but think that it would be for the best to leave this Mr. Muston to deal with their agent, on whom they might depend. An arrangement was made between the parties, by which that individual was to have a salary; and, (though undoubtedly I do not mean to blame them for that) it was to be a liberal one; he was to have 1000*l.* a-year. [Mr. D. Kinnaid here whispered the hon. Gentleman.] An hon. Friend of mine suggests to me that I have omitted to mention Dr. Abel. But as Dr. Abel did not answer the purpose, although, I believe, he was a very clever man, nothing took place in respect of him, and it does not seem necessary therefore that I should say any thing about that gentleman on this occasion. Mr. Muston, then, was about to be substituted, and a license was on the point of being granted accordingly, when a stop was put to this transaction also, [Hear,] evidently in the expectation that the Proprietors would be obliged to give up the concern altogether. And this appears by the Government's own acts; for in a letter written by Mr. Bayley to Muston, he says that they (the Government) would not grant a license to that paper, so long as Mr. Buckingham continued to be the editor of it. And there is another expression which I will quote here, as showing what a public thorn Mr. Buckingham must have been to them. [A laugh.] They write to Mr. Muston that he may have the paper for a year, but they will not promise it him for any longer period; for they add,—“we are not sure but that at the expiration of that time, Mr. Buckingham's interest in it may revive.” So that they were still afraid of Mr. Buckingham, although he was then 10,000 miles off; and, at that time, they would not grant a license for the paper he had so recently edited. I think honourable Gentlemen will clearly see that all the proceedings of the Government were directed to the destruction of this paper, in this insidious manner, in order that they themselves might not seem to be its de-

stroyers. The consequence of those proceedings was, that the Agent, Mr. Arnot, upon consulting with the Proprietors on the spot, determined to sell all the types, and the interests in the paper, and to hand them over to Mr. Muston, as he was obviously the favourite man of the Government. Honourable Gentlemen will see, at once, that neither the Proprietors nor the Agent had, under these circumstances, any alternative; and finally the transfer took effect. By this forced arrangement—for it had been made one of necessity—Mr. Buckingham has lost a property of about 3,000*l.* a-year. [Hear, hear!] And, be it observed, this illegal proceeding against him was persisted in, although Mr. Buckingham, and the other parties concerned in his paper, had always offered to submit themselves to all the control by which newspapers in England are regulated. All they asked—all they contended for—was, to be allowed to submit themselves to the laws of England,—to those laws which they urged must govern them, also, in the land wherein they then were; “but do not,” they said, “do not destroy us by an act of powerful oppression, thus hastily determined on, and rashly and inconsiderately put in execution.” The consequence of the Government’s acts, however, was, that the property of Mr. Buckingham and other individuals in this paper dwindled down from 40,000*l.* to the value of about 1,500*l.* Mr. Buckingham was himself carried out of India by a sentence which might have accorded, perhaps, with the mischievous energy of some barbarous despotism; but which, Gentlemen, could never be worthy of your Government. [Hear, hear!] He was deported by an arbitrary proceeding similar to that sentence of deportation which the French National Convention so often passed upon the most intelligent and worthy men of France. But,—and I would call your attention, Mr. Chairman, to this important fact,—he was not treated, Sir, even with that degree of humanity which the National Convention accorded to those whom it banished;—for in all cases of deportation, they provided the sufferer with the means, at least, of subsistence. But nothing of this sort, Sir, was ever thought of in the case of Mr. Buckingham, who is now in this country,—comparatively speaking, I may say, a beggar,—and wholly reduced in his fortunes, which so lately amounted in value to 40,000*l.* [Hear, hear!] Why, then, I ask this honourable Court whether they will allow him to be the victim of such an illegal, oppressive, and unwarrantable proceeding as that which I have detailed? Will you not seek to obtain all the information that is necessary on a subject of such deep and incalculable import-

ance? If the support of honourable Proprietors shall enable us to obtain those papers, I do declare that I shall be ready here to meet all the ridicule and obloquy I shall deserve, if I do not prove every tittle of the case that I have endeavoured fully, but fairly, to bring before them. On this part of the subject, Mr. Chairman, I shall only add, that this act of Mr. Adam’s was highly disrespectful, not only to the honourable Company as a body, but to the English Government. It was a violation of their character for equity and justice, because it contemned the confidence which the Proprietors of the paper had displayed in those qualities, by offering to submit themselves to any judgment which the Government of England would warrant; though they refused to recognize the right of a capricious and destructive interference at the arbitrary will of Governor Adam. As to that interference, Sir, I believe the fact to be,—and, indeed, so much has been broadly intimated already by Mr. Buckingham himself—that before Lord Hastings left India, the suppression of Mr. Buckingham’s paper had been fully determined on by Mr. Adam;—that this determination, as Mr. Buckingham has been advised, was generally known, and stated at public assemblies in India; and suggested in a variety of letters from those quarters, of the same date. [Hear, hear!] And I contend that if the papers proper to confirm so important a statement can be obtained by the vote of this Court, Mr. Buckingham will be enabled to obtain restitution by being so furnished with a title to compensation from Mr. Adam for the injuries and damages he has received from that individual,—by reason of certain acts,—not arising out of the exigencies of the Government of India, but solely originating in the inexcusable precipitation and rashness of Mr. Adam. The short space that elapsed from the 12th of January, when the Marquis of Hastings quitted India, and the 15th of February, when Mr. Buckingham was deported, can furnish no answer to this charge of precipitation. The sentence, or order of deportation, was not at all called for by the circumstances of his case. I entreat this honourable Court to consider the character of this transaction, and the influence it is likely to exercise upon the future government of India. Will you allow yourselves to authorise measures of injustice or cruelty, for the mere protection of your Governor? Every act of such a kind that you sanction must tell against yourselves, and shake the stability of your Government. [Hear, hear!] Who can tell the mischiefs that we may yet find to have resulted from this assumption of arbitrary and illegal power?—an assumption, too, in a country, and among nations where

the voice of complaint, whatever have been the injuries committed, cannot make itself heard before the seat of power.—Good God, Sir! do we not know that even here, in Britain, a poor Englishman can hardly get his grievances heard, notwithstanding the anxiety of the laws to redress them; but what shall we say to the hapless case of the millions of natives in India, who, if our Government there be unjust or oppressive, are without a friend on earth,—and without any remedy whatever for their wrongs? [Hear, hear!] And who, Sir, are the individuals who rule these millions of natives? Have they had opportunity to study the character, the wants, the condition of the people over whom they are to exercise authority? Have they had opportunity to consider maturely, the nature of the acts they are to perform among them? No, Sir; they have been brought up, for the most part, in different districts at home; they are a different *caste*, who, having been educated in a college, are sent out, while yet mere boys, to take upon themselves the command of those millions of Indians; whereas, were they to remain at home, they would be sent to learn their own duties from men who would command them. [Hear!] Again, I implore the Court, for its own character and for the sake of justice, to institute a strict inquiry into this business. If Mr. Buckingham be proved to have been guilty of what the Indian Government have charged against him,—let him be punished accordingly, and the public mind will be satisfied. But if it should turn out that party feeling, (and when I say party feeling, I do not mean political party feeling, but personal or any other improper motives), have caused this destruction of his property; if we see that an act of oppression so serious had been the previous, perhaps the avowed, determination of that Government; if we see that such a property has been indeed confiscated in this precipitate manner, under these arbitrary proceedings;—should he not have our countenance and support when he demands an inquiry? [Hear, hear!] I say it is impossible for us, with any consistency or justice, to refuse him that demand. Let us have the papers that are recapitulated in the requisition; let us examine the facts; let us form our conclusions; let justice be done between the parties; and let retribution fall on the right head, be that which it may. [Hear, hear!]

And now, Sir, having stated as fairly and as concisely as I can, the most important considerations that suggest themselves to my mind with respect to Mr. Buckingham's case,—I come to the case of Mr. Arnot; [Hear!] and I do think that its circumstances have been such, as to place him in a most afflicting and

a most cruel situation. They have placed him in a situation of the most unmerited hardship and suffering, under certain peculiar regulations that affect not only him, but all those who engage themselves to promote the instruction and intelligence, I may say, of every Englishman in India. He was residing in that country without a license. [Hear!] Will this Court,—will the people of England believe that Englishmen alone, of all the world, are debarred from the soil of India! [Hear, hear!] whilst the Frenchman, the American, the Dane, and every other foreigner, may range at large throughout its territory without being intermeddled with at all,—(except for some unlawful act,)—by our Government there? But Englishmen are debarred from all intercourse with India; or if they do get there, so precarious is their situation that they may be seized upon ashore and carried on board a ship outward-bound, forthwith, even after forty years' continuance in the country. [Hear!] For I have myself known an instance in India, where a man, after a residence of that duration (forty years) within the Company's territories, was taken out of his bed, by the police, at twelve o'clock at night, and carried on board a vessel bound for England. In that case, indeed, the Court which authorised the deportation did grant the man a small sum of money to enable him to return to Great Britain. But it did not do so in the case of this Mr. Arnot. He is an individual who went out to India, originally, without your license; and so far as regards the consequences of that omission, I admit that he has no right to complain. But if, besides enduring those, Mr. Arnot be treated in a way such as no other Englishman would be treated in, he has a right to say, "they who treat me thus must account to me for their conduct." Now Mr. Arnot was one out of 500, or perhaps 5,000 Englishmen who are in the same predicament, as having no license of residence, but who are yet settled as clerks, assistants, manufacturers, and so forth. They form in India what I would call the middling class; and a most important one it is. And these are the people, precisely, that we want there. We want India colonized by English families. We want English societies placed in different stations there, who may be a check on the tyrants of India; [Hear, hear, hear!] for I mean to repeat, in the strictest sense of Sir F. Macnaughten's words, "that a tyrant can do no more than destroy the comforts and happiness of the subjects of a country; and that every Governor who pursues such a course is, in effect, a tyrant." Now, Mr. Arnot, as having no license of residence, was one of those whose names are regularly re-

turned to the Indian Government, every six months, I think, by the police. Therefore the Government in India have no right to say that they did not know, or were not aware, that Mr. Arnot was there. But Mr. Arnot was caught up, and sent home; and for what reason? Why, upon a pretence, of which, if any man will say that it was worthy of the disguised conduct that such a Government should always pursue, I shall have a very undignified opinion of that man's mind and feelings. It seems that the Government readily discovered that Mr. Sandys, whose interest in the paper has been before mentioned, could not be sent away to England, for he was a native; and as such could not be, by law, deported. But Mr. Arnot, an assistant on the paper, they could reach, because he was not a native. And they absolutely say, in their letter to Mr. Palmer, in terms that nobody can fail to comprehend the real extent of—"We are anxious to punish both the editors; both Mr. Buckinghan and Mr. Sandys; but Mr. Sandys we cannot punish, because he is a native; and, THEREFORE, we will punish—Mr. Arnot [Hear.] BECAUSE we can do so!" [Hear, hear.] Now this is the very effect of that letter; and it is stated, I may almost say, in so many words. Well; it is determined, then, that Mr. Arnot shall be deported. Mr. Arnot, upon finding this to be so, goes to the Police and states the hardship of his case. He says to them, "Here have I come out to India, and I have staid here for some years; I have now got myself an eligible situation; but I am, at this moment, unfortunately in debt, having involved myself, by some unfortunate speculations, to the extent of between 10,000 and 12,000 rupees; (a very serious sum, by-the-bye;) but I am now in a situation that will not only enable me in a very little time to discharge that debt, but ultimately, perhaps, to make my fortune." And surely this last is a natural wish enough to be expressed. We know that the object of a young man in going to India is usually to make his fortune; and, provided it be done by fair and honourable means, it is a meritorious ambition for any person to indulge. "If," says Mr. Arnot, in appealing to their better consideration, "if you will not send me away—if you will only let me remain where I am—I will engage never to write in this Journal more;—never to put pen to paper again in this way. I have now been three years and a half in India. Do but let me have permission to stay here, and I will pledge myself never to write another line of the publication." Now, surely, when we look at the humble, the supplicating language of this appeal, we must admit that in England the veriest criminal that ever

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was convicted, even would be allowed some additional trial on such a statement. But his prayer, Sir, was not granted, and his fate was determined by the government of Mr. Adam and his coadjutors. I deeply regret, as every body must, I think, who hears me, to see a man of Mr. Arnot's talent and spirit thus reduced, by the oppression of arbitrary authority, to the humiliation of preferring such humble supplications for mercy—for a little relaxation of the unauthorized severity of these men:—and while I admit that his written representations on the subject do credit both to his head and his heart—I blush for the painful degradation which the violence and harshness of the Government imposed upon him. [Hear.] Sir, it has happened to me two or three times in my life, to have seen, while in India, wild autelopes hunted by chittahs: [A laugh.] but as some honourable Gentlemen may not be quite aware of the nature of the sport, I will, with the permission of the Court, very briefly describe it to them. A covered cart is taken out, containing two chittahs or tiger cats, who are carried in this conveyance as near as possible to a herd of the deer. The moment the huntsmen think they are in a good ground, they slip up the cover of the cart; the hoods are removed from the eyes of the chittahs, and immediately these tiger cats spring out into the scene of action in search of their prey; and never does the animal, which they may happen to encounter, escape with life. Now I cannot help thinking of poor Arnot as being placed in the very situation of these unfortunate deer; and that the chittah or tiger cat is no other than Lord Amherst himself. [A laugh, and cries of Hear.] For notwithstanding Mr. Canning's pretty simile (which will come across my mind again) "that he should as soon expect to hear that Lord Amherst had turned a tiger as a tyrant;" it seems that Lord Amherst,—this lamb-like—this polite man—who understands law and manners so well, as we have been told, sends Mr. Arnot to the Fort, and absolutely imprisons him there—illegally and unnecessarily. Mr. Arnot then says—"You may deport me, if you will, but you have no sort of right to imprison me;" and so, accordingly, the result of the trial, which takes place upon bringing him up by habeas corpus before the Supreme Court, is, that Mr. Arnot is released and brought forth. [Hear, hear.] And Sir F. Macnaghten, in his sentence, declares, "that his imprisonment has been illegal; that it is the right of every Englishman to be at liberty, until declared by the law or by a jury, guilty of some offence which shall have forfeited his freedom." I lament to find that Sir F. Macnaghten supports by such

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paltry arguments as he here uses, the sentence of deportation; for I do contend that an English lawyer, who has gone out to India, has made his fortune there, and has, perhaps, retired, should be very liberal in the construction which he puts on the personal rights and liberties of his own countrymen. [Cheers.] His charge proceeds, however, to state, that "the Act of Parliament conferring on the Government of India such authority (of deportation), gives, at the same time, no power of imprisonment." He says, "Good God! is it to be tolerated that a British subject shall be shut up all the time without any legal authority, and for as long a time as the Government may think proper to keep him in prison, without bail or mainprize? Can such a thing be done?"

Now, observe here, Sir, that such a thing had been done in this case; and that this was the act, moreover, of Mr. Canning's "lamb." [Laughter.] Perhaps honourable Gentlemen will hardly believe, that after Mr. Arnot had been sent thus to prison, under a military guard, those who appeared for the Government had had the effrontery to talk of the delightful situation of Fort William, whither the poor man was forwarded. [Hear, hear.] Now, if it was the most enchanting country in the world, it could be no great pleasure at any time to look at it through iron bars; and yet these people absolutely wanted to persuade the Court that it was a very agreeable sojourn! I wish to God, the Judge had placed them all there in Arnot's room; [A laugh.] if it were only to enable them to form the most correct notions on the subject, and to discover how far disposed a man illegally imprisoned could be, to relish a fine prospect through the iron grating of his prison. Perhaps Mr. Adam and his colleagues might have arrived too, at some more correct estimate of the value of that liberty, wherof they had so wantonly deprived others.—The Judge proceeds in this strain. "It is in vain to talk of the pleasantness of the place to which Mr. Arnot has been sent. He went there by compulsion; he was no longer the master of himself, and this makes him miserable. It is said no tyranny has been exercised towards him: but what more can any tyrant do, than, by depriving it of its chiefest blessings to make existence miserable?" Why Lord Amherst has done this precisely; and perfectly verified, as I maintain, *one part* of Mr. Canning's description. Mr. Arnot being brought up for judgment, Mr. Justice Buller gives an opinion upon his case, which I do heartily wish Gentlemen to read so soon as they get home. He says exactly this in effect:—"It is not for me to say, whether this order of deportation is law or not: but the same

thing was done in the year 1791." And that is the satisfactory principle upon which this Judge consigns an Englishman to deportation! [Hear.] Then, said Mr. Turtton the Barrister—I pray the judgment of the Court upon this case. But the two Judges were not exactly of the same mind in all respects, and what was to be done? Was the opinion of the one to sanction that of the other, or was it to be made known to the world that they could not concur? However this might be, poor Mr. Arnot remained for two months in this situation, loose as it were in confinement, in hopes that the Government would have relented, and would have allowed him to continue in India; and at last he went up to Chandernagore. Some Gentlemen, perhaps, who hear me are not aware what sort of a place this Chandernagore is. It is a place but a few miles out of town, distant I mean from Calcutta, and to which if a man repair, owing no matter what amount of debt, whether 100 or 10,000,000 of dollars, he will there be personally safe. The Government of Chandernagore, which is a French settlement, does by courtesy, but in cases of felony only, permit the officer of the British Government to pursue refugees there; but in cases of all other kinds it is always a sanctuary for foreigners. Mr. Arnot, in hopes of receiving some assistance, retires to Chandernagore; but the agents of our Government, who follow him, go before the French Governor: and he, in violation of the custom of the place and the laws of France, which, as I have stated, there protect all foreigners except felons, allows the unfortunate man to be taken out of the place, without being allowed to take leave of his friends or to see his creditors; he is hastily carried down to Calcutta, and put on board the ship Fame. Now this vessel was going to Bencoolen, one of the most distant of our Indian settlements, for it is in the island of Sumatra. It was, too, a most unhealthy voyage; and to that place great criminals, such as those who have committed murder, but whose sentence has been commuted to banishment, are exiled. Prior to his sailing in the Fame, Mr. Arnot writes to the Government of India, stating that there were then in port five or six vessels bound for England, whose captains or owners had offered him a free passage to England. His letter then recapitulates the names of the vessels; the Neptune, the Flora, the Asia, the Victory, and one or two more; and he adds to the Government, "the law, possibly, gives you the power to deport me, but you must send me home to England by the shortest way.—You have no right to send me to Bencoolen.—Do make my remonstrances to

the Governor, Mr. Adam, and represent to him these eligible opportunities. It is cruel to send me in the *Fame*, which, being taken up for the purpose of conveying Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles to Bencoolen, will be engaged for five months at least in Government service; and which he may dispatch backwards and forwards to Singapore, or any where else he may think fit." And here I call the attention of the Court to the great sympathy manifested for Mr. Arnot by people on the spot. Besides the offers from the captains and owners of vessels bound for this country, it is clear that he was in India every where considered as an individual whose prospects had been arbitrarily marked out for destruction by Mr. Adam. I have seen a multitude of letters which all concur in saying, that there prevailed a general feeling of indignation at the violence which had been committed on his rights, and a general sense of sympathy for the sufferings of so injured an individual. It is said, forsooth, that both Mr. Buckingham and Mr. Arnot have been guilty of acts that have brought the Government of India into disrepute. But the acts of no British subject in India, whether a newspaper proprietor, like Mr. Buckingham, or any body else, ever brought the English Government in India into so much odium and such disrepute as these cruel and malignant acts of the Governor-General had done. Mr. Arnot, however, was cruelly and illegally carried in the *Fame* to Bencoolen, in spite of all his remonstrances and entreaties, and although he had communicated all these offers which he had received, of a passage home direct. But I know it may be contended that, by law, the vessels in which such deportations are effected must be Company's ships; whereas all these which have been mentioned were private ships. I know not whether such a distinction is seriously meant to be relied upon, under the peculiar circumstances of Mr. Arnot's case; but let us see, at least, in the way of comparison, what the law says in respect of deported foreigners:—"every foreigner who shall, after trial for any offence, be sent from India, shall be sent to England with every comfort and convenience provided for him that may be suitable to his condition." Now, is it not perfectly monstrous to suppose that the law of England ever intended that Englishmen alone should be subjected to such cruelty as we perceive in the mode of Mr. Arnot's deportation, while foreigners shall have the full benefit of so equitable a regulation? [Hear, hear, hear.] Certainly, when I reflect on the wantonness of that cruelty, I do say that if Providence ever brings down punishment on the heads of great delinquents, I do not despair of

seeing those men, who were the authors of such a persecution, ultimately brought to a just and signal account. [Hear.] And as far as human means are concerned, I will lend my best assistance, for one, to the accomplishment of that end. [Hear.] With the accident which befel the ill-fated vessel in which Arnot was sent to Bencoolen, the Governor-General most undoubtedly had nothing to do: but it is well known that the ship *Fame* on her passage took fire. Unfortunately, the captain of the vessel had it under my Lord Amherst's own handwriting never to leave Mr. Arnot for a moment,—on no account to lose sight of him for an instant. But was there any thing in the choice of the captain to whom Mr. Arnot was so strictly confided? Was he altogether an indifferent person in this strange matter? Why Sir, the captain had lived some time at Calcutta in company, in the closest intimacy, with the editor of the *John Bull* newspaper, [Hear, hear, hear.] the most inveterate enemy of Mr. Arnot and of his principles.

One can pretty well imagine, wherefore Arnot was embarked under the care and superintendence of this friend, of this agent, in fact, of the Editor of the *John Bull*. My learned friend who sits near me, seems to intimate, that these are little matters which I am dwelling on. [Hear, hear, from Mr. B. Jackson.] Why, so they are, Sir: but it is from the context of a great many of these little things, that you must develop, if you can, this strange transaction. I will pledge myself that I have stated every thing I have introduced into the discussion fairly to the Court; as far, at least, as the papers and the matters I refer to are understood by me. After the melancholy accident of the *Fame*, this poor man, through the humane interference of that excellent person, Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles,—who, much to his credit, applies to the Captain for a relaxation of Lord Amherst's order, obtains leave to go on shore. At this time Arnot was suffering severely under a bilious attack; and if there be any man in this Court, who has ever known what it is to be labouring under disease, and at the same time to see all his brightest prospects in life, and the labour of three or four years, blasted and fading away before his eyes,—I ask him whether he will not agree with me, that such accumulated distress, both of body and mind, must have been sufficient at this time, to overwhelm Mr. Arnot altogether.

To refuse to him the applications which under these circumstances he reiterated to the Government, was a cruelty more demoniacal than any thing I ever remember to have heard of: and I say again, that for such an offence against law, humanity, and mercy, justice must

be done. [Hear.] If that justice be not rendered, we ourselves shall be guilty of a wrong—of a degree of cruelty; such as this Honourable Company never yet manifested to its complaining subjects and servants. While I am on this subject, I may add, that I lament the loss of the Fame on some accounts, more than on account even of Mr. Arnot's sufferings; because, in that vessel science and history lost the invaluable treasures that formed the collection of Sir Stamford Raffles. [Hear, hear.] His papers and documents connected with the history of India are particularly to be deplored, now that they are lost to us; for I regret to say, that there are many of us who are Governors, and many of us who are Proprietors of India, who yet know little or nothing about its history. How much should we,—how much would science generally, have been enlightened by the publication of materials so ably collected as these had been. I wish to God! Sir, that we had some few servants in our various governments in India, a little like Sir Stamford Raffles; whose object has been always to extend the boundaries of information,—to carry the benefits of civilization among the rudest savages,—to multiply the means of their happiness; in short, to benefit all mankind! [Hear.] We should, were we thus assisted, largely increase the knowledge of the western world in respect of the eastern, and bring back from the eastern all the scientific treasures she possesses. The consequence would be, that there would hardly exist a single native in India, whose connexions with the Company and its good government would not be more intimately strengthened. Sir Stamford Raffles I have never had the pleasure to see but once; and on that occasion, I met him in a party at the late Sir Joseph Baikes's. He may have his faults, or his erroneous views on some subjects, in common with all other men; but this, at least, I do conscientiously aver, that as a public servant, as a friend of all good government, as an officer of the East India Company, as a friend of the human race, I think we have hardly one servant who will bear a comparison with Sir Stamford Raffles. [Hear.] To return, however, to Mr. Arnot; after being thus enlarged from the custody of the captain of the Fame, he found that he could not be accommodated with a cabin in a vessel at Bencoolen for less than 2,800 rupees. But I have already observed, that Mr. Arnot was in debt in India between 10,000 and 12,000 rupees; and the government of Mr. Adam and his coadjutors had allowed him only 800 rupees for his passage. Still he does the captain quite justice; for he says, “if he had chosen to demand twice as much

I must have paid it.” So that for 2000 additional rupees out of his own pocket, he, at last, was permitted to access in the carpenter and boatswain's mess below, and to have a place of some sort or other for the purposes of that occasional seclusion which was absolutely necessary to him. Few were the comforts he had, and dearly he paid for them; and I think this Honourable Company will act very differently from what they generally do, if they shall not hereafter determine that he is entitled to some remuneration for his losses and his sufferings. [Hear.] Through the generous assistance of Sir Stamford Raffles, Mr. Arnot returned again to Bengal, where he again has petitioned to be permitted to remain. Even yet his prayer has not been heard; the vengeance of oppression is still unsatisfied; and it has been resolved that the ruin of his property and his prospects is to be completed. [Hear.]

An hon. friend just reminds me, that Mr. Arnot said to the governor, “do give me a little time; let me wait here till my friends in Europe have obtained for me a license of residence. Permit me to remain at Chandernagore or any where else in India out of your way; but do not send me away in this manner.” But no! even this little boon was refused; and the unfortunate man was carried away, and involved in that common destruction, for I can scarcely call it any thing else, in which it had been predetermined to ruin every body who had been at all connected with Mr. Buckingham. I have now laid before the Court, as briefly, and I am sure as honestly as I can, the facts of these two cases; and I do say, that in going over those famous documents which were to damn the Marquis of Hastings, and to place his character, in the discharge of his most responsible and exalted duties, in an odious and most reprehensible light; I have been struck with some circumstances that have too palpable a connexion with the same disgraceful precipitation of which I complain in the present Indian Government, not to be very proper to be noticed now. If my hon. and learned friend will not give his attention to a few details of this subject, I must say, that he refuses it to one of the strongest claims which the interests of justice and the public welfare ever preferred upon our most serious consideration. [Hear.]

At the very time these proceedings were being prosecuted in respect of Mr. Buckingham and Mr. Arnot, what was going on at Hyderabad? What was done as to the house of Palmer and Co.; a concern of the highest respectability, with Sir William Rumbold, the two Messieurs Hastings, and Mr. Lamb; in the firm? Let me here observe, Sir,

that I recollect the day when General Palmer was looked up to with unbounded respect by the government of India; and I recollect that law of ours, by which it is provided, that sons shall benefit by the good acts of their fathers. When I was up the country, I remember to have been in company with General Palmer, the founder of this house I may call him, and this Mr. Adam together. However, this former intimacy of Mr. Adam with the father, ought to have furnished a consideration why he should not lend his aid to the ruin of a house in which the sons were partners. [Hear.] This house, having been so established, with Sir W. Rumbold, the Messrs. Hastings, and Dr. Lamb in it, were entrusted with funds amounting to about one million and a-half sterling. This Mr. Adam, and the same notoriety-loving body which condemned Mr. Buckingham and Mr. Amot to deportation, also took upon themselves, with almost equal precipitation, to banish Dr. Lamb from India. The Messrs. Palmer, whom, as being natives, they could not banish, were told by this vigorous government, that if they also did not go out of the country they should lose their pensions under the Nizam's government. Mr. Lamb sent in a memorial, in which he says:—"I have affairs on my hands, in common with my partners, to the amount of 1,500,000*l.* sterling, the monies of our friends and correspondents. We have also debts here, to a large amount. Without me, these extensive concerns cannot possibly be wound up; do suffer me to stay here for that purpose, or our ruin must ensue, and that will involve the ruin of thousands." Mr. Lamb's petition was rejected with this answer:—"You may stay six weeks to wind up the concern;—a concern, Sir, of one million and a-half sterling! [Hear.] But six weeks were an age compared with the time which the government took to decide on this important case; for that was three days, Sir! [I need hardly say, that they have not wound up the concern at all. [Order, from Mr. S. Dixon.] Here, I appeal to the honourable Gentleman as a merchant, and conversant with the nature of accounts. Here are most extensive concerns, at once annihilated; time is asked to wind up the accounts and—

Mr. S. Dixon.—I really put it to the candour of the hon. Gentleman whether he is in order. I understood from the opening of his speech, that the character of Mr. Adam, as temporary governor-general, was at stake. What have these facts, of which he is speaking, to do with that question? I can know nothing of them; I can only judge of Mr. Adam's character. [Hear, hear.]

Mr. Hume.—Exactly so; and how is

his character to be known but from his acts?

Mr. Loch, a Director.—After the gratuitous assumptions with which the hon. Proprietor, (Mr. Hume) has favoured the Court, and the unfounded and grossly abusive accusations which have been lavished by him upon Mr. Adam, [Hear, hear,] perhaps, that hon. Proprietor will excuse me for interrupting him; in order to say, on behalf of Mr. Adam, that I pledge myself for that gentleman, on his return, to meet all the charges of the hon. gentleman. [Hear, hear.] And I assure him, personally, that no exertions shall be wanting on my part, to bring the subject forward at the earliest opportunity, after Mr. Adam shall have arrived.

Mr. Hume.—Will the honourable Director oblige the Court by stating, when Mr. Adam is coming home? [Loud cries of Hear, hear;—and no answer.]

Mr. Randle Jackson.—For the sake of the public, I hope at no very early period. [A laugh.]

Mr. Hume resumed.—In the fate of this house was included the fate of thousands, nay, perhaps of tens of thousands. Subsequently, I find that the creditors here met; that they have examined into the affairs of this house; that they have unanimously declared Messrs. Palmer and Co. to be upright and honourable men; that they find their house has a surplus of assets of no less than 14 *lacs of rupees*; [Hear, hear.] over all the demands that could be made upon them; and that they were only prevented from settling their concerns by the strong hand of power. I mention these matters to show the mischievous effects of the interference of that power in such cases. Let only the documents be produced which are mentioned in the requisition that is before you; and I will pledge myself to prove all the statements that I have made as clearly and as faithfully, as the documents that are now before you in relation to the Hyderabad business, will prove that all the proceedings in that case were most illiberal, and grounded on false suggestions. [Hear, hear.] Entertaining the feelings that I do upon all the topics I have mentioned, I may, perhaps, have occasionally expressed myself too warmly, but I do assure this honourable Court, that I never spoke upon any subject, since I have been in public life, with more earnest sincerity than I do on the subject which is now in discussion. Deprecating as I do the desire, and still more the exercise of arbitrary powers by any Government, I consider our connexion with the question of its abuses, not so much with a view to these instances, as to the general system. These instances, flagrant as

they are, are but specks and imperceptible flaws, compared with the fatal and overwhelming ruin which, if they be overlooked, they may one day entail upon the whole fabric of our Government in India. In this persuasion, Sir, I beg leave to move, That there be laid before this Court, copies of all communications, minutes, and other documents connected with, and explanatory of the suspension of the late Calcutta Journal, and the proposed renewal of its license; and of all other papers and documents mentioned in the requisition, under which the Court is this day convened. [Hear, hear.]

The motion having been seconded, and the requisition being read by the Clerk,

MR. RANDLE JACKSON rose.—My honourable friend having, in the warmth of his own eloquence, persuaded himself, that I object to the production of those papers which are named in his motion, and in the requisition that has been just read to the Court; I take the earliest opportunity that presents itself, to assure him that I have no objection to the production of those papers; [Hear.] in the hope, that being produced, they will lead to some of those wholesome conclusions that were so broadly stated at a late period of the last debate. It will be, I am sure, recollected that a very full Court attended then for a great many hours to much of the discussion which we have heard to-day. [Hear.] On that occasion, there seemed but one feeling to prevail in the Court; which was that Mr. Buckingham had been a candidate for martyrdom, and that he had in truth arrived at that honor. [Hear.] But they who thought with me on that occasion, avowed their friendliness towards a well regulated press. For I remember, at that time, to have heard my hon. Friend contend, in the fervor of his zeal, for what he was pleased to call the uncontrolled and unrestricted freedom of the press; and it was strongly put to him, whether, under those regulations which had been devised for the press by Lord Hastings, under which Mr. Buckingham himself had acted and acquiesced for so many years, and which that gentleman had moreover, so loudly eulogized at true time; whether those regulations, fairly and equitably acted upon, did not afford all the necessary means of enlightening India to any proper or beneficial extent? [Hear, hear.] Now I apprehend the difference between my hon. Friend and myself will turn out, when properly stated, to be this. He says, "I am as much for an uncontrolled liberty of the press, in those parts of the world, as I am here; because, if its abuses should become excessive, and injurious to private character and property,

or to the public welfare and tranquillity, you will have the law to refer to, and a Jury, as in England, to try every case in which these may have been assailed." Now surely the hon. Gentleman must recollect how strongly it has been stated to this Court, that in India, even in civil cases, the Judge *alone* declares and decrees, for want of a sufficient number of individuals in a district, qualified to perform the duties of Jurors. And in criminal cases the same deficiency is found.

MR. DIXON.—I beg pardon for interrupting the learned Gentleman; but I am sure his good nature will allow me to suggest, that, as he does not oppose the production of the papers moved for, it will be sufficient and proper time to make the statement with which he is proceeding, when those papers shall have been produced. [Hear]

MR. RANDLE JACKSON.—I am much obliged to the honourable Proprietor for his suggestion; but he will allow me to say there are some things which I feel it necessary to premise, at present, with regard to the liberty of the press in India. On the occasion I have just adverted to, I took the liberty of saying, that I, as much as any man, was for the freedom of the press in Calcutta, but I am not friendly to such a system as my honourable friend speaks of, which would carry it to licentiousness. And should it turn out, from examination of the papers that are called for, that the present state of the regulations of the press in India is not sufficiently liberal to admit of all the most enlightened and virtuous information that can be diffused, being communicated through it, it will be our duty, as it must be our interest, to take care that that press be sufficiently unshackled and enlarged for the accomplishment of so desirable a purpose. And I confess that I agree with my honourable friend, that the matters he has brought before us are, after all, but mere specks compared with that great body of considerations which the general interests of our Indian empire comprise. But I must also confess that I think he would much better have consulted those interests, which it is my object to support in agreeing to the motion for the production of these papers, if he had deferred those comments, with which he has favoured us, till the papers in question were before us. If, I say, our present system of a regulated Indian press be not sufficiently extensive and liberal, it becomes our duty to enlarge it. If that system should appear to have been not sufficiently considered, if private passion has been allowed, under it, to supersede, in any case, public justice, we shall get at that fact from an inspection of these papers. And I know that I am now appealing to an honourable body (the Directors), which will not allow, in any of their servants, any unnecessary

exercise of severe powers, or any wilful or illegal abuses of authority. I am sure—

The CHAIRMAN.—I trust the honourable and learned Proprietor will pardon me for interrupting his speech and obtruding myself on the attention of this Court, in order to say a very few words that may prevent some misconception. [Hear.] I was prepared to offer myself to the notice of this Court when the learned Gentleman rose. I am anxious to state that I am one who would not, I confess, feel disposed to grant the production of the papers which are called for. [Hear, hear.] The learned Gentleman seems to argue as if he thought I should be favourable to the motion, but after he has done I will state my reasons for refusing to concur in its object.

Mr. R. JACKSON.—Perhaps in regard to the last gentleman whose name has been mentioned (Mr. Arnott) he may have a strong claim on our humanity, rather than what may be deemed a claim founded on rigid justice; and if such be the case, no doubt that claim will not be made in vain. But my hon. Friend must excuse me for stating, that instead of a speech of explanation, or a speech marked by the same spirit of justice which he claims for the two gentlemen he has named, his has been (as it appears to me, and I think it must so have appeared to others) a speech of prejudication and imputation. [Hear!] Now all I ask on behalf of Lord Amherst; of Mr. Adam; and of all the other members of the Government in India, whose names have been mixed up in this discussion, is—that this Court—that the public—that the public press will at least suspend their opinions, until these individuals have had an opportunity of being heard in their defence. [Hear!] My hon. Friend has this day afforded us some idea of the inconveniences that must result from our giving ourselves up to conclusions and judgments over hastily formed. [Hear!] But has he not himself afforded also a signal example of the error which he deprecates, by attacking Mr. Adam before any of these papers are in our possession,—and certainly with no inconsiderable degree of emphasis? [Hear!] To Mr. Adam, and his constituents or colleagues, he has applied the imputation of their being men of extraordinary prowess and vigour, when they have had weak and timid victims to contend with; but men who, as at this moment they stand, stood gelid with their fears the instant the war broke out on the Burmese frontier. Now what will my hon. Friend say; when I tell him that at the moment the Burmese war so broke out, and from that time to the present, Mr. Adam was absent from Calcutta, [Hear!] and most probably heard nothing about the event till long after it

happened. [Hear!] When the war broke out that Gentleman was absent from Calcutta on account of his ill health; and up to this moment it is most probable he has not returned thither;—having, in the mean time, no more concern with the Burmese war, for better or for worse, than I have. Why then, I repeat the advice my hon. Friend would have given to Mr. Adam;—"let us not be too hasty and rash at any rate." [Hear, hear.] Mr. Adam was, in a crowded Court of Directors, declared worthy of the trust reposed in him; and that vote, you, Gentlemen, the Court of hon. Proprietors, subsequently confirmed. All I ask on his behalf is a fair adjudication of the whole business; and let these charges be made specifically, at the proper time. The same principle I ask my hon. friend, in particular, to concede to me. I do not ask whether my Lord Amherst be a tiger or a lamb,—[a laugh.] For any thing I know, he may turn out to be the former; but let us at least stay our censures or our judgments until we have those papers before us, on which alone those censures can be justified, and these judgments may be formed. Let us, in justice to public characters, do this. I am sure that the discussion of those papers will produce among us a just conviction of the effects and consequences of the freedom of the press in India;—from which I, for one, predict the greatest of blessings. It will enable us to do justice to the oppressed, if there shall have been oppression; and to pour balm into the wounds of a man who has been its victim, (as it is said);—although from the peculiarity of his case, it is very likely that the constituted authorities, however well disposed, may not be able to do so.—And though it is not the practice of the Indian Government, and I hope it will never become so, to take any notice of persons who have come out there without any authority, or are residing without a license of residence in British India, as long as they conduct themselves peaceably and can keep the circumstances of their situation secret; yet if it be in any manner made known to that Government, no matter from what cause, that this or that individual is so residing there without a license; I say it is the bounden duty of the Governor-General to say to such individual, "Sir, you have been reported to me as resident without license, and I cannot allow you so to remain here any longer." At least my Lord Amherst will have that defence to offer in the case of Mr. Arnott. He will have done no more than that excellent officer, Sir Evan Nepean did by Mr. Buckingham. Feeling a great personal respect for Mr. Buckingham, avowing his admiration for his talents, and his estimation for him as a man, it was yet the opinion of Sir Evan Nepean, at that time

in a high situation, where he was universally esteemed and admired, that he had no choice between his inclination and his duty. He said to Mr. Buckingham, "I have no choice; for the thing has now been brought so clearly before me," (the fact of that gentleman's unauthorized residence,) "that you must go home and get a license." Perhaps my hon. Friend will allow me to say, before I sit down, that had Mr. Arnot staid at Bencoolen, the circumstances of his case, the contents of his letters, and the loss of the *Fame*, would have obliged us to send him out a license. [Hear.] In justice to the man, in justice to the liberty of the press, and in justice to humanity, I do hope that these papers will be granted, and some steps taken to compensate him for his sufferings, if the case which has been stated shall be proved.

The CHAIRMAN.—I cannot but regret the remarks which the honourable Gentleman has thought fit to make; and I must observe, that whatever may be said of the liberty of the press, we have this day had an example at least of the most perfect liberty of speech. The Court of Directors, when this Court was made special, as in duty bound, considered the subject; and I am authorized by them to meet this motion with the previous question.

(The Secretary here read the resolution of the Court of Directors.)

At a Court of Directors held on Wednesday, the 15th December, 1824.

Resolved unanimously, That this Court are of opinion that any motion for papers relating to the measures in question, should be met by moving the previous question, or an adjournment, on the following grounds, viz.

The proceedings, in regard to the *Calcutta Journal*, were adopted in virtue of the powers lodged in the Bengal Government by the rule, ordinance, and regulation registered in the Supreme Court on the 4th April 1823; against which rule, ordinance, and regulation an appeal is now pending before his Majesty's Privy Council; and until a decision is passed upon this appeal, the Court of Directors have felt restrained by respect for the tribunal before which the appeal is pending, from communicating to the Bengal Government any opinion on the mode in which that Government have exercised the power vested in them by that regulation. On the same principle the Court of Directors cannot concur in any motion which may be brought forward in the General Court of Proprietors, in respect of a measure, the discussion of which, under present circumstances, they cannot but think premature.

With regard to the individual case of Mr. Arnot, it rests on different grounds from the suppression of the *Calcutta Journal*. Mr. Arnot was sent away from Calcutta under circumstances which appear from the records, in consequence of his being without a license there to reside; and of his having, in the opinion of the Government, abused the indulgence which had been extended to him during more than three years. After the burning of the "*Fame*," in which ship Mr. Arnot had been sent a passenger *via* Bencoolen to England, Mr. Arnot, on his return to Sumatra, addressed a respectful and submissive memorial to the Governor-General in Council, dated the 24th February 1824, recapitulating his misfortunes, and soliciting permission to return to Calcutta. This memorial was forwarded by Sir Stamford Raffles, by the first conveyance which offered itself. The Court have not received any intimation from the Supreme Government of their receipt of Mr. Arnot's memorial, and are consequently without any official information of the decision which the Bengal Government may have passed upon it. But the Court have learned through an unofficial channel, that Mr. Arnot has returned to Calcutta, and, if so, it may be presumed, with the permission of the Bengal Government; and there is no disposition on the part of the Court to withhold their sanction from such an act of liberality on the part of their Government, should Lord Amherst, with the advice of his Council, have seen fit to comply with Mr. Arnot's request.

Inasmuch as the hon. Gentleman has referred to what I said on a former occasion, (and I wish to stand well with those about me,) I take the liberty of stating that I recollect quoting some acts of parliament; and I now beg the Court to consider how the acts of parliament stand, which, in the opinion of the honourable Gentleman, place the natives of India not under a despotism, but under the authority of the Supreme Court. The act alluded to by the honourable Gentleman was passed in 1773, and it enacted, That the new charter should extend to all the subjects of His Majesty in India; and the Supreme Court is to hear and determine all causes against any person or persons directly or indirectly in the service of the East India Company. I presume, though not so conversant with acts of parliament as the honourable Gentleman, that the authority of the Supreme Court was limited by that enactment; and the subsequent acts of parliament clearly do limit that authority to persons immediately

employed by the Company. I regret that remarks have fallen from the honourable Gentleman in this Court quite uncalled for, and reflecting on the characters of Lord Amherst and Mr. Adam. I know that in the House of Commons imputing motives is irregular: how, then, can the remarks on Lord Amherst in this place be justified, since his conduct is not even under review? As to the comparison made by the honourable Gentleman between the late Editor of the Morning Chronicle (Mr. Perry) and Mr. Buckingham, it must be observed that Mr. Perry acted under the laws of England, whilst Mr. Buckingham went out to India under a licence, and was bound to observe the rules and regulations of the East India Company. In regard to Mr. Buckingham, the Court of Directors had approved of the conduct of Mr. Adam, and the Court of Proprietors had highly applauded the opinion expressed by them. On the 23d July last, the Court of Proprietors resolved, That this Court do concur with the Court of Directors in their approval of the revocation of Mr. Buckingham's licence to reside in India. This Court then approved of the conduct of the Court of Directors, and I conceive this proceeding to be no more than a mere repetition of the same subject. Besides, Mr. Buckingham has appealed to His Majesty in Council, on the 12th August last; and while the matter is thus *sub judice*, the Court of Directors have not presumed to pass an opinion; and I imagine the Court of Proprietors will not think proper to interfere till that appeal is decided. With regard to Mr. Arnot, no official information has reached us. The Court of Directors, therefore, know nothing on the subject, and I am not therefore called upon to say whether it was right or wrong to remove him from Calcutta; but I am called upon to state the opinion of the Court of Directors with regard to Mr. Buckingham, and, as I before stated, the Court of Directors has felt restrained by respect to the tribunal before whom the appeal is now depending, from communicating to the Bengal Government its opinion of their conduct; and I cannot, therefore, believe that the Court of Proprietors will now sanction any other line of conduct. Mr. Arnot was sent away from Calcutta on different grounds (being there without the licence of the Company;) but on his arrival at Sumatra, a memorial was addressed by him to the Governor and Council of Bengal, and forwarded by Sir Stamford Raffles; whether it has been received by the Bengal Government I cannot say; but the Court of Directors have learnt unofficially that Mr. Arnot has returned to India, and it is to be presumed with the consent of the Bengal Government, and there is no disposition on the part of the Court of Directors

to withhold its sanction to this *liberality*. I beg, therefore, to move the previous question; and the question I shall now put is, that "this question be now put."

MR. HUME.—One word of explanation. I beg to call to your attention what has been said as to deciding without documents; yet it is strange that the Court have decided that Mr. Adam's conduct, with regard to Mr. Buckingham, is correct, and have approved of it, though there is not one document before them. So much for the honourable and learned Gentleman's appeal against deciding without documents. All I say is, give us the information; let us know what the facts are. The object of my speech to-day is to disabuse this Court. It is evident the Court of Directors want to put an extinguisher on the whole proceeding; but is this Court to be told that they are not to come to any opinion because the matter is before another tribunal? If it be so, how useless is our meeting, and how useless are the greater part of the papers which are constantly laid before this Court. I therefore do contend; that the resolution of the Court of Directors is at direct variance with that maxim which is endeavoured to be set up, of hearing both sides. If you refuse the documents, there is an end to every thing like free discussion. The honourable Chairman says I am wrong in my construction of the act of parliament, but the first section which he has read establishes the position that I stated; for the power of the Supreme Court was limited, as I saw, by subsequent acts of parliament, because it was found so inconvenient to have the whole of the provinces under the authority of that Court. I therefore do say, that the refusal to agree to produce the documents places us in a very disagreeable situation; being thus left to grope our way in the dark. I hope never more to hear any blame cast upon us for the endeavours which we may make to obtain more light to conduct our investigations. I am resolved to divide the Court on this question, if I am able to count one only, convinced as I am, that the cause will do honour to the minority, however small.

THE HON. DOUGLAS KINNAIRD.—The resolution which has been read purports to be an act of the Court of Directors—I should wish to know if they were all on one side.

THE CHAIRMAN.—The resolution was unanimous.

THE HON. DOUGLAS KINNAIRD.—The Court will not fail to observe on the novelty of this proceeding of the Court of Directors, in thus acting in their several capacities of Directors and Proprietors also. I must be permitted to say, that it is not arrogating too much to suppose that when any individual member of this

Court proposes a subject for discussion, he thinks that he may be able to produce such arguments as may induce the concurrence of the Court of Directors; but it is without hearing the arguments of this Court that the Court of Directors have come to an opinion on this matter in question, by which each individual Director binds himself to that opinion before the subject is discussed, and by which every individual of this Court is precluded from obtaining his object. This places the Court of Directors in a very singular light in the eyes of the public. What is it but saying, "We gods have come to a determination beforehand, and you mere mortals have nothing to do with it but to acquiesce!"—"To be sure," they would say, "Mr. Hume will get up and make a speech of some two or three hours length, and Mr. Kinnaird will second it; but, assured of the support of the Gentlemen on the left hand side of the Court, we have nothing to apprehend." And what, in fact, has been the course of proceeding? Why, the Chairman gets up and desires the Secretary to read a certain document, containing the resolution of the Court of Directors, and by this admirable mode all *vis a voce* discussion is avoided, and the Court of Proprietors sit like blocks, are saved the trouble of thinking, or, if you will, like jurymen who return their verdict by the mouth of their foreman. And permit me to say, that the votes of the Court of Directors, in confirmation of the acts of their officers abroad, are of little value, if, when the character of those officers is denounced openly and manfully, not a man of these Directors is found who will enter into their justification, or deny the statements made against them. I cannot blame my honourable Friend (Mr. Hume), but I must blame those masters who thus treat their servants,—approving their conduct, but yet daring not to defend them in the Court of Proprietors. I shall myself feel cautious of speaking against any absent officer; but it is the duty of the Court of Directors to defend them when attacked. Therefore let me cheer for all protest against any insinuation being thrown out on account of the statements of my honourable Friend respecting the horrible abuses of power committed in India. He makes this statement on documents before him, to be confirmed afterwards by proofs before us, and undoubtedly nothing ever can be done in its detection and punishment of offenders without some such mode is followed. No man can say that my honourable Friend has done any thing unfair or unjust to the absent officers; but let me see the man who can justify the Court of Directors; who, instead of getting up like men to meet the charges, get up and satisfy themselves before the Proprietors.

They have concluded among themselves before the discussion is begun, and the Proprietors have nothing to do but to sit and hear their decision. Such conduct is at best ridiculous, or, I ought rather to give it another name; and say it is indecent. For my own part, I can never consider that the mere passing over any objections in silence should be considered as if an answer had been given to them; but in the name of your absent officers, I protest against such proceedings as unjust to them when their characters are attacked. Look at the conduct of the Government of this country: If a diplomatic agent is attacked in the House of Commons, that diplomatic agent would have a right to reproach the Secretary of State if he does not defend that conduct to the utmost of his power and ability. But here are twenty-four Gentlemen, who, in the most insulting manner, tell the Proprietors, "We don't come here to discuss it: we have decided beforehand." I have heard no names read, and don't know that the document is the act of the Court of Directors. I know there are many of them out of town, and in their names I protest against that document being considered as their act. [Hear!]

Mr. S. DIXON.—I must say that I see the conduct of the Court of Directors in a different point of view from that of the honourable Gentleman who made this motion, and I am surprised at the language held towards a man whose character through life, for humanity and honour, has never been impugned. All that has been asked of the mover and second of this motion is, that they would forbear making charges against those who may perhaps be hereafter put upon their trial. There is an old adage, that "There are none so blind as those who won't see," or the necessity of this motion would not appear very clear to the honourable Gentleman (Mr. Hume), for no longer since than July last, the whole case, as regarded Mr. Buckingham, was heard in this Court, and the conduct of the Court of Directors approved. As Mr. Buckingham's case is now before the King in Council, I do submit that any proceeding on our part would be improper.

Mr. RANDLER JACKSON.—I beg to know whether this proceeding of Mr. Buckingham is a personal appeal, as regarding his own particular case, or whether it is an appeal against the rules and regulations of the Bengal Government respecting the press generally.

The CHAIRMAN.—I understand that the appeal of Mr. Buckingham is against the rules and regulations.

Mr. HUME.—I beg to ask how it can be any reason for not discussing the question of compensation for the loss of personal property which Mr. Buckingham has sustained, that the general mode of

the Indian press is before the King in Council? It is monstrous to suppose that is a sufficient reason.

The CHAIRMAN then proceeded to divide the Court.

Mr. HUME.—As the Directors have already prejudged the question, I doubt whether they ought to vote.

The CHAIRMAN.—The Directors had a right to come to a conclusion upon it,

and by being Directors they do not cease to be Proprietors.

The Court then divided upon Mr. Hume's motion; when there appeared 13 for the question, and 49 against it. The Chairman then declared the question to be carried in the negative, and the Court adjourned at a quarter past 4 o'clock.

CHARACTER OF THE PUBLIC PAPERS RECENTLY ESTABLISHED IN ENGLAND ON INDIAN AFFAIRS.

In a former Number of our Publication, we had occasion to advert to the establishment of a Paper, under the name of *The British and Indian Observer*, and to record its discontinuance. The manner in which that Paper was conducted, was sufficient to disgust all men of good taste; and the attempt which it made to unite the praises of despotism in England, with denunciations of despotism in India, at the same time that it deprecated the introduction of a free press into that country, and thus opposed the only check which can effectually curb the excesses of arbitrary power wherever they may exist, could excite only contempt for the mind that deluded itself by a hope of ever uniting sentiments and principles so entirely incompatible with each other. For its indecent outrage on the feelings of all good men, in its malignant articles on Mr. Henry St. George Tucker, it deserved the severest reprobation. For its unjustifiable calumnies on Sir William Rumbold, it merited equal condemnation. The parties interested in these cases did not think proper to seek that redress which they might, no doubt, have obtained at the hands of a Jury: but a third unjustly aspersed individual, Capt. Smith, of the ship *William Fairlee*, brought his action for damages against Captain White, formerly of the Bengal Army, and Editor of the Paper in question, for slanderous imputations against his character. The cause was tried in the Court of King's Bench, during the last month, and no defence being set up, in justification, the Jury gave a verdict for the plaintiff, damages 250*l*. This Paper has long since been discontinued, and was characterized by the defendant's counsel as so obscure, that no doubt all the Jury then heard, for the first time, of its ever having had existence.

Within the past month, another new weekly paper has been commenced, professing its intention to attend particularly to East India affairs. Although the first three numbers of this Paper (the whole that have yet appeared)

may not afford sufficient data for a correct judgment on its merits or defects, yet we have little hesitation in giving it as our opinion, that it will split upon the very rock on which Capt. White and his *British and Indian Observer* were shipwrecked, in attempting to unite what cannot be reconciled, the support of despotism and opposition to all innovation at home; a professed intention to animadvert on acts of misgovernment, and to advocate the introduction of improvement abroad; and at the same time, the expression of avowed hostility to the freedom of the press in India, by which alone any check on misgovernment there can possibly be established, and by which alone the spread of knowledge, without which no improvement can take place, can be effected there or elsewhere.

In the first number of this paper, the Editor professes "to give early and accurate intelligence of every transaction at home or abroad which reciprocally concerned this country and our European brethren of our Oriental empire." He then speaks of the "varied and powerful talent which has been engaged to contribute in all its departments." He next states that, with a view to become acceptable to "men of every shade of politics," "it is determined as far as possible to abstain from mere political speculation," at the same time that "his columns will be always open to free discussion from all parties, so long as that discussion is carried on with temper and moderation."

These are the principal features of the prospectus issued with the first Number. Let us see how they are supported by the subsequent conduct of the Editor. In the Third Number, the proof which it gives of its fulness and accuracy in reporting every proceeding connected with the interests of India, whether at home or abroad, is this.—A debate took place at the India House on the 22d of December, where the question of the right of the Indian Government to destroy the property as well as to banish

the persons of Englishmen without trial, was, for *the first time*, formally discussed; and on this subject Mr. Hume spoke, as we have heard (for illness prevented us from being present as we had intended) with great energy and feeling for more than two hours. This Indian Editor, on such an occasion as this, ought to have had his own reporters in Court, to maintain the reputation of his paper for fullness and accuracy, and to redeem his pledge. This was, however, an expense which he did not think it wise to incur. He relied on the Daily Papers, and thought it less expensive and troublesome to copy from them. Even in this case, however, one would suppose, that he would have looked into all the Morning Papers of the following day (which he no doubt did) and have selected from these the fullest and most accurate report for republication in his own pages. No such thing. The Morning Chronicle contained a report of Mr. Hume's speech, which occupied above two columns. The Times contracted this same speech into a few lines only; and this Indian Editor who professed his determination to be "full and accurate" in all reports of proceedings in England connected with Indian interests, passes by the former, and adopts the latter! If this be the way in which he means to redeem his pledges, they must be of little worth indeed.

The reader will observe that our own report of this debate at the India House occupies thirty-four pages of closely printed matter. There was nothing to prevent the Editor of the Telescope procuring as full and as accurate a report as this: since it is a mere question of expenditure in engaging and paying competent reporters for such a purpose. That it may be seen; however, how "full and accurate" is his report of this speech of Mr. Hume's, which fills nineteen pages of the Oriental Herald, we transcribe *all* that he has published on the subject below: it is as follows:

"MR. HUME addressed the Court *at very great length*. He expatiated on the inestimable blessings of a free press, and then proceeded to detail *most minutely* the vexatious proceedings which had been adopted by Mr. Adam, the late Governor-General, to harass and distress Mr. Buckingham—proceedings, that ended in his expulsion from India, and the DESTRUCTION OF A VERY VALUABLE PROPERTY. He attributed the conduct of Mr. Adam to a feeling of malignant revenge. He then went over *all the facts* of Mr. Arnott's case, who was, by command of Lord Amherst, seized at the French settlement of Chandernagore, hurried on board a ship, and sent towards England, *via* Bencoolen, instead of being allowed to proceed direct to England. We do not deem it necessary, as THE

PUBLIC ARE ALREADY ACQUAINTED WITH THE SUBJECT, to give more than a *casual glance* at the speech of the honourable gentleman, who concluded by moving for papers, in the terms of the requisition.

"MR. D. KINNAIRD seconded the motion."

This is the whole of the report of the speeches of Mr. Hume and Mr. Kinnaird in the Times, which the "full and accurate" editor of the Telescope has copied. There is an admission that the speech of the former gentleman was one of "very great length," that it embraced "minute details of facts," and that it related to "the destruction of a very valuable property," which, it might be added, was broken up and annihilated after the most solemn engagements to respect, if not to protect it. This question of *property* had never been formally discussed before; as the former debates related to the banishment of individuals for their opinions, the suppression of public writings and discussions, of which it was only *one* of the accidental consequences that great loss of property was sustained. But even if it had been discussed before, is that a good and sufficient reason for never reverting to it again? What would all the clergymen of England do, if the facts and opinions which they had once laid before their auditors were never again to be repeated? Their occupation would soon be at an end. What would our peers and commoners do, if they could only trust themselves to detail the same facts and opinions *once* to their fellow-senators and the country? They must soon cease speaking at all. Nay, what would the editors of newspapers themselves do, if they could never venture to repeat facts or opinions which they had already laid before the public? They would soon be exhausted. In the great question of the Abolition of the Slave Trade—in that of Parliamentary Reform—in that of Catholic Emancipation, in short, on every great topic that has ever been agitated in the country, have these editors been content with *once* stating facts and opinions and never returning to the subject? On the contrary, they return to it, as they ought to do, again and again, and it is their duty *never* to relinquish the advocacy of a good cause, until its objects are accomplished, if it last their lives out. When the persecution of the Queen agitated all Europe; when the imprisonment of Napoleon interested the whole world; when the French invasion of Spain occupied the attention of England, did the Times *then* content itself with once stating facts and opinions, and never returning again to the charge? All its readers know that it did not; and that its repetitions of praise and censure, of accusation and defence, were incessant. Why,

then, should it take the same course on the subject of the Indian Press? There is but one reason: yet, with the Times, it is known to be an all-powerful one. It is this: its most determined advocacy of the freedom of the press in India would not sell a single additional copy of its paper, while it might, by possibility, abstract from it the profitable advertisements of the East India Company, from which it now derives a large profit. Without such an explanation as this, can it be believed that the suppression of all public discussion at the Cape of Good Hope, where there are but few Englishmen, and a scanty population of other subjects, should excite its utmost indignation, and induce it, again and again, to pass the severest censures on Lord Charles Somerset, as the author of such suppression: while the very same outrage to the rights of freedom, committed in India, where there are a hundred times the number of Englishmen, and millions of other subjects, suffering under the oppression of their rulers, and where, to this invasion of mental independence, has been added the banishment of individuals, and the destruction of property to a much larger amount than was involved in the suppression of the Journal at the Cape—excites no such feelings of indignation, but leads the editor to treat all reference to the subject with a sneer, and not only to refuse admission into his columns of appeals from the injured party, but to give such a report as the one we have quoted, of a debate, which, had it been on almost any other question, it would have given a greater length than any other paper in England. The conduct of the Times on this great question of the Freedom of the Indian Press is without excuse; and must lead all reflecting persons to doubt the sincerity of its professions in other matters, when it avows its attachment to freedom and its hatred of injustice and oppression nearer home.

To return to the Editor of The Telescope. We have seen how well he has supported the character of his paper for "fulness and accuracy" in its reports of proceedings on Indian questions. Let us see how it maintains its profession of having engaged the most "powerful talent" for the development of its opinions. In his paper of Sunday the 26th of November, the third number issued, and from which the full and accurate report of the debate before quoted is taken; the "powerful talent" thus announced, produces the following leading article:

"A Court of Proprietors of East India Stock, of the proceedings at which our readers will find a report (1) in our columns, was held on Wednesday. After the discussion of some questions of no great public importance, (2) Mr. Hume,

who, in default of Parliament, is keeping his oratorical powers in play in Leadenhall-street, brought forward the so often-handled question of the Free Press in India. (3). We are far from being admirers of the present administration of that country; but we must say, that in their suppressing Mr. Buckingham's paper, there is nothing to blame in their conduct. (4). Whatever may be the arguments urged, and justly urged, in favour of the freedom of discussion in this country, none of them at all can apply to India. (5). Our empire there, like the property on the Scotch border, was won by the sword, and by the sword we must keep it still. (6). We are foreigners—aliens in every possible point of view, and this is well known to the Indian population. (7). Are we, then, to afford them new fuel for faction? Are we to fill them with ideas, now unknown, of political rights, and speculations on the perfectibility of constitutions? (8). It would in truth be a fearful experiment. (9). We should never forget the fact, that the Europeans of India do not amount to more than 45,000 in a population of 20,000,000. Are we then to establish vehicles, by which the millions are to be called on to consider their relative importance to the thousands? (10). If such counsel came from our enemy, we should be at no loss to appreciate his motives. Mr. Hume, unintentionally we should hope, made some glaring misstatements, with respect to the newspaper-world of Calcutta. He declared the *John Bull* in the East to be as violent and dangerous as Mr. Buckingham's paper; and added that it was patronized and written in by men in high official situation. Now the *John Bull* was a *defensive* not an offensive paper. (11). Not a number of Mr. Buckingham's print appeared without some violent and frequently calumnious attack upon official people. (12). To repel these attacks the *John Bull* was got up—and it did its business. (13). As to its being as dangerous to our interests, as its antagonists might have been, that is mere nonsense. (14). It in the prosecution of its self-imposed duty it became very angry, and proceeded to carry the war into the enemy's quarters, it is no more than what we see every day in newspaper squabbles among ourselves. (15). As to its being written in by men in office, the assertion is false; Captain Seely has demonstrated its falsehood in his EXCELLENT "Voice from India," and we never expected to have had it repeated. Every writer in the Indian *John Bull* is well known; indeed, in the limited circle of the Calcutta *gens de la plume*, it would be impossible that it should be otherwise. (16).

We hope never to see a Free Press in India, that is, free in the sense demanded

ed by Mr. Hume; (17), unless we have made up our minds to part with that empire. Then indeed it may be an efficient agent for carrying such a purpose into effect. We are happy to perceive that the great majority of the Court agrees with us in opinion." (16).

We have numbered the several members of the sentences, that our references to them may be numbered to correspond. We shall be as brief as possible in the notes to this text: for so they must be considered, though for the sake of continuity we make them follow immediately after, in the order of succession, marked by the figures above.

1. He is evidently ashamed to say "full and accurate," though this was pledged to be maintained in all such reports, only a fortnight before.

2. That is, the bankruptcy and destruction of a British mercantile house; and the ruin of hundreds of deserving men by the tyrannical and unjust conduct of men in power.

3. It was not the question of a free press, but a question as to the right of the Indian Government to destroy the property of any man they disliked.

4. This is an avowal that to enter a man's house, and rob him of all he possesses in the world, on grounds that no judge or jury would justify, is not wrong.

5. There is no reasoning with one who is so blind as not to see the fallacy of such a distinction as this.

6. Every one else, opposed to the free press, contends that we hold India by opinion: and that the press is dangerous because it would disturb or destroy that charm.

7. If it be well known to the Indians that we have no right to be in their country, what more is wanting to make them hate and desire to expel us?

8. They know already, it seems, that we have no right to govern them, being aliens and foreigners: what more could a free press teach them?

9. The experiment has been tried. It lasted four years; and the country was more tranquil at the end of that time than it had ever been known to be, either before or since.

10. The relative superiority in numbers of the black to the white population in India, is as well known to the Indians now as it would be if fifty free presses were established in every village. Does not every sepoy or black soldier know that to a battalion of 1,000 privates there are not sometimes more than 10 effective white officers? Does not every ryot or cultivator know that in a district containing nearly a million of black inhabitants there are not sometimes more than ten white civil servants? And even in the capital of British India itself, where our numerical inferiority is least, does not every black man know that, walk in any

direction he may, he will meet 1,000 men of his own colour for every white or European face that he sees, except in the immediate vicinity of the public offices? They know their numerical strength as well as we do, and it is absurd to suppose that men with eyes, ears, and understandings, should be ignorant of a fact so cognizable by every man's senses.

11. The writer of this assertion must be ignorant of facts. It contained such atrocious, uncalled for, and voluntary libels, not one of which was written in defence, that the Judge on the Indian bench declared he could not think of them without horror!

12. Where, then, was the vigilance and power of the law? The "official people" combined their purses and their influence to sustain a charge of libel against this paper: but a Jury of Englishmen declared the writings not libellous, or deserving the slightest punishment, and acquitted the defendant accordingly; and on a subsequent occasion, when the Calcutta Journal was produced in Court, and fourteen of its supposed worst numbers examined, not a libellous passage could be found even by its opposing counsel; while the John Bull was on that same occasion condemned in the most pointed manner by the Judge, and its proprietors, who were all public functionaries of the Indian Government, or the Supreme Court, were sentenced to pay damages for the offences of their libellous publication.

13. How it did its business, let the foregoing paragraph explain. Yet these convicted libellers were supported and encouraged by the same Government which suppressed the very paper against which no conviction could be obtained!

14. It would be well to define what "mere nonsense" means, before it be pronounced that a proceeding which gives the subjects of a country proof of their rulers being partial and unjust is not injurious to the interests of those who rule it.

15. Aye—and if, as in these "squabbles among ourselves," the Editors were allowed to fight their own battles to the end, there would be no room to complain; but when a Government steps in to cut short the discussion, by permitting one party to say any thing he pleases, and tearing out the tongue of the other as by the root, the affair assumes a very different complexion.

16.—The assertion made by the writer of the paragraph above is false still: if degrees in falsehood can be admitted. This very accusation, of its being "written in by men in office," was distinctly made to the government of India in an official letter of the editor of the Calcutta Journal, who complained of this array of official influence against him; and, so conscious were the go-

verment of the fact, that they never ventured to deny it; a thing impossible to be explained, but by the assumption of its being true. Moreover, Mr. W. B. Bayley, Chief Secretary to Government, has been known to acknowledge his having written in it. Mr. C. Lushington, another secretary, has confessed to many, that he had written in it. Captain Lockett, a "man in office," who filled three or four places under government, was for many months the avowed editor of the *John Bull*; and gave up his charge because Lord Hastings complained of the unfairness of arraying all the strength of the government servants, to make attacks on the *Calcutta Journal*, and then officially complaining against it for defending itself. Mr. Archdeacon Loring, another man in office, wrote in it. Mr. Jamieson, who held half a dozen offices at once, wrote in it. Every one of its many editors were at the time, or have been since, in the service of the government. It was set up by funds subscribed by government officers; and when prosecuted in the Supreme Court, all its proprietors were found to be also "men in office." So much for the falsehood of the assertion which here pretends to pronounce a truth to be false.

17. That Captain Seely should demonstrate any thing but his own folly, would be surprising indeed: for never was there a writer so incapable of demonstrating any thing. His excellent "*Voice from India*," is one of the most absurd of all the absurd books that have ever yet appeared on India; and the writer who could call it *excellent*, must be either regardless of truth, or as low in the scale of intellect as Captain Seely himself: lower, we should almost think, impossible. In India, the Captain's calibre is already well-known: here it is likely to be soon as correctly estimated, and when his book shall have been analysed, which we hope will be speedily, the world will see in what its excellence consists.

18. Every writer in the *Indian John Bull* is not well known: nor has it been to this hour, as far as we can learn, ascertained who were the writers of many of the articles that appeared in it. The absurdity, however, of the supposition that an anonymous writer cannot keep

his own secret in a small as well as in a large community, needs no comment.

19. We did not before know that there were two kinds of free presses. The free press that Mr. Hume demands, is a press on which there shall be no previous censorship, and which shall be responsible for its errors of every kind, not to the caprice of an arbitrary governor, but to the laws of England administered by a jury. Men are free to do every thing else on the condition of subsequent responsibility to the laws; and no good reason has ever yet been given why they should not be equally free to write and print as to do any other thing, subject to lawful punishment after trial and conviction only.

We had hardly supposed these remarks would have extended so far: but it is something to have shown that this pretender to "fulness and accuracy," is most meagre and inaccurate in his report of facts: that the "powerful talent" engaged for his Paper is inadequate to the production of sound opinions or logical inferences on matters which it ought especially to be able to grasp: and that its pretended respect for "free discussion" means no more than its cordial support of whatever may be written on one side, and its approbation of suppressing entirely whatever could have been written on the other.

We have heard the editorship of this paper attributed to a writer who once conducted a Whig newspaper in Calcutta, and who was then the very first to oppose the Censorship, and by the aid of an Indo-British printer to break through its trammels, in a controversy with a rival editor, the Reverend Presbyterian Parson, whose name is now so notorious throughout the world. We can scarcely believe this to be true. But, should it so happen, we have no wish to speak harshly of one towards whom we have no other dispositions than friendly ones, speaking of private and personal feelings. By whomsoever it may be written, we have spoken of it with reference to its own merits only: and if the reader conceives that the inferences as to its weakness and inconsistency are borne out by the data from which we have drawn them, we shall be satisfied with having performed a public duty in speaking thus plainly on the subject.

CURSETJEE MONACKJEE, THE PARSEE MERCHANT OF BOMBAY.

A CORRESPONDENT has sent us copies of the notes given below; hinting, that as we have interested ourselves in behalf of the individual in question in his more important affairs, we may perhaps render him some immediate service by giving greater publicity to the

well-meant notes of his English friends. With that view, we readily give them a place in our pages.

DEAR SIR,

Bombay, 5th June, 1822.

Despairing of seeing you on my return to England, I have to say that I

delivered your letter to Cursetjee Monackjee, who I employed as my Deputy, and I have this day settled all my business with him to my satisfaction; and shall have no objection to recommend him to any person coming out with an Investment. I am, &c.

THOMAS DAVIDSON,
Surgeon of the
H. C. Ship Berwickshire.
To Capt. Jos. Livingston.

Bealings, near Woodbridge,
Suffolk, March, 1823.

The above copy of M. Davidson's testimony in favour of Cursetjee Monackjee of Bombay, having been forwarded

to me with a request that I would add mine, I have no hesitation in certifying that during several years in which I held the office of Garrison Storekeeper (since and now called Commissary General) at Bombay, Cursetjee Monackjee made supplies through that office on account of Government to a very large amount; and that I uniformly found him correct, active, and intelligent. As such I have pleasure in adding this, my hearty and strong recommendation of Cursetjee Monackjee to any mercantile gentleman resorting to Bombay.

EDWARD MOOR,
Major in the Bombay Army.

LATEST INTELLIGENCE FROM INDIA, AND OTHER COUNTRIES OF THE EAST.

BENGAL.

The information which has been received from this Presidency, and from the seat of war, since our last publication, is of an unfavourable description. It appears that the enemy continued to swarm in increasing numbers along the British frontiers, and were indefatigable in their mode of carrying on hostilities. If driven from a stockade at night, they were certain to have a new one constructed before morning, and so silently were these erected, that our troops, owing to the thickness of the jungle, seldom discovered them until they had first received their fire, and that, perhaps, at a moment when least expected.

An unfortunate mistake and failure had occurred to an expedition sent out by Sir A. Campbell, to attack a stockade on the banks of the river. Sir A. Campbell having embarked for the purpose of co-operating with the land force, the troops on board his ship unfortunately fired upon our own troops, and in the confusion many of our men were killed by the fire of their own party, an event which occasioned the failure of the expedition. Our troops were very unhealthy, and there was some complaint of a deficiency of necessaries and ammunition for a part of the forces.

It had become indispensable to employ a large force of the Bengal army to the north, in watching the motions of Runjeet Singh, to whom the Burmese had sent an envoy, urging him to attack the British dominions on the first opportunity; and he had so far

complied with this, as to collect a large and well-appointed army, under pretence that its destination was Kابل. These proceedings had caused a considerable sensation at Calcutta; but no operations of magnitude were expected to commence before November, when the rains would cease.

The 20th regiment, king's troops, had been sent from Bombay to relieve Cannanore, and the 47th was under orders for Bengal, the Government having advertised for ships to convey them.

All the recent skirmishes with the Burmese are said to have terminated to the disadvantage of the British, which was chiefly owing to the nature of the ground. Sir Edward Paget, it was said, would take the field as Commander-in-Chief, at the head of 25,000 men, when the campaign opened. Ten thousand more troops, it was expected, would be required from England before any probable chance of terminating the war favourably to the British arms, was afforded.

Colonel Innis, in progress towards the Burmese force, with the detachment under his command, was, on the 27th of May, on the river Barak, near Juttrapore.

Owing to the rapidity of the current of the Barak River, the banks of which are so overgrown with an impenetrable grass jungle, and in many parts under the water, as to render tracking impossible, Colonel Innis did not reach the Gogra nullah till the evening of the 25th. Having heard that, from this nullah, a passage extended across

the wheels to the hill of Telayn, a movement which would have enabled him to turn the enemy's advanced position, at that place, the Colonel resolved upon making the attempt, but had not proceeded far before he discovered the channel to be too narrow for the large boats on which the ordnance was embarked, and he, therefore, returned to the Barak river on the morning of the 27th, and continued his march to Jutrapore. Whilst in the Chur nullah, Colonel Innis took advantage of his proximity to the enemy to reconnoitre their position, and detached Lieutenant Fisher and Lieutenant Craigie for that purpose. From the report of these officers, as well as from his own observations, he ascertained that the hill of Telayn was strongly stockaded, and that the enemy were there in considerable numbers. By a Burmese prisoner, taken by Gumbheer Singh, on the 26th June, he learned the following intelligence:—

The prisoner belonged to the force at Daodputlee, commanded by Cheykey Yamoo. He left that place, with five others, in a foraging party, three days before. They came down the Barak on rafts of plantain trees, and landed near the spot where Gumbheer Singh attacked them. There were three stockades at Daodputlee, and the Burmese came from Muniapore in parties of 1000 men each. The first was then at Telayn, commanded by Jeytoo, and the second at Tarrapoor, under Eayleah, 4000 strong. At Daodputlee there were 1000 in the old stockade, called Shoe-mang. In the puckah-house there were 1000, and in the third stockade 1000 more. The Burmah king had ordered 15,000 men to invade Cachar; the rest of that number were expected. There were no troops in the rear of Daodputlee nearer than at Muniapore, where there were 1000. In passing the hills many of the Burmese troops died, many were drowned in the passage of the river, and many were sick. They had no store of grain, but procured it from the neighbouring villages. In passing the hills, they took, each man, eight seers of rice, and one of salt, from Tumonoo, and plundered all the villages on the route from that place. The object of the Burmese was to remain at Daodputlee and Telayn during the rains, and to advance in the dry season. The Boora Rajah, Governor of Assam, his son, and many other Rajahs, with about 1200 men, were stockaded on the north side of

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the Zojee Sagur tank, to the southward of Rungpoor. Their plunder was at Rungpoor, and the captive women and children at Jypoor.

It is admitted by men of all parties, that there is no war, since the days of Tippoo Sahib, which has worn so threatening an appearance as the present: and the acknowledged imbecility of the existing administration of India make apprehensions for its result the more serious. This feeling prevails at Calcutta as strongly as it does here: and the tenor of all the letters we have seen is uniform in this respect.

These letters have indeed disposed all who have perused them, to be more than usually apprehensive respecting the next intelligence from that quarter. Lord Amherst is said to have made the necessary concessions to Sir E. Paget, and to have invested him with full powers for the prosecution of the war. The effective strength of the English employed against the Burmese amounts to 5000 men, consisting of the King's 13th, 38th, and 41st regiments, the Madras European Regiment, and the 3d, 8th, 9th, 10th, 17th, and 20th Native corps.

The latest letters received from India are those brought by the *Cambridge*, and these confirm all the previous accounts of a serious misunderstanding between the principal officers of Government and the Governor-General. Sir Edward Paget, it is said, had even resigned his seat in Council, from being unable to concur conscientiously in the measures of Lord Amherst; but under the circumstances in which he was placed, he still retained his military command.

Accounts of the most unfavourable nature are given of the health of the troops. This, indeed, was to be expected, from the extremely imprudent step of landing, in such unnecessary haste, a body of Englishmen and officers, on an unhealthy coast, in the most unhealthy season of the whole year; and with nothing but a prospect of heavy rains before them for four months at the least, with intervals of intolerable heat from a burning sun: while the cotton tents with which they were furnished, were totally inadequate to protect them from the effects of either the one or the other.

The following is given in a new weekly paper on Indian affairs, "The Telescope," as the substance of the information it has been able to collect on this subject:—

'An officer employed on the Rangoon

expedition writes to his friend in the neighbourhood of Malwa, that disease had already commenced its ravages among the troops at that place; and, to add to their misfortunes, they were obliged to confine themselves within a wooden stockade, which they had erected as a temporary defence; for the natives occupied the surrounding country to such an extent, that it was dangerous to cross the limits of the intrenchment; and even when they were driven from a stockade, unless it was held by our troops, it was almost immediately re-occupied by the enemy. From this cause, all supplies from the interior were completely cut off, and no other provisions could be procured for the troops but rice, which was brought by sea from the island of Chedubah.

‘From another source, we learn, that orders had been issued to reinforce all the regiments on the Bengal establishment to the amount of 200 men each, making in all an augmentation of 14,000 men to that army, and this, too, only to supply the deficiencies which it is expected this war will cause. It is further stated, that early in the cold season an army, consisting of 30,000 men, will proceed into the Burmese country, by our eastern frontier, under the command of Sir Edward Paget in person, who, it is added, is still at variance with the Governor-General, and has resigned his seat in the Supreme Council. Another force, proceeding from Madras and Bombay, is to carry on operations on the Rangoon side. We have heard, too, upon authority which we have no reason to doubt, that the Court of Directors have applied to his Majesty’s Government, for six additional regiments of infantry, to be despatched immediately for India; in consequence of which, it is said, ten additional regiments will be raised soon after Parliament meets.

‘But it is not in this war alone that the sufferings of India are to be centered. Bombay, Madras, and the upper provinces of Bengal are threatened with a famine. At Bombay, when the last advices came away, only six inches of water had fallen, when the average quantity during many years, at the same season, was upwards of 14 inches. The consequence is, that the tanks, wells, and rivers have been nearly dried up; and one correspondent states, that such is the deficiency of water and pasture, that at Poonah the inhabitants have been driving in their cattle, and selling them as low as

at three annas (about five pence) per head. At Madras, by the last accounts, no monsoon had commenced; and in the upper provinces of Bengal, in the beginning of August, a strong westerly wind prevailed, unaccompanied by a single drop of rain. The natives attribute all these calamities to the baleful influence of the comet which has made its appearance in these regions.

‘The expense of the war is enormous: we stated formerly that a crore and a half of rupees had been expended. That sum has since been increased to 200 lacs, and the monthly extra expense of the war is estimated at 40 lacs (about 50,000*l.*) When we consider, at the same time, the necessary effect of the famine in decreasing the revenue, it is evident that the Treasury of Calcutta will soon be exhausted, and that it will be necessary to draw bills on England for the difference. It is obvious that the rate of exchange in favour of this country must materially improve, and this solitary fact is all that we have to congratulate ourselves upon in the whole complexion of the intelligence.

‘From the same causes which have ruined the grain crop, indigo has failed in every part of the country, save in the Jessore and Dacca districts, and all that can be said of it in that quarter is, that it has still some chance; but the fate of the crops for the last three years should prevent our being too sanguine. The crop on the whole will certainly be short, and, from the small quantities of the best qualities in the market, a great advance in price may be anticipated. Safflower and the other productions of Sylhet and the eastern frontier, that being the seat of war, must be totally deficient for this year.

‘When the Cambridge sailed, the 47th regiment were marching down from Poonah, to embark, to join Sir Edward Paget, who was to take the field with 15 or 20,000 men, as soon as the season opened: the general belief was, that it would be a protracted war.

‘The drought was such, that the natives were dying by hundreds, and all kinds of grain was 100 per cent. in advance.

‘We learn, by a private letter from India, that Lieutenant-Colonel Morrison, of the 44th regiment, has been appointed Brigadier-General on the Chittagong frontier. This is the same officer who commanded in Upper Canada at Chrysler’s Farm, when with

the 49th and 69th regiments he defeated a much superior force of the Americans, and drove the invading army across the Saint Lawrence. From his known talent and experience in bush fighting, acquired in America, we consider him eminently qualified for such a command.

From the circumstance of the greatest part of the Indian newspapers brought by the ship *Cambridge* from Bombay, having been lost in the pilot vessel, as will be found stated in our Home Intelligence, the accounts from India are necessarily very unconnected; but enough may be collected from such as have been already given, to show that the Company have raised up a far more formidable enemy, both as regards their power and their vigilance, than any they have had to contend with for years past; and it is by no means improbable that this war, by showing the natives of India their own strength, may teach them also how to employ it.

We regret to find that the practice of self-immolation by the Hindoo widows still continues with unabated vigour; and we had selected two statements from several others of equal horror, contained in our files of papers for publication here: but we are compelled for want of space to omit them for the present. It is a melancholy fact, that while the Hindoos have, in many instances, been compelled to yield to the sometimes severe and altogether uncoungeial laws of England, no efforts whatever have been made to support the laws of humanity, and to put down at once a practice so degrading to the rulers and the ruled, though its immediate abolition is as safe as it is practicable.

Shakesperian Rope Bridges.—Among the many singular instances of nomenclature which every day presents, we know of none more likely to excite a smile than this. A certain Mr. Colin Shakespear, a Bengal Civil Servant, for some years past Post-Master General, at Calcutta, and no doubt a very worthy man in his way, has been seized with the ambition of sending his name down the stream of time in connexion with "rope-bridges," rather than "dawk-stages," for his attention to which he is much better known by his contemporaries. Some future reader, who may see the term, without knowing the history of it, may imagine that it had reference to some antiquated bridge of the immortal Poet, thrown across the silver Avon, to facilitate his escape after some marauding excursion

in a neighbouring park; and in some Gentleman's Magazine of the next century, it is not impossible, but that future antiquaries may occupy page after page in discussing so interesting a matter. We think it right, therefore, to put it on record in the *Oriental Herald*, that the Shakesperian Rope Bridges are of much less classic origin; that Mr. Colin Shakespear, who, besides his dignity as Postmaster, now signs himself "Superintendent General of Shakesperian Rope Bridges," is a person of much less genius than the Bard of Avon; and that his principal merit consists in announcing, in no unostentatious manner, the various inventions and improvements which he believes he has made in the new dresses and badges of his postmen, the fanciful divisions of his districts, and the introduction of this new expedient for crossing streams, in a country throughout the upper part of which the principle has been known and reduced to practice for years before, and of which, designs have been published, even in India itself, long before the Shakesperians were introduced there.

MADRAS.

The accounts from Madras continue to speak of the truly wretched state of the poorer class of natives, who were actually perishing from starvation, many having died in the streets from absolute want of food. The wealthier natives, as well as the Europeans, had made very magnificent donations; but these, though given with all expected liberality, were totally inadequate to meet the wants of the numerous sufferers.

The King's 48th regiment of foot had arrived at Madras from New South Wales; and many of the men had been attacked by the chilua, immediately after their being stationed in Fort St. George, and the regiment had suffered severely; the deaths being estimated at ten men per day, and nearly the whole of the Light Infantry had been carried off.

BOMBAY.

The last arrival from Bombay, was the *Cambridge*, which sailed on the 11th of August, and brought papers and letters from thence to that date; but in the passage of the purser with his dispatches from the ship to the shore, off the Isle of Wight, nearly all the papers were lost, as well as the greater portion of the letters, by which we are necessarily deprived of the infor-

mation, that might otherwise have been obtained.

The following remarkable case, which was tried in the Supreme Court of Bombay, on the 30th of July, 1824; is taken from one of the few papers that have reached.

The Court having met at the usual hour, proceeded with the trial of Lieutenant George Richard Sloren Fenwick, of the 2d Battalion 1st Regiment Bombay Native Infantry, charged with the murder of a Bheel Chief, at a place called Looner Warra, on the 23d of January 1823, by causing him to be hanged by the neck until he died.

The circumstances which appeared in evidence on this trial are to the following effect:

Lieut. T. R. Billamore, being called and sworn, stated, that he is Adjutant of the 2d Battalion of the 1st Regt. N. I. now at Rajcote; that he is well acquainted with the hand-writing of Lieut. Fenwick; and that the letter now shown him is in the hand-writing of Lieut. F. and is addressed to the deponent; that he forwarded it to Capt. Morin, the commanding officer of the battalion; and that in consequence of the receipt of the said letter, he went, by order of Captain Morin, and put Lieut. F. under arrest. The letter was as follows:

'To Lieut. and Adj. T. Billamore,
2d Batt. 1st N. I.

'SIR,—It has now become my hard lot to come forward and display to the world what I can no longer wish to conceal, if I ever did, and in the hope that a speedy investigation will soon put an end to my mental distress. However, before discharging what I allude to, I must beg to express my regret at having written a letter dated on or about the 29th of January 1824, disputing, or pretending to dispute, the justice of my brother officers. The letter in question was written when I was extremely irritated, and I hope will be forgiven partially, if not wholly. To come to the point, when I commanded a detachment at Loonwarrah, under circumstances I cannot disclose at present, I caused to be hung up a Bheel Chief, named Etcha Fajjee, on the 25th January 1823. Conscious as I am that every thing to my disadvantage will be laid hold of eagerly in certain quarters, I shall at least have the benefit of having voluntarily come forward to disclose the above; and knowing, as I hope too, that a jury of my country will honourably acquit me, if I am not too confident in my counsel, I shall not now say any thing regarding the treatment I have received here, it is quite enough to drive me to any disclosing; if depriving me of 23 rs. per mensem is any object, I envy not their feelings. I request you will lay this letter before the commanding

officer.—I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

GEORGE R. FENWICK.

* Rajcote, 23d March 1824.

Shaik Abdulla, having been sworn, deposed, that he is a subedar in the 2d battalion 1st regiment N. I. and was employed in a detachment under Lieut. Fenwick, the prisoner at the bar: that the detachment consisted of 80 sepoy, one subedar (deponent), one Jemadar, five havildars, and five naigues, with several troops of the Guicowar's cavalry; that about fourteen months ago, whilst stationed at Looner Warra, the above detachment, with twelve of the cavalry, was ordered out by Lieut. Fenwick to fight the bheels (or thleves) in the neighbourhood; that about eleven o'clock at night they got ready, and marched about six coss towards a place called Sumaria; about four o'clock, when within a coss of the said place, they halted. At day-break they, by order of Lieut. F., attacked the village of Sumaria. The fight continued till it was clear day-light; and all the bheels found in the village were killed, and their houses set on fire. After the fight, Lieut. F. told deponent that he had made two bheels prisoners, and that one had wounded a sepoy in the hand, and was a very savage fellow. The detachment remained at Sumaria till about ten o'clock, and then marched for their lines at Looner Warra. When nearly half way back, Lieut. F. with the cavalry, proceeded on before them, and left the detachment under command of the deponent to follow with the two bheel prisoners. On the road they met the rajah of Looner Warra, who said to the deponent, that many English officers had come there, but none of them had done such good services as Lieut. F.; and, pointing out one of the bheels, said that was a *burra huramzadu*, that he had about 400 bheels at his command, and that if he (the rajah) had caught him, he would have killed him immediately. About two o'clock they reached their lines at Looner Warra, and after dismissing the detachment, and placing the prisoners in the quarter guard, the deponent reported the same to Lieut. F., at the same time telling him what the rajah had said; Lieut. F. replied, "It is of no consequence, go to your dinner." About seven o'clock in the evening, having been sent for by Lieut. F. he went to him, in company with his orderly, and found him near a mowrah tree, with some dooley-bearers, and one of the prisoners who had been taken in the morning. Deponent made a salam to Lieut. Fenwick, who said, "Subedar, I am going to make a little tumashu (sight);" the deponent asked, what tumashu? Lieut. F. replied, "I am going to hang the bheel." The deponent, speaking in a low tone to Lieut. F. said, "Sir, ac-

cording to the rules of the English Government, when they give order from Europe, then the man should be hanged; this is not proper." Lieut. F. said, "Never mind." At this time some of the dooley-bearers were on the tree, and a dooley having been brought, the prisoner was placed on it, and the rope put round his neck, but not properly; and the prisoner was alarmed, and began to shake. Lieut. F. was angry, and desired the deponent to see to it. Deponent did so, and put the knot under the wheel's ear, the other end having been before fastened to a branch of the tree. Lieut. F. then ordered the dooley to be taken away, and the wheel was left hanging, and deponent immediately went to his quarters: the name of the man who was thus hanged was Etcha Puggee; he was the pater of the village of Sumaria, and commanded about 400 wheels, and was a notorious thief and robber.

Ishee Sing, naique, being called, corroborated the above evidence.

Lieut.-Colonel Ballantyne having been called, stated, that he is a political agent to the Bombay Government in the Myhee Canuta, and is under the orders of the resident at Baroda. Has been at Looner Warra: the country round belongs to the rajah of Looner Warra, who pays tribute to the Guicowar, and also to Scindia. The rajah is a sovereign prince, with power of life and death over his own territories: the force under Lieut. Fenwick was part of the Guicowar's subsidiary force, and under the order of the resident: they were Company's troops. There was an alliance between the Guicowar and the Bombay Government, a written treaty: he had seen it. There was no written treaty between the rajah of Looner Warra and the Bombay Government. The rajah was tributary to the Guicowar; and the British Government guaranteed the fulfilment of the treaties with the Guicowar by the tributary states, to pay certain quotas of revenue or tribute. He had made communications from the Bombay Government to the rajah of Looner Warra, through the resident at Baroda, and vice versa; and the results of these communications had been acted on by both Governments.

At the close of Colonel Ballantyne's evidence, Mr. IRWIN submitted that there was no evidence to prove the alleged murder to have been committed in the territory of a native prince in India, in alliance with the Bombay Government, sufficient to prove the jurisdiction of the Court.

Mr. ADVOCATE-GENERAL was heard in answer, and quoted 26 Geo. III. cap. 57, sec. 29, which he contended was unrepelled, either expressly or impliedly, and which gave the Courts of Oyer and Terminer in India jurisdiction over British subjects in India, for crimes committed within the Company's limits.

After hearing Mr. IRWIN in reply, the Court reserved the point, and directed the trial to proceed.

Munsa Pursad, sepoy of the 2d battalion 1st regiment N. I. deposed, that he was orderly to Lieut. Fenwick, at Looner Warra, on the day when a wheel was hanged. That he was desired by Lieut. Fenwick to call to him the muncadum to bring to a mowrah tree, about 100 paces from the lines, four dooley-bearers, with a dooley and a rope. Lieut. F. likewise ordered deponent to bring the two wheel prisoners under the mowrah tree, which he did. He corroborated the testimony of Shaik Abdulla, the subedar, as to the hanging of one of these wheels, with the exception that he, the deponent, did not hear the order given for removing the dooley.

Jugga Gogul proved that, by Lieut. Fenwick's orders, he cut down the body of the wheel, and threw it into the river about an hour after he was hanged.

The CHIEF JUSTICE, in summing up, recapitulated the leading points in the evidence, and directed the attention of the jury particularly to the difference between the taking away the life of an enemy in the heat of battle, and the act of destroying it in cool blood: that in this case twelve hours had elapsed from the capture of the two wheels to the time that Lieut. Fenwick gave orders to hang one of the prisoners; that this must be admitted to be a sufficient time for a man to become cool; and if the jury were satisfied with the truth of the evidence that had been adduced, there could be no doubt that Lieut. Fenwick is guilty of the crime of murder. That the question of the jurisdiction of the Court was one which did not rest with the jury, although the prisoner at the bar would have the advantage of any objection on that head which might be hereafter urged in arrest of judgment.

The jury retired, and, after an hour's consideration, returned a verdict of "Guilty," accompanied by a strong recommendation to mercy, on account of the inexperience of the prisoner, and the peculiarity of the circumstances under which he was placed.

Had the prisoner been recommended to mercy on the ground of insanity, it might have been intelligible: but what experience is necessary to know that murder is wrong? Every boy of five years old has experience enough for this: and as to the "peculiarity of the circumstances," they afford no palliation whatever.

PENANG.

By accounts from the Andamans, received at Penang, it appears that the natives had cut off several of the crew of the boats recently frequenting those

parts for Beecho de Mer. The Nacoda or native captain of one of these boats, stated, that while employed in gathering this article, a large body of savages rushed upon the boat's crew from the woods, armed with bows and arrows and spears, upon which the men instantly made for their boat; but before they could reach it, three of them being wounded, were unfortunately seized. As the boat was pulling off to the junk, the crew distinctly observed the savages murder one of their unfortunate comrades, and shortly after they cut the body to pieces, and divided it among them. The Nacoda of the Brig *Ker-rim*, of Penang, also reported that a party of eight men left his vessel to proceed into the interior to collect a cargo of Beecho de Mer, with greater facility and expedition, under the express condition of returning in eight days at the farthest, but this period had elapsed, and the Nacoda waited several days beyond that time without any appearance of them. The season being far advanced, it became unsafe to continue any longer at such an anchorage, he was therefore compelled to leave the place without them, not doubting they had fallen into the hands of the savages.

BATAVIA.

The latest accounts from Batavia are rather favourable. The Dutch authorities had received an account of the treaty concluded between his Netherland Majesty and our Court, but having received no instructions, did not consider themselves authorized to act upon it. It was generally thought, however, throughout the settlement, that an accommodation would be entered into, by which our manufactures would be admitted into the Javanese ports, with the impost of a duty of 20 per cent. Produce in Java was falling, particularly coffee; freight was high in consequence of the Burmese expedition having taken up so much shipping.

Letters received from Batavia confirm the accounts of the embarrassment of the Batavian Government for want of money, which had been caused by their previous decree, excluding, by heavy charges, the English trade. The ships arriving at Batavia, instead of unloading there, as formerly, now proceeded to Singapore, Penang, Manilla, &c. and the consequence of this was, that the Government was without a dollar in the Treasury, while the English merchants, to whom they had applied for assistance, refused to make any advances unless the obnoxious regulations were repealed. It was generally imagined the Govern-

ment would be compelled to yield from necessity.

MAURITIUS.

By letters from the Isle of France, of the 17th of August, it is stated that all communication between that island and the sister Isle of Bourbon was for the time interrupted, in consequence of the measles, in a very aggravated form, having committed great ravages among the slave population of the latter island.—It is known, from experience of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, that the plague itself could not be more fatal among the negroes than the measles or smallpox; and though these islands possess every facility in recruiting their slave population from Madagascar, still such a visitation must be felt as a very great calamity.

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

In the latest letters from this colony, several new instances of the tyranny of Lord Charles Somerset are recorded. He seems resolved to brave the strong indignation which his conduct has excited at home; though it is to be hoped that justice will await him immediately on his return, which now seems to be finally determined on. The following are the remarks of *The Times* on his conduct. "How many men whose rank is their sole recommendation to a public trust of even subordinate value, now fill the office of presidency and authority among the dependencies of Great Britain. We pray our readers to consider quietly how they would relish the sort of government, which has been more than once within these few months described to exist in this much suffering Colony. A literary society, which the Chief Justice, the other legal persons, and a large majority of the well informed and respectable residents, as well as men of property in the interior of the settlement, proposed to institute, not for innocent enjoyment alone, but for the advancement of arts and intelligence—of letters and civilization, was put down at once by an overbearing and insulting threat, that an old proclamation of 1800, flamed against Dutch conspirators for betraying the Cape (then a new conquest) to the enemies of England, should be enforced against our peaceful, enlightened, and loyal fellow subjects! It was "dangerous;" it was, forsooth, "obnoxious" to the titled Vandal. The illustrious Francis of Austria and Italy, did not wish for learned men so much as loyal subjects. Yet even he was

not barbarian enough to charge his subjects with disloyalty, for only seeking to improve themselves in knowledge. We talk of ignorance, of insolence, of inveterate prejudice among the *Grandees* of Spain, or slaves of Turkey; but where was there ever a match for this?"

By accounts from this Colony to the end of October, we learn that the subscription raised in England for the relief of the distressed settlers, amounting to about £5000, had been received there, and was about to be applied to the purposes for which it was raised. This laudable effort was not, however, unopposed by those to whom humanity without some *dernier sinistère* motive is a stranger. The following letter, dated the 1st of October, contains the particulars of the attempt made to place this charitable fund under the control of the Governor, and which, if it had been effected, would have rendered it a medium for petty and vindictive party spirit to dole out its rancour, and have degraded equally the charitable donors and the distressed receivers. The letter also contains some other facts of very considerable interest; facts, bye the bye, which will lead the reader to imagine the scene is laid in some of the despotic states of Barbary, and render frequent reference to the heading of this article necessary, before it can become familiar to the reader, that he is perusing acts committed, and opinions advanced in a Colony belonging to the Empire of Great Britain, and governed by an individual appointed by his Britannic Majesty's ministers, the pretended friends of freedom. The following is the letter to which we allude:—

'It will be recollected that a sum, amounting to near £5000 was raised in England for the relief of the distressed settlers. On the arrival of the money, an attempt was made by the Government to possess itself of the funds; but the Committee were determined to resist this official interference. A meeting of the Cape Town Society was called on the subject, at which Mr. Wilberforce Bird, Comptroller of Customs, attended, and made a motion to the effect that the money should be placed under the control of the Government. This caused great disgust and confusion, and when put to the vote, only five hands were held up for it, and these were persons dependant on the Government.

'A short time since Dr. Philip, President of the Missionary Society; Mr.

Fairburn, and Mr. Blair, an Indian gentleman, were anxious to establish a Literary Society, and met at Mr. Thompson's (a most moderate man in opinion) to consider the formation of such a society. Mr. Blair, a highly respectable gentleman from India, previously wrote to the Governor, requesting his sanction, and received a most insolent reply. The morning after the meeting, Dr. Philip and Mr. Fairburn were summoned before the Authorities, to know how they dared attend a *Radical Meeting*, and were threatened. The result was, the Society was for the present laid aside.

'Poor Edwards, who has been condemned to seven years' transportation, for a proposed libel, without proof by witnesses of any sort, was sent to Robbin Island, a place where convicts are usually sent to. The *Minerva* convict-ship touched lately at Simon's Bay, on her way to New South Wales, on which Edwards was brought to Simon's Bay, to be put on board. Shortly after his arrival, he, in despair, cut his throat; but being interrupted in the act, he did not accomplish his purpose.

'Mr. Bishop Burnett, a descendant, by the way, of the author of the *Reformation*, and a most respectable and high-spirited man, who has been long obnoxious to the Government on account of his independent spirit, has been tried for a libel *spoken*, and sentenced to seven years' transportation.'

It appears that these, and similar acts of late, had added if possible to the obloquy which before attached to the Government of Lord Charles Somerset; and popular prejudice had begun so strongly to evince itself, that, joined to the report of the Commissioners of Enquiry, it became sufficient to excite even the fears of the Governor, who though apparently lost to the feeling which would have prompted him to remedy the evils he had done, and repair the injuries he had committed, was by no means indifferent to the probable loss of his Governorship, and the consequent deprivation of the very desirable salary attached thereto. To change the course of conduct, however late, by which this prejudice had been excited, and for which these reports so loudly called, was not to be thought of for a moment. In lieu of this, the usual engine of tyranny, which corrupt itself, will always be surrounded by attendant corruption, were put in force, and the minions of this immaculate Governor, ministered at their various posts, and went forag-

ing round the country to obtain addresses from the bores, &c. expressive of the noble, patriotic, and truly parental conduct of Governor Somerset. The whole of these worthy personages were under the direction of that loyal and consistent *Gentleman*, Mr. Oliver, the Spy, who, however, had merged all his titles to public distinction, in the plain cognomen of Mr. William Jones; and had been appointed to a distinguished post under a Government, the principles and practices of which were so much in accordance with his former occupation.

When this plan was first put in execution, the experience of the conductors of it, together with the terror inspired by the consequences of a refusal, induced many individuals to put down what was termed their "voluntary" signatures, and these were forwarded immediately to Earl Bathurst, as the spontaneous opinions of the Colony. But we learn by the last arrivals from the Cape, that hatred of the Governor and his measures had so much increased, that even terror was but a secondary feeling; consequently, the addresses were becoming almost as great a rarity on the part of the people as the acts of justice were on the part of their ruler. This had excited considerable alarm among the satellites of the Cape, who found, in the failure of this dirty work, their occupations gone, and who, as society gradually advanced in a desire for law, liberty, and justice, found the circle of their influence as gradually contracting.

Affairs continued in this state when the latest letters left, and it now remains to be seen, whether the English Parliament will tolerate that one of the representatives of the monarch of a free nation, shall play the despot with impunity, or that a man evincing a capacity limited even for a private circle, shall hold in his hands and under his control the fortunes and existence of distant thousands.

PERSIA.

Letters from Shiraz announce that on the 27th of April, 1824, there was an earthquake which lasted six days and nights without intermission. One-half of that city has been swallowed up, and the other overturned! All the inhabitants, with the exception of scarcely 500, are destroyed. Kazeroun, a town between Bushire and Shiraz, has also been swallowed up with almost all the inhabitants! No trace of the mountains about Kazaroun were said

to remain. The calamity is considered to have been more severe than even that of the recent destruction of Aleppo.

EGYPT.

While almost every part of Europe is suffering from the overflowing of rivers, that great source of fertility in Egypt, the Nile, is said to have failed this season in diffusing its waters to the usual extent: the consequence of which will, it is feared, be a deficient crop of grain. The cultivation of cotton proceeds with increased success in that fertile country, and the Pasha appears to continue his wise policy of cultivating, as much as possible, the friendship of Europeans, so as to induce them to colonize, and in his country to introduce among his ignorant subjects, all the benefits of European knowledge and civilization. What an example, and at the same time what a reproach, to India!

TURKEY.

The following is an extract of a letter dated Constantinople, November 11th, 1824, the details of which are interesting and important.

The rapid progress of decay in this Empire is no less obvious than surprising. An increasing misery, a decreasing population, an exhausted treasury, a depreciated currency, are among the foremost symptoms of its ruin. The population of Constantinople has considerably diminished within the last six years. 840,000 is supposed to be the present number of inhabitants, inclusive of 120,000 Greeks, 90,000 Armenians, 50,000 Jews, and 2,000 Franks. The entire population of European Turkey does not exceed 8,000,000. So great was the depreciation of money at the demise of Sultan Selim, that the Turkish piastre fell in value from 50, to 13 sous. In three months a new species of money is to be issued, 20 per cent inferior to the old. The people are enraged. The most moderate talk with Turkish indifference of a revolution; and whenever that occurs, the race of Osman will probably be extinguished. The Turks have now lost their richest provinces. Egypt yields them but a trifling tribute; The Grecian Isles, the revenue of which was exclusively appropriated to the Turkish marine, are now either above or below the par of plunder; and the Morea, from whence a large portion of the Turkish aristocracy derived its wealth, has long since ceased to be productive of any thing, save expense and bloodshed. Year after year the decline of trade in

the Levant is observed. The foreign merchants have dwindled away in Smyrna and Constantinople to a small body, opposed to one another, by prejudice and ignorance. The falling off in Turkish commerce may in part be traced to the introduction of Greek merchants into the commerce of all Europe. At the great fairs of Leipsic, Sinagaglia, and Beauneire, they purchased the commodities themselves, which the European merchants procured by their correspondents; hence the Greeks were able to bring their goods into the market at a much inferior price, and before the late revolution carried every thing before them. Russia had always the greatest trade with Turkey. She drew from thence an immense quantity of money, and contributed to the ruin of the Ottoman Empire no less by her commerce than her politics.

SYRIA.

Letters from Aleppo state that a Firman had been received in that city from the Sultan, of which the following is a copy.

Know, I have learned that books, such as the Bible, Psalter, the Gospels, and the Epistles of the Apostles, have been printed in Europe to the number of two or three thousand copies of each, together with a treatise in the Persian language, and that two or three hundred copies of each kind, with four or five of the Persian treatise, have come to my capital. Now, as it is my duty entirely to prevent the arrival of such things in the Empire under my government, you have to order these books back to

Europe; and if such should in future arrive at the custom-house, to make a strict examination, and to take care that none of these books be sold in my capital. You will also see that no Mussulman obtains such books; and if there should be any copies of them, that they be taken away and thrown into the fire to be consumed by it; and, above all things, let none of them be sold or bought in any country belonging to my Empire.

In consequence of this, the Cadi had sent to the several heads of the Christian communities, to induce them to order such of their brethren as had any of the prohibited books in their possession to deliver them up, threatening to hang all those who should be found to have retained the books. This had not, however, been complied with.

Mesopotamia has been the theatre of great events amongst the Arabs. For a long time past, the numerous tribes of Anazis, of Arabia Petrea, and of the banks of the Euphrates, had invaded the deserts of Mesopotamia, principally inhabited by the powerful tribes of the Gerbas. After having had great success against them, aided by the Pacha of Bagdad, who had furnished them with troops and four cannons, after having thrown their artillery into the Euphrates, they have experienced some reverses, and have been so beaten by the Gerbas, that they have not only recrossed the Euphrates, but have even retired from its banks in all haste, and have fled into Arabia Petrea. Their flight was so precipitate that their cattle and their cavalry, of which they lost many, were in a state that it is impossible to describe.

INCIDENTS AND EVENTS IN EUROPE, CONNECTED WITH THE INTERESTS OF THE EASTERN WORLD.

Discussion of the Hyderabad transactions.—It was our wish and intention to have followed up our observations on the Hyderabad Papers, in continuation of the articles already published in former numbers on the subject: but ill health, which has defeated many other equally intended labours, has rendered this impossible for the present. We hope, however, soon to return to the subject. In the mean time we are glad to have an opportunity of directing the attention of those who take an interest in the matter, to a series of well written articles in the three last Numbers of

the *Sunday Times*, where the facts are carefully analyzed, and the inferences, as it appears to us, impartially and justly drawn. We cannot, of course, find room for the re-publication of these papers; but we transcribe with pleasure, a few of the closing paragraphs of the last, being satisfied that the conclusions there drawn, are such as must be made by all other persons who go into the examination with a determination to judge for themselves. The writer says:—

The conduct of Messrs. Palmer and Co. has been minutely investigated, and

though it cannot be considered perfectly unexceptionable, at least if tried by European notions, yet they appeared "much more sinned against than sinning." This conclusion is confirmed by the unanimous sanction of their creditors at Hyderabad, to the declaration of the trustees of the house, that "the strictest confidence" may be placed in "the honour and integrity" of its leading and acting members, W. and H. Palmer. This testimonial is doubly valuable. It comes from men whose minds may be presumed to feel some irritation on account of their own losses, by the failure of the house. The creditors of an insolvent Bank are usually very trust-worthy in their plaudits of the unfortunate partners; and it is also the applause of servants, whose masters were frowning upon and crushing the object of it. Such a resolution could be no recommendation to the Civil and Military Servants of the Company, either to the Resident, the Local, or the Supreme Government.

The charge, then, of being a party to, or a culpable abettor of, pecuniary malversations, against Lord Hastings, is annihilated. There is not the shadow of a shade for the imputation. He could at most be only an accessory, and the principals are exonerated. Indeed the charge is at variance with his whole character and conduct, as well as with the result of his mission to India. After long proof of his want of talent to get or keep money enough to defray his expenses, he was sent to the East, in hopes of a reformation. The experiment totally failed. He came back as he went. His Lordship is a true nobleman, and has many royal qualities. His politeness is one, which even the Asiatics praised. His creditors can indicate another. But he did not "contaminate his fingers with base bribes," nor is there an atom of proof, or of reasonable ground for suspicion, of corrupt knowledge or influence.

The Directors affect great commiseration for the embarrassments of the Nizam's Government; and great wrath with Palmer and Co. for causing, and with Lord Hastings for allowing them to cause, those embarrassments.

The last feather may break the camel's back; but great weights must have been laid on previously. It is not fair to keep their purpose altogether out of sight. The primary cause of the Nizam's financial difficulties is to be found in nearly a century of the grossest mis-government; and the immediate cause in the raising, equipping,

and keeping up a disproportionate body of troops, to co-operate with the British in the Mahratta and Pindaree struggle. A standing army, modelled in European discipline, paid by the Nizam, but officered by the Company's servants, and declared to be at our devotion, in the event of a rupture, even against their own Sovereign; this is not to be passed over as a trifle in the year's account. Here was sufficient and tolerably obvious cause of difficulty, even though there had never been Merchant or Banker at Hyderabad. What heightens the force of ascribing the distresses of the State to Palmer and Co. is that whatever the amount of their debts, those debts were not paid. There was no "exhaustion," but the exhaustion of ink to make figures in their ledger. Much might have been received, but more had been advanced, when Chair and deputy-Chair were so pitiful and pathetic. The facts disclosed no such tale of woe as need melt a heart of stone, or wring the bowels of the Board.

Let the Company either lend or directly guarantee a loan, and how would they secure the regular payment of the interest, and the ultimate repayment of the principal? Obviously either by themselves collecting the Nizam's taxes, or by taking a portion of his territory, or by intercepting that portion of tribute which passed through their hands. The last was actually adopted, and it was accompanied by a pretty extensive interference in the collection. The tendency of all or any of these measures clearly is, to the eventual incorporation of the Nizam's territory with the Company's dominions; and to the destruction, in the interval, of all appearance of Independent Government. Mr. Metcalfe's conduct was a complete illustration of the consequences of his proposition. He meddled in every thing; he set about managing every thing. He was Nizam and Minister; he was legislator and executioner—"King! Cawdor! Glamis! all!" A mighty pleasant situation for himself, no doubt; whether calculated to conciliate the natives, or benefit the Company, is another question. It is one of the best praises of the Marquis's administration, that he uniformly pursued an opposite policy. His aim was to benefit the native states by a friendly influence, inducing them to benefit themselves; and to avoid, as much as possible, all direct interference with their internal concerns. That influence could scarcely be more judiciously ex-

erolled than by encouraging commercial men to settle themselves in the native states, and, by avowed approbation, though without direct guarantee, diffuse an air of security over their transactions. In no long time, the effects would be felt in the promotion of industry, the establishment of justice, the decline of the rate of interest, increased facilities for the Government, and increasing wealth among the people. He erred, we think, not in extending such influence to Palmer's, but in withholding it from any other house. But, as the existing law requires a special occasion for licensing that which ought to be perfectly free, we ought, perhaps, rather to ascribe the error to the system than to the man.

And at the close of a government in which something was done for India, and every thing for the Company; in which a most formidable combination of the Native Princes was crushed, and British supremacy more widely extended, and more firmly established than ever; in which the India revenue was increased four millions sterling annually, without a single new import, and the supplies remitted to England were trebled and quintupled; in which the Company's credit was so raised, that in Calcutta market, its bonds instead of being at twelve per cent. discount, were at eighteen per cent. premium; which commenced with six hostile discussions pending, and a general combination forming for the expulsion of the British; and ended with "every native state in the vast region, in either acknowledged or essential subjugation to our Government:" at the close of such a career as this, it is, that the Marquis of Hastings, neither a young nor a rich man, is refused the usual pension on the paltry pretext of the Hyderabad Loan, as to which his actual demerits consist of nothing more than a little credulity, a little pertinacity, and a little sauciness to the Leadenhall Senate.

Marquis of Hastings's Affidavit.—The following affidavit was prepared by the Noble Marquis to sustain his application to the Court of King's Bench, for an information against the *Sunday Times*, for an article in that paper imputing to him embezzlement of the Company's funds: was rejected however by the lawyers, as not being sufficiently technical, nor sworn before an accredited authority. The deposition was taken at Rome, before the Envoy Extraordinary of the King of Hanover, on the 19th March, 1824:—

"He is not aware, and doth not believe that he has in any instance received, intercepted, or withheld from the Hon. the East India Company a single shilling which he was not entitled to appropriate to himself by his covenant with the Court of Directors, on behalf of the said Company, and by the specification of the salary which he was to draw under that covenant, a persuasion which he asserts with the more confidence, because that he abstained from availing himself of certain allowances which were understood on the spot to be his right, but which he conceived to rest on custom alone, without any precise authorization. The said Francis Marquis of Hastings further swears, that he never did impose, sanction, or knowingly overlook any unequitable exaction upon a Native Prince. That never during his administration did he connive, through partiality, at the illicit gains of any individual or set of individuals. And that his coolest reflection at the present moment enables him to aver, upon his oath, that he did truly and invariably consult the welfare of every Sovereign in alliance with the Hon. East India Company, as long as such Sovereign had not wantonly and deliberately broken the existing treaty consonantly with his said Francis Marquis of Hastings's conception of what was incumbent on him, in maintenance of the British character."

'HASTINGS.'

The *Sunday Times* was the first to give publicity to this document: and since ascertaining its error, has done every thing that could be required to repair the evil created by its former insinuations.

East India Papers.—During the past month there have been issued from the India House, to the Proprietors of India Stock, two sets of papers. One, containing "The Marquis of Hastings's Summary of the Operations in India, with their results, from April 1814 to January 1823," including the whole period of his administration:—the other, containing "Instructions from the Bengal Government to the Resident at Lucknow, issued in January 1814;" and consequently before Lord Hastings assumed the Government. Of the first, we have already given our opinion in a former article.* Of the last we can only say, that it appears to us of much less importance than we had expected; but we understand that it forms but a

* See *Oriental Herald*, vol. ii. p. 35,

small portion of the papers that are still in preparation, and are hereafter to be published, on the subject of the affairs of Oude.

Colonial Changes.—It would appear that the Ministry have resolved to have a thorough cleansing of that Augean stable, "Colonial Proconsulship:" for, in addition to the changes we have already noticed, it is said, that the Marquis of Huntly is to succeed Lord Charles Somerset at the Cape of Good Hope, and that Sir W. Plunkett is appointed Colonial Secretary in the room of Colonel Bird. Lord Howard of Effingham relieves Sir H. Warde as Governor of Barbadoes; and Major-General Darling proceeds to New South Wales to succeed Sir T. Brisbane. Major Colbourne, it is also said, will be superseded.

Specimen of a blundering explanation. During the past month, the following paragraph has gone the usual round of all the English newspapers, unaccompanied with a word of comment, which only proves either their carelessness or their credulity. It is as follows:—

A Calcutta paper of the 12th of June thus explains the origin of the charge insinuated against the late Governor-General of India:—"We are given to understand that the following is the explanation of the origin of the rumour respecting the deficiency of 300,000*l.* and which was made the subject of insinuation against Lord Hastings. A clerk at the India House (Audit-office) having made an error in summation of 300,000*l.* in last year's accounts, mentioned to some other clerk that there was this deficiency in the Treasury; he again repeated the story, making the deficiency in the Indian Treasury: and when it was again mentioned, it obtained the addition of 'Bengal Treasury,' and that the deficiency must have been occasioned by Lord Hastings; last came the charge in the prints, that Lord Hastings had abstracted to the above amount from his own treasury. While the rumour was thus spreading, the error was observed and corrected, and consequently the matter was a surprise to the Direction, and appeared unworthy of an answer. The prints had to retrace their authority, and the foregoing was the result."

Such an absurd explanation was perhaps hardly ever before offered. We have not seen the Indian Paper from which it is professed to be taken; and some persons think it originated at the India-House here. Be this as it may, one is led involuntarily to ask, what

blundering clerks must those of the Audit Office be, who, in accounts kept in single pages, and never having more than 20 or 30 lines of addition to make in any one page; can make an error of 300,000*l.*? We think Mr. Melville should defend his reputation for such a slur as this. Again, what credulous and what imaginative companions the Audit clerk must have about him, who could first believe such a matter without looking into the books themselves, and then transfer it through the gradations of 'India' and 'Bengal' to 'Lord Hastings's own treasury.' And last of all, what dignified men must their masters be, who, knowing this cause of the error, and ordering it to be corrected, could yet refuse to give Lord Hastings his pension of £5,000 a year, after the mistake was discovered; and who, when distinctly questioned upon this subject in open court, would not condescend to give any answer whatever. Really, when explanations of such plain matters as these are to be manufactured, whether at the India House, or at the Council Board, or else-where, more skilful workmen should be chosen for the task.

Recovery of Indian Property.—Some years ago, Capt. B—, an officer of a dragoon regiment, died in India. Previously to his death, he lodged 20,000 pagodas in the hands of a banker in that country, to be divided between his two sons, who were at school in London. As soon as the youths attained the age of 21, they were continually writing to India, but could never hear the least account of their father's property. The elder brother giving it up as lost, went to some part of America; the younger remained in Ireland, and a few days ago received a letter from India, with directions for them to draw on a certain house in London for the full amount, with interest.

Steam Vessel for India.—We are glad to learn, that Captain Johnson's steam ship, *Enterprise*, of 500 tons burthen, is nearly completed. It is expected that she will leave England for India in March; and as we see no obstacle, except the expense of conveying fuel to the intermediate stations, to the establishment of a permanent intercourse, during peace at least, between Great Britain and India, by means of steam ships; we hope to see the countries brought into more frequent and speedy intercourse with each other, by their general adoption for packets, if for no other purpose.

CIVIL AND MILITARY INTELLIGENCE.

KING'S FORCES IN INDIA.

[From the London Gazette.]

PROMOTIONS, APPOINTMENTS, REMOVALS.

BENGAL.

11th Light Dragoons. Lieut. B. P. Browne to be Captain without purchase, vice Smith, deceased, dated 5 May 1824; Cornet W. Wymer to be Lieutenant, vice Browne, dated 5 May; W. Handley, Gent. to be Cornet by purchase, vice Wymer, dated 18 Nov. 1824.

14th Foot. Gent. Cadet C. J. Otter, from the Royal Military College, to be Ensign without purchase, vice Howley, promoted in 6th Foot, dated 20th Dec.

38th Foot. Lieut. J. Magill to be Captain without purchase, vice Perry, deceased, dated 13 April 1824; Ensign J. S. Torrens to be Lieutenant without purchase, vice Magill, dated 13 April, 1824; Ensign A. H. M'Leiroth to be Lieutenant, vice Kerr, killed in action, dated 17 May 1824; D. Campbell, Gent. to be Ensign without purchase, vice Torrens, dated 25 Nov. 1824; J. Baileu, Gent. to be Ensign without purchase, vice M'Leiroth, dated 26 Nov. 1824.

59th Foot. Lieut. L. X. Leslie, from 97th Foot, to be Lieut. vice Macdonald.

87th Foot. Lieut. R. J. Kerr, from half-pay of Glenarry Light Infantry, to be Lieutenant, vice Mildmay, whose appointment has not taken place, dated 2 Dec. 1824.

MADRAS.

1st Foot. Lieut. L. H. Dobbin to be Captain without purchase, vice Gell, deceased, dated 20 Feb. 1824; Ensign J. M'Gregor to be Lieutenant, vice Dobbin, deceased, dated 25 Nov. 1824; A. B. Montgomerie, Gent. to be Ensign, vice M'Gregor, dated 25 Nov. 1824; H. H. Williamson, Gent. to be Ensign, vice Gordon, promoted in 6th Foot, dated 20 Dec. 1824.

46th Foot. Ensign T. Gleeson to be Lieutenant without purchase, vice Skelton, deceased, dated 23 April 1824; F. Ingram, Gent. to be Ensign, vice Gleeson, dated 25 Nov. 1824.

54th Foot. Lieut. E. A. Branson to be Captain without purchase, vice Coote, deceased, dated 24 May.

To be Lieutenants without purchase: Ensign B. Kelly, vice Dowdall, deceased, dated 13 Dec. 1824; Ensign R. T. R. Pattoun, vice Holt, deceased, dated 10 Aug. 1823; Ensign G. Fenton, vice Evanson, dated 24 May 1824.

To be Ensigns without purchase: G. Holt, Gent. vice Pattoun, dated 10 Aug.; J. B. Dodd, Gent. vice Fenton, dated 24 May 1824.

To be Adjutant: Lieut. J. Clark, vice Dowdall, deceased, dated 13 Dec. 1822; Ensign C. Johnstone, from 69th Foot, to be Ensign, vice Kelly, who exchanges, dated 18 Nov. 1821.

Lieut. W. T. Graham, half-pay 23d Foot, to be Lieutenant, vice Hutchinson, appointed to 76th Foot, dated 11 Nov. 1821; Ensign R. Kelly, from 46th Foot, to be Ensign, vice Johnstone, who exchanges, dated 18 Nov. 1824.

89th Foot. Lieut. W. Bell to be Captain, vice Sheeky, deceased, dated 26 Nov. 1824.

BOMBAY.

4th Light Dragoons. J. A. Henderson, Gent. to be Cornet by purchase, vice Agnew, dated 9 Dec. 1824.

To be Lieutenants without purchase: Cornet M. Richardson, vice Anderson, deceased, dated 2 May 1824; Cornet C. Agnew, vice Carroll, deceased, dated 9 Dec. 1824.

To be Cornet by purchase: Ensign J. W. H. Ramsbottom, from 99th Foot, vice Richardson, dated 18 Dec. 1824.

47th Foot. H. H. F. Clarke, Gent. to be Ensign, vice Snow, dated 25 Nov. 1824; Brevet Lieut. Col. J. W. O'Donoghue to be Major without purchase, vice Warren, dated 19 March 1824; Lieut. J. Clark to be Captain, vice Donoghue, dated 19 March; Ensign W. Snow to be Lieutenant, vice Clarke, dated 19 March.

CAPE.

6th Foot. Brev. Col. J. Gardiner to be Lieutenant Colonel without purchase, dated 18 Dec. 1824; Brev. Major S. Taylor to be Major, vice Gardiner, dated 18 Dec. 1824; Lieut. R. Meredith to be Captain without purchase, dated 18 Dec. 1824; Capt. J. Bonamy, from half-pay, to be Captain, dated 19 Dec. 1824; Lieut. W. C. Clarke, from 77th Foot, to be Capt. vice Taylor, deceased, dated 19 Dec. 1824.

To be Lieutenants without purchase: Ensign J. W. Stuart, dated 18 Dec. 1824; Ensign C. E. Martin, ditto; Lieut. T. Radcliffe, from half-pay 61st Regt. dated 19 Dec.; Lieut. T. Menton, from half-pay 3d West India Regt. dated 19 Dec.; 2d Lieut. A. Smith, from 60th Foot, ditto; 2d Lieut. J. Kellic, from 60th Foot, dated 20 Dec.; 2d Lieut. G. F. Morden, from 23d Foot, ditto; Ensign C. Hammond, from 10th Foot; Ensign J. Wilson, from 58th Foot; Ensign J. Bowlby from 14th Foot; Ensign G. Gordon, from 1st Foot, vice Meredith, promoted.

To be Ensigns: H. T. F. Bowes, Gent.; J. Cropton, Gent.; J. Dunaresq, Gent. vice Stuart; A. Connor, Gent. vice Martin; W. Greene, Gent. vice Richardson: dated 18 Dec.

To be Surgeon: Assist. Surg. J. Trigg, from 14th Foot, vice Harrison, deceased, dated 9 Dec. 1824.

49th Foot. Assist. Surg. J. French, M.D. from 67th Foot, to be Surgeon, vice Mac Lachlan, deceased, dated 9 Dec. 182

STAFF.

Major W. Read, Permanent Assistant Quartermaster General, to be Deputy Quartermaster General to His Majesty's Forces in the East Indies, with rank of Lieut. Col. in the Army, vice Marlay, deceased, dated 2 Dec.; Brev. Lieut. Col. C. R. Forrest, from half-pay 34th Foot, to be Permanent Assistant Quartermaster General, vice Read, appointed Deputy Quartermaster General in East Indies, dated 2 Dec. 1824.

EAST INDIA COMPANY'S SERVICE.

[From the Indian Gazettees.]

BENGAL.

CIVIL APPOINTMENTS.

Calcutta.—April 19. Mr. C. Shakespeare to be Superintendent General of the Shakespearcan Bridges.—10. Mr. J. H. Patton re-appointed Assistant to the Magistrate and to the Collector at Hooghly.

GENERAL ORDERS.

Fort William, June 5.—The Governor General in Council adverting to the present posture of affairs on the Eastern and Chittagong frontier, the importance of the command, and consequent necessity for the presence, in that quarter, of a General Officer to superintend the military operations, is pleased to separate what at present is termed the North-Eastern and Chittagong Frontier, including Titalyah and Kisingunge, from the Dinapore and Presidency Divisions, and to form them into a separate Division, to be designated the Eastern Division of the Army. Dacca to be the Head-quarters' station of the Eastern Division, where all Reports and Returns from Dependent Stations and Outposts' Corps and Departments are to be transmitted. An additional permanent Brigade Major is authorized for the duties of the Eastern Division.

General Staff.

Fort William, May 27, 1824.—The following allowances are fixed for a Colonel, when employed on the General Staff of the Army, exclusive of regimental pay:

	St. Rs.
Staff allowance, per mensem...	2,200
For camp equipage and carriage when in cantonments.....	300
Additional camp equipage when in the field	500

MILITARY APPOINTMENTS.

Calcutta.—April 28. Lieut. R. M'Culley Pollock, 2d Batt. 32d Regt. to be Adjutant to the Corps; Capt. R. Rich, 19th Regt. N. I. to be Fort Adjutant at Allahabad. May 3. Lieut. G. Anson, 11th Light Dragoons, to be an extra Aide-de-Camp to his Excellency, the Commander in Chief; Brevet Capt. R. Pringle, 6th Regt. N. I. to have charge and superintendence of the Mug Levy raised in the Southern District of Chittagong. 21. Lieut. and Adj. T. Roberts to officiate as Interpreter and Quartermaster to 52d Regt. (late 2d Batt. 26th Regt.) in room of Lieut. Auherjonois absent on duty. 26. Lieut. Col. W. C. Faithfull, 23d N. I. to be President of Annual Committee for Inspection of Stores received from Europe; Capt. F. B. Craigie, 48th, and J. W. Lodor, 32d N. I. to be Members of ditto. June 7. Brig. Gen. Shuldham to command Eastern Division of Army; Lieut. Oldham to officiate as Interpreter and Quartermaster to 62d Regt.; Lieut. G. Huish to act as Adj. to left wing of 26th Regt. 8. Lieut. Wylde to act as Adj. to 16th Regt.

PROMOTIONS.

Head Quarters, Calcutta, April 21.

13th Light Drag. Cornet W. Elton to be Lieut. without purchase, vice Porter, appointed to the Cape Corps of Cavalry, dated Aug. 28, 1823.

11st Foot. Capt. W. Booth, from 81st Foot, to be Capt. vice Hailes, dated July 31, 1823.

69th Foot. John Lord Elphinstone, to be Ensign by purchase, vice Hamilton, dated Aug. 14, 1823.

April 29. 5th Regt. N. I. Ensign T. Gear, to be Lieut. vice Trist, dated Sept. 11, 1823.

14th Regt. N. I. Brevet Capt. R. Armstrong to be Capt. of a Company, vice Bidwell, struck off, dated July 11, 1823; Ensign J. Fairhead to be Lieut. vice Armstrong, dated Sept. 11, 1823.

May 6. Lieut. J. D. Dyke, 4th L. C. to be Adj. of Governor-General's Body Guard, vice Worrall, appointed Dep. Paymaster at Cawnpore. Messrs. J. Woore and Arthur Wheatley admitted Cadets of Cavalry, and promoted to Cornets. Messrs. R. B. Lynch, R. F. Macvitie, J. Iveson, J. Beresford, Arch. Park, G. W. A. Neres, and E. R. Mainwaring, admitted as Cadets of Infantry and promoted to Ensigns.

June 5th.—45th Regt. N. I. Brevet Capt. and Lieut. T. Wardlaw to be Capt. of a Company; and Ensign K.

Campbell to be Lieut. from ditto, in succession to Noton, killed in action.

46th Regt. N. I. Ens. W. T. Savary to be Lieut. from ditto, in succession to Grigg, killed in action.

Mr. H. J. Ximenes admitted a Cadet of Infantry, and promoted to Ensign.

Infantry. Lieut. Col. G. R. Penny to be Lieut. Col. Com. from May 30, 1824, in succession to Macmorine, deceased. Maj. W. C. Baddeley to be Lieut. Col. from ditto, in succession to Penny, promoted. Maj. J. Fergusson to be Lieut. Col. from June 3, 1824, in succession to Povoleri, invalided.

47th Regt. N. I. Capt. E. Craigie to be Major; Brev. Capt. and Lieut. T. Bolton to be Capt. of a Company; and Ens. T. James Roche to be Lieut. from May 30, 1824, in succession to Baddeley, promoted.

45th Regt. N. I. Capt. T. Gough to be Maj.; Brev. Capt. and Lieut. T. R. Macqueen to be Capt. of a Company; and Ens. R. Warden Fraser to be Lieut. from June 3, 1824, in succession to Fergusson, promoted.

N. B. By death of Lieut. Col. Com. Macmorine, Lieut. Col. Com. D. MacLeod, C. B. succeeds to the benefits of Off-reckoning Fund, from May 30, 1824.

June 9.—31th Foot. Lieut. E. A. Evanson to be Captain of a Company, without purchase, vice Coote, deceased, dated May 24, 1824; Ens. G. Fenton to be Lieut. without purchase, vice Evanson, promoted, dated May 24, 1824.

June 17.—46th Foot. J. P. O'Hallaran, Gent. to be Ensign, without purchase, vice Cumming, deceased, dated May 27, 1824.

June 4.—38th Foot. Ens. A. H. MacLeroth to be Lieut. without purchase, vice Kerr, killed in action, dated May 17, 1824.

ADJUSTMENT OF RANK.

Fort William, April 29.—Lieut. Gen. Robert Phillips, transferred to senior list; to rank from April 29, 1823, vice Hussey, deceased. Lieut. Gen. Sir Robert Blair, K. C. B., transferred to senior list; to take rank from Sept. 4, 1823, vice Morris, deceased.

Infantry. Lieut. Col. Com. G. Carpenter to rank from April 29, 1823, vice Phillips, transferred to senior list; Lieut. Col. Com. J. N. Smith to rank from July 11, 1823, for augmentation; Lieut. Col. Com. T. M. Weguelin to rank from July 20, 1823, vice Marshall, deceased; Lieut. Col. Com. U. Yule, C. B., to rank from Sept. 4, 1823, vice

Blair, transferred to senior list; Lieut. Col. H. Bowen to rank from April 29, 1823, vice Carpenter, promoted; Lieut. Col. J. S. Harriot to rank from July 11, 1823, for augmentation; Lieut. Col. W. B. Walker to rank from July 20, 1823, vice Weguelin, promoted; Lieut. Col. G. Sargent to rank from Aug. 18, 1823, vice Camherlege, deceased; Lieut. Col. H. Hodgson to rank from Sept. 4, 1823, vice Yule, promoted.

10th Regt. N. I. Major T. Newton, Capt. W. Bertram, and Lieut. C. Douglas, to rank from April 29, 1823, vice Powen, promoted; Capt. P. Dudgeon, to rank from June 6, 1823, vice Duns-mure, cashiered.

14th Regt. Capt. R. Hornby to rank from Aug. 16, 1822, vice Bidwell, struck-off.

31st Regt. Maj. B. Roope and Capt. T. Hepworth to rank from July 11, 1823, vice Harriot, promoted.

May 24.—3d Regt. Maj. J. Nesbitt, and Capt. J. Eckford, to rank from July 20, 1823, vice Walker, promoted.

32d Regt. Maj. N. Bucke, and Capt. C. Andrews, to rank from Aug. 18, 1823, vice Sargent, promoted.

12th Regt. Maj. C. Ryan, and Capt. I. Campbell, to rank from Sept. 4, 1823, vice Hodgson, promoted; and Lieut. W. Innes, from Sept. 11, 1823, vice Campbell, promoted.

New Flank Battalions.

A General Order issued by the Commander-in-Chief, dated July 12, appoints the undermentioned officers to the command of four Flank Battalions ordered to be raised by Government:

1st Grenadier Batt. Major G. D. Heathcote, 48th N. I.

2d Ditto ditto. Major E. B. Craigie, 47th N. I.

1st Light ditto. Maj. N. Bucke, 64th N. I.

2d Ditto ditto. Maj. Kemm, 50th N. I.

REMOVALS AND POSTINGS.

Head Quarters, Calcutta, May 1.—Brevet Capt. and Lieut. C. Rogers is removed from the 1st to the 2d Batt. 5th Regt. N. I. and Lieut. T. Gear is posted to the former Batt.; Lieut. A. Curnegy, from 1st to 2d Batt. 11th Regt. and Lieut. J. C. Plowden posted to former Corps; Capt. R. Armstrong to 2d, and Lieut. J. A. Fairhead to 1st Batt. 14th Regt.

May 6.—The following Postings in the Ordnance Commissariat Department sanctioned: viz. Commissary Lieut. C. G. Dixon to Ajmere; Dep. Com. Lieut. Cartwright to Cawnpore;

and Dep. Com. Lieut. Roberts to Chunar.

June 11.—Cols., Lieut. Cols. Commandant, and Lieut. Cols. are posted to Regiments as follows.

Cavalry.

Corps. Col. or Lt. Col. Com.	Lieut. Col.
1st L. C. J. Gordon	A. Gunning
2d .. Sir T. Brown	F. J. T. Johnson
3d .. A. Knox	J. Tombs
4th .. R. Clarke	R. Stirling
5th .. W. D. H. Knox	G. Becher
6th .. J. Nuthall	L. R. O'Brien
7th .. M. Fitzgerald	A. Watson
8th .. R. Housdoun	G. H. Gall

Infantry.

1st Eu. Regt.	E. P. Wilson	T. Garner
2d ..	H. D. Castro	P. T. Comyn
1st N. I.	R. Stevenson	H. Hodgson
2d ..	P. Littlejohn	R. Pitman
3d ..	Sir G. Wood	C. Poole
4th ..	G. Prole	A. Stewart
5th ..	A. Duncan	C. S. Fagan
6th ..	B. Marley	H. S. Pepper
7th ..	W. Casement	J. Clark
8th St. G. Ashe	W. N. Fodutaine	
9th ..	J. Nicol	W. C. Baddeley
10th ..	W. Thomas	J. Durant
11th ..	S. Bradshaw	W. P. Price
12th ..	R. B. Gregory	J. Cook
13th ..	A. Fergusson	G. Sargent
14th ..	Sir G. Martindell	H. Bowen
15th ..	H. F. Calcrafft	W. Burgh
16th ..	J. W. Adams	T. T. Broughton
17th ..	D. M'Leod	J. Robertson
18th ..	W. G. Maxwell	J. Vaughan
19th ..	Sir T. Ramsay	W. S. Heathcote
20th ..	R. Patton	J. W. Taylor
21st ..	C. Stuart	W. Brookes
22d ..	J. A. P. M'Gregor	G. Knight
23d ..	Sir G. S. Brown	W. C. Faithful
24th ..	W. Comyn	R. H. Cunliffe
25th ..	J. O'Halloran	C. T. Higgins
26th ..	W. Richards	G. T. D'Aguilar
27th ..	J. Shapland	R. C. Garnham
28th ..	E. S. Broughton	W. Ball
29th ..	R. Haldane	W. Logic
30th ..	J. M. Johnson	H. Houthwaite
31st ..	J. Garner	T. Wilson
32d ..	L. Loveday	A. Campbell
33d ..	G. R. Penny	J. Ferguson
34th ..	W. Croxton	F. P. Raper
35th ..	J. Burnet	J. Blackney
36th ..	J. N. Smith	G. V. Baines
37th ..	J. Vanreuen	W. Short
38th ..	J. Arnold	C. J. Doveton
39th ..	W. Innes	W. R. Gilbert
40th ..	U. Yule	R. Hampton
41st ..	T. Whithead	S. Fraser
42d ..	L. Burrell	W. Baker
43d ..	G. Dick	W. B. Walker
44th ..	J. Cuningham	R. A. C. Watson
45th ..	G. M. Popham	J. Truscott

46th ..	T. Shuldham	A. Richards
47th ..	J. Price	E. Carr
48th ..	J. J. Aldin	J. Alexander
49th ..	H. Worsley	T. P. Smith
50th ..	G. Carpenter	H. Byles
51st ..	W. Lamb	J. Phipps
52d ..	J. L. Richardson	A. F. Watson
53d ..	W. H. Perkins	W. H. Wood
54th ..	H. Imfach	G. Wardley
55th ..	Sir D. Ochterlony	J. J. F. Leith
56th ..	T. M. Weguelin	J. Leys
57th ..	C. Baldock	J. George
58th ..	G. H. Pine	J. Delamain
59th ..	G. Richards	J. W. Fast
60th ..	J. Greenstreet	W. Moxton
61st ..	M. White	J. M'Innes
62d ..	J. R. Lumley	L. Wiggins
63d ..	J. Rose	H. E. Cooper
64th ..	H. Dare	J. S. Harriot
65th ..	T. Pensou	M. Boyd
66th ..	R. J. Latter	S. Nation
67th ..	D. M'Pherson	W. Collyer
68th ..	C. Fagan	J. L. Stuart

FURLOUGHS.

Head Quarters, Calcutta, April 23.—Ens. Armstrong, 20th Foot, for two years to Europe, on sick certificate; Lieut. Col. Ogilvie, 46th Foot, ditto ditto; Lieut. Campbell, 46th Foot, ditto ditto, on private affairs; Lieut. Thomas, 54th Foot, ditto ditto, on sick certificate; Capt. Warlock, 69th Foot, for one year to Europe, on sick certificate; Lieut. Shiel, two years, ditto ditto; Lieut. M'Kenzie, 13th Dragoons, for one year to the Cape, for the benefit of his health; Assistant Surgeon Rutledge, to Europe for two years, on medical certificate; Lieut. Shaw, for ditto ditto; Capt. Cassidy, 67th Foot, to Europe for two years, on urgent private affairs.

MADRAS.

CIVIL APPOINTMENTS.

Fort St. George.—May 4. Colonel R. Scott, C. B. to be Government Agent at Chepauk; Capt. J. Fyfe to be Resident at Tanjore.—June 17. Mr. D. Bannerman, Head Assistant to Collector and Magistrate of Madura; Mr. J. Horsley, Register to Zillah Court of Madura.—July 8. Mr. John Stokes, Secretary to Government in Revenue and Judicial Departments; Mr. J. M. M'Leod, ditto in Public, &c. Departments; Mr. Richard Clive, Paymaster of Carnatic Stipends; Mr. R. Bayard, Collector and Magistrate of Vizagapatam; Mr. H. M. Blair, Assistant to Principal Collector and Magistrate of Canara.—15. Mr. J. Gwatkin, Commercial Superintendent and Warehouse-keeper; Mr. T. Daniel, Deputy Warehouse-keeper; Mr. N. W. Kin-

derick, Sub-Collector and Assistant-Magistrate in Canara; Mr. J. T. Anstey, ditto in Ganjam; Mr. J. Fraser, Assistant to Principal Collector and Magistrate of Southern Division of Arcot; Mr. W. H. Babington, ditto of Canara; Mr. R. Paternoster, Assistant to Collector and Magistrate of Bellary; Mr. J. Savage, Sheriff of Madras.

ECCLESIASTICAL APPOINTMENTS.

Fort St. George, June 29.—The Rev. J. Hallowell to be Military Chaplain at St. Thomas's Mount; the Rev. H. Allen, B.A. to be Military Chaplain at Cuddalore.

NEW ORGANIZATION OF THE ARMY.

Fort St. George, June 1, 1824.—The Hon. the Governor in Council, with reference to orders of Honourable Court of Directors, communicated in G. O. by Governor-General in Council, dated Fort William, May 6, 1824, is pleased to direct that the following promotions shall take place (date of commissions May 1, 1824).

Cavalry.

Sen. Lieut. Cols. J. Russell, C. B., J. Doveton, jun. D. Foulis, and J. L. Lushington, C.B. to be Lieut. Colonels Commandant.

Sen. Majors G. Gillespie, J. Collette, H. Ramsford, and P. Cameron, to be Lieut. Colonels.

1st Regt. Sen. Lieut. and Brev. Capt. G. Faris to be Capt.; Sen. Cornets J. Alexander, J. G. Green, and J. Humphreys, to be Lieut.

2d Regt. Sen. Lieut. W. C. Brunton to be Captain; Sen. Cornets H. Inglis, R. Garstin, and H. Briggs, to be Lieuts.

3d Regt. Sen. Lieut. H. B. Williams to be Capt.; Sen. Cornets E. B. Gould, G. Arbuthnot, and C. A. Kerr, to be Lieuts.

4th Regt. Sen. Lieut. and Brev. Capt. Walter Hamilton to be Capt.; Sen. Cornets W. Sinclair, H. S. Newbolt, and T. Anderson, to be Lieuts.

5th Regt. Sen. Lieut. and Brev. Capt. B. L. Highmoor to be Capt.; Sen. Cornets A. G. Donaldson, C. H. Graeme, and A. M. Leod, to be Lieuts.

6th Regt. Sen. Lieut. and Brev. Capt. R. Wood to be Capt.; Sen. Cornets J. S. Lushington, J. Bying, and J. Knox, to be Lieuts.

7th Regt. Sen. Lieut. and Brev. Capt. C. E. Dukensfield to be Capt.; Sen. Cornets B. W. Cumberlege, R. H. Richardson, and H. Fuller, to be Lieuts.

8th Regt. Sen. Lieut. and Brev. Capt.

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W. T. N. Greaves to be Capt.; Sen. Cornets J. C. Wallace, P. Risdon, and A. P. Thompson, to be Lieuts.

Artillery.

Sen. Lieut. Cols. (Maj. Gen.) J. G. Scott, (Brev. Col.) J. W. Freese, and (Brev. Col.) Sir J. Sinclair, bart. to be Col.

Majors E. M. G. Showers, and C. Hopkinson, to be Lieut. Cols.

Capt. W. Cullen to be Major.

Lieuts. D. H. M'Kenzie, W. F. Lewis, and F. Bond, to be Captains.

2nd Lieuts. J. G. B. Bell, C. Briggs, and T. H. Humphreys, to be 1st Lieuts.

Engineers.

Sen. Lieut. Col. J. L. Caldwell, C.B. to be Lieut. Col. Commandant; Sen. Major T. F. De Havilland to be Lieut. Col.; Sen. Lieut. John G. Proby to be Capt.; Sen. Ensigns A. Lawe, E. Lake, G. A. Underwood, A. T. Cotton, G. F. Smith, and W. H. Pears, to be Lieuts.

Infantry.

Sen. Lieut. Cols. and Brev. Cols. W. H. Hewitt, C.B., T. Boles, H. Fraser, H. S. Scott, C.B., R. Scott, C.B., and A. M'Dowell, C.B., to be Colonels.

Sen. Lieut. Cols. W. Blackburne, C. Deacon, C.B., J. Welsh, T. Steele, C. Farran, E. Boardman, G. Wahab, A. Grant, C.B., D. C. Kenny, J. Marshall, R. Podimore, A. Molesworth, M. L. Pereira, T. Pollock, C.B., G. Hodgson; R. M'Dowell, D. Newell, C.B., W. Munro, J. Munro, and H. F. Smith, to be Lieut. Cols. Commandant.

Sen. Majors J. Woulfe, G. Cadell, W. Woodhouse, T. Beckett, T. Webster, F. P. Stewart, F. W. Wilson, E. Edwards, G. Waugh, T. H. Smith, W. C. Oliver, W. J. Jones, G. L. Wahab, J. Hall, J. A. Kelly, J. Carfrae, H. W. Sale, J. Lindsay, B. W. Lee, J. M. Coombs, R. West, G. Jackson, T. Smyth, H. A. Purchas, C. A. Walkery, and W. Hankins, to be Lieut. Cols.

11th Regt. Capt. H. Downes to be Major; Lieut. and Brev. Capt. R. S. Wilson to be Capt.; Ens. A. Shirrefs to be Lieut. in succession to Woulfe, promoted.

12th Regt. Capt. J. Green to be Major; Lieut. and Brev. Captain C. Swanson to be Capt.; Ens. A. J. Ormsby to be Lieut. in succession to Cadell, promoted.

7th Regt. Capt. G. Jackson to be Maj.; Lieut. and Brev. Capt. E. Fiott to be Capt.; Ens. A. Coventry to be Lieut. in succession to Woodhouse, promoted.

23d Regt. Capt. S. S. Gummer to be

Major; Lieut. and Brev. Capt. M. H. Davidson to be Capt.; Ens. L. B. Wilford to be Lieut. in succession to Becket, promoted.

4th Regt. Capt. and Brev. Major W. M. Robertson to be Major; Lieut. and Brev. Capt. J. J. Webb to be Capt.; Ens. C. A. Browne to be Lieut. in succession to Webster, promoted.

14th Regt. Capt. and Brev. Major T. King to be Major; Lieut. and Brev. Capt. J. Hanson to be Capt.; Ens. H. Morland to be Lieut. in succession to Stewart, promoted.

2d Regt. Capt. C. Elphinstone to be Major; Lieut. and Brev. Capt. M. Tweedie to be Capt.; Ens. D. Archer to be Lieut. in succession to Wilson, promoted.

8th Regt. Capt. H. D. Graves to be Major; Lieut. and Brev. Capt. G. Muriel to be Capt.; Ens. J. S. Impey to be Lieut. in succession to Edwards, promoted.

25th Regt. Capt. J. T. Trewman to be Major; Lieut. and Brev. Capt. H. Moberley to be Capt.; Ensign G. E. Thompson to be Lieut. in succession to Waugh, promoted.

9th Regt. Capt. T. Marrett to be Major; Lieut. and Brev. Captain J. Tucker to be Capt.; Ens. M. Davis to be Lieut. in succession to Smith, promoted.

6th Regt. Capt. N. H. Hatherly to be Major; Lieut. and Brev. Capt. H. Salmon to be Capt.; Ensign C. F. Le Hardy to be Lieut. in succession to Oliver, promoted.

18th Regt. Capt. A. Macqueen to be Major; Lieut. and Brev. Capt. H. Wiggins to be Capt.; Ens. J. J. Jackman to be Lieut. in succession to Jones, promoted.

17th Regt. Capt. J. Ogilvie to be Major; Lieut. and Brev. Capt. W. Allan to be Capt.; Ensign T. Berry to be Lieut. in succession to G. L. Wahab, promoted.

Capt. J. Napier to be Major; Lieut. and Brev. Capt. R. Morison to be Capt.; Ens. F. A. Nedham to be Lieut. in succession to Hall, promoted.

Mad. Europ. Regt. Capt. J. F. Gibson to be Major; Lieut. and Brev. Capt. G. Maxwell to be Capt.; Ens. E. Simpson to be Lieut. in succession to Kelly, promoted.

3d Regt. Capt. G. Hunter to be Maj.; Lieut. and Brev. Capt. R. Inverarity to be Capt.; Ens. J. F. Leslie to be Lieut. in succession to Carfrae, promoted.

11th Regt. Capt. R. L. Evans to be Maj.; Lieut. and Brev. Capt. T. J. Hammond to be Capt.; Ens. E. Ather-

ton to be Lieut. in succession to Sedg, promoted.

24th Regt. Capt. J. Moore to be Maj.; Lieut. and Brev. Capt. A. Latta to be Capt.; Ens. H. Bower to be Lieut. in succession to Lindsay, promoted.

20th Regt. Capt. W. T. Baker to be Major; Lieut. and Brev. Capt. W. R. Richie to be Capt.; Ens. W. Raulin to be Lieut. in succession to Lee, promoted.

23d Regt. Capt. F. Henderson to be Major; Lieut. and Brev. Capt. W. O'Reilly to be Capt.; Ens. F. C. Mayo to be Lieut. in succession to Coombs, promoted.

13th Regt. Capt. W. Jones to be Major; Lieut. and Brev. Capt. J. Gwynne to be Capt.; Ens. K. A. McEay to be Lieut. in succession to West, promoted.

16th Regt. Capt. J. A. Say to be Major; Lieut. and Brev. Capt. R. W. Sheriff to be Capt.; Ens. M. J. Rowlandson to be Lieut. in succession to Jackson, promoted.

14th Regt. Capt. R. G. Wilson to be Major; Lieut. and Brev. Capt. J. Williams to be Capt.; Ens. C. W. Nicday to be Lieut. in succession to Smith, promoted.

25th Regt. Capt. W. Ormsby to be Major; Lieut. and Brev. Captain S. Hughes to be Capt.; Ens. G. Hamond to be Lieut. in succession to Purchas, promoted.

8th Regt. Capt. R. Homé to be Maj.; Lieut. and Brev. Capt. A. E. Spicer to be Capt.; Ens. J. Stevenson to be Lieut. in succession to Walker, promoted.

22d Regt. Capt. C. Bowen to be Major; Lieut. and Brev. Capt. J. Malton to be Capt.; Ens. C. B. Phillipson to be Lieut. in succession to Hankins, promoted.

Madras Europ. Regt. Lieut. and Brev. Capts. A. Gordon and J. Roy to be Capts.

1st Regt. Lieut. and Brev. Capts. G. Gill and L. W. Watson to be Capts.

2d Regt. Lieut. and Brev. Capts. D. Ogilvie and A. R. McKenzie to be Captains.

3d Regt. Lieut. and Brev. Capts. R. J. Marr and J. G. Rorison to be Capts.

4th Regt. Lieut. and Brev. Capts. F. Walker and Henry Wallis to be Capts.

5th Regt. Lieut. and Brev. Capts. C. Sinnock and T. Howell to be Capts.

6th Regt. Lieut. and Brev. Capt. F. Mountford and Lieut. Alex. Tulloh to be Capts.

7th Regt. Lieut. and Brev. Capts. H. White and Wm. Binny to be Capts.

8th Regt. Lieut. and Brev. Capts. R. Backhouse and P. Corbett to be Capts.

9th Regt. Lieut. and Brev. Capt. C.

Maxson and Lieut. C. M. Robertson to be Capt.	2d .. 2d .. 20th	
10th Regt. Lieut. and Brev. Capt. G. B. Tolson and N. L. Austin to be Capt.	1st .. 11th .. 21st	
11th Regt. Lieut. and Brev. Capt. R. Butler and John Peake to be Capt.	2d .. 11th .. 22d	
12th Regt. Lieut. and Brev. Capt. J. W. Moncrieff and S. W. Steele to be Capt.	1st .. 12th .. 23d	(or W.L.I.)
13th Regt. Lieut. and Brev. Capt. W. Harkness and T. Robson to be Capt.	2d .. 12th .. 24th	
14th Regt. Lieut. and Brev. Capt. A. Mackintosh and A. Gray to be Capt.	1st .. 13th .. 25th	
15th Regt. Lieut. and Brev. Capt. J. Sinclair and J. Wilson to be Capt.	2d .. 13th .. 26th	
16th Regt. Senior Lieuts. W. Mackintosh and J. F. Palmer to be Capt.	1st .. 14th .. 27th	
17th Regt. Lieut. and Brev. Capt. John Tod and Lieut. R. Gibbins to be Capt.	2d .. 14th .. 28th	
18th Regt. Lieut. and Brev. Capt. W. Macleod and H. W. Poole to be Capt.	1st .. 15th .. 29th	
19th Regt. Lieut. and Brev. Capt. W. Strahan and Lieut. E. Dickson to be Capt.	2d .. 15th .. 30th	
20th Regt. Lieut. and Brev. Capt. W. Taylor and H. Cazalet to be Capt.	1st .. 16th .. 31st	(or T.L.I.)
21st Regt. Lieut. and Brev. Capt. R. Calvert and J. Nash to be Capt.	2d .. 16th .. 32d	
22d Regt. Lieut. and Brev. Capt. T. C. S. Hyde and Robt. Frew to be Capt.	1st .. 17th .. 33d	
23d Regt. Lieut. and Brev. Capt. A. M'Pherson and Lieut. W. T. Slade to be Capt.	2d .. 17th .. 34th	(or C. L. I.)
24th Regt. Lieut. and Brev. Capt. F. E. Smith and T. R. Mantell to be Capt.	1st .. 18th .. 35th	
25th Regt. Lieut. and Brev. Capt. R. Cozins and N. McNeill to be Capt.	2d .. 18th .. 36th	
	1st .. 19th .. 37th	
	2d .. 19th .. 38th	
	1st .. 20th .. 39th	
	2d .. 20th .. 40th	
	1st .. 21st .. 41st	
	2d .. 21st .. 42d	
	1st .. 22d .. 43d	
	2d .. 22d .. 44th	
	1st .. 23d .. 45th	
	2d .. 23d .. 46th	
	1st .. 24th .. 47th	
	2d .. 24th .. 48th	
	1st .. 25th .. 49th	
	2d .. 25th .. 50th	

The above Corps, notwithstanding the alteration in the numbering and designation of Regiments, are each to preserve such honorary badges and devices in their respective colours and appointments as may have belonged to each under its former number as a Battalion of a Regiment.

Officers are posted to Regiments as follows:

European Regiments.

1st Regt. Maj. P. Lawless; Capt. T. McLeane, B. Hooper, W. Fenwick, J. Cursham, A. Gordon; Lieuts. R. Williams, A. Calder, G. B. Greene, E. Franklyn, R. A. Charleton, J. V. Brown, G. K. Boyce, J. A. Howden, J. Grub, C. Butler, P. Chambers; Ens. R. D. Weir, F. B. Doveton, W. J. Manning, W. A. Saxon.

2d Regt. Maj. J. F. Gibson; Capt. C. Forbes, H. Kyd, P. Brown, G. Maxwell, J. Roy; Lieuts. B. S. Ward, W. Stewart, St. J. B. French, J. B. Paget, W. P. Gardiner, H. F. Barker, J. Kerr, T. C. Stinton, F. F. Robertson, T. Duke, E. Simpson; Ens. W. Hill, J. C. Hawes, W. Grant.

Native Infantry.

1st Batt. 1st Regt. (now 1st Regt.) Maj. J. Nixon; Capt. J. Ewing, J.

The Hon. the Governor in Council directs that the Regts. of Infantry on this Establishment shall hereafter be numbered as follows:

Present Number.	To be Numbered.
Europ. Regt.	{ 1st Europ. Regt.
	{ 2d Ditto.
1st Bat. 1st N.I. ..	1st N.I.
1st .. 2d ..	2d
1st .. 3d ..	3d (or P.L.I.)
1st .. 4th ..	4th
1st .. 5th ..	5th
1st .. 6th ..	6th
1st .. 7th ..	7th
1st .. 8th ..	8th
1st .. 9th ..	9th
1st .. 10th ..	10th
2d .. 9th ..	11th
2d .. 8th ..	12th
2d .. 3d ..	13th
2d .. 6th ..	14th
2d .. 4th ..	15th
2d .. 5th ..	16th
2d .. 1st ..	17th
2d .. 10th ..	18th
2d .. 7th ..	19th

Macdonald, H. Smith, J. R. Godfrey, C. Gill; Lieuts. R. Taylor, P. W. Morgan, J. Bisset, P. P. Hodge, W. Babington, S. B. Goodrich, C. G. Scott, J. E. Williams, J. D. Awdry, J. W. Goldsworthy, Ens. M. W. Perreau, J. E. Graham, G. Woodfall, W. W. Ross.

2d Batt. 1st Regt. (now 17th Regt.) Maj. G. M. Stuart; Capt. G. Ogilvie, J. Low, A. Haultain, W. Thompson, L. W. Watson; Lieuts. T. Thuillier, S. Stuart, J. Fullerton, J. Gunning, F. W. Fairbrass, E. B. Preston, P. Lihou, E. Massey, G. N. Douglas, G. B. Marshall; Ens. D. Babington, A. R. Morne, W. F. Du Pasquier.

1st Batt. 2d Regt. (now 2d Regt.) Maj. J. Forb, C.B.; Capt. E. Osborn, A. Cumming, C. F. Pelle, W. Gordon, D. Ogilvie; Lieuts. J. P. James, H. Dowker, W. H. Agnew, W. Prescott, G. J. Hamilton, R. M. Hunsfords, G. Downing, D. H. Eaton, R. H. Gordon, A. H. Jeffries; Ens. M. Beauchamp, E. Aylor, E. Lyons, H. Smith.

2d Batt. 2d Regt. (now 20th Regt.) Maj. C. Elphinstone; Capt. W. James, B. Coombe, J. Moncrieff, M. Tweedie, A. R. McKenzie; Lieuts. F. Plowden, T. A. Chauvel, J. Macartney, W. G. Gordon, J. Mellor, W. Johnson, C. Clemons, G. M. Arthur, J. W. Bayley, D. Archer; Ens. W. Shelley, T. Wake- man, J. Forbes, D. Strettell.

1st Batt. 3d Regt. (now 3d or Palam- cotta L.I.) Maj. J. Walker; Capt. A. Turner, D. Agnew, C. B. Agnew, C. B. Robinson, W. Williamson, R. J. Murr; Lieuts. J. Leggatt, E. J. Johnson, J. Maxtone, T. Dallas, P. L. Harvey, W. L. Williams, C. S. Burton, J. F. G. McLean, J. Power, W. H. Short; Ens. J. M. George, J. Johnstone, T. J. Adams, G. W. Moore.

2d Batt. 3d Regt. (now 13th Regt.) Maj. G. Hunter; Capt. J. Wilson, A. H. Colberg, J. Fyfe, R. Inverarity, J. G. Rorison; Lieuts. G. Dods, J. Robins, J. Briggs, E. Rogers, C. Fladgate, J. C. Glover, J. Shell, J. S. Sherman, T. G. E. G. Kenny, J. F. Leslie; Ens. G. W. Watson, J. Everest, H. C. Bevor.

1st Batt. 4th Regt. (now 4th Regt.) Maj. W. Jollie; Capt. B. Baker, J. Dalziel, R. Hunter, H. S. Hall, T. Wal- ker; Lieuts. T. Watson, C. S. J. Grant, J. Metcalfe, A. B. Dyce, J. D. Stokes, R. N. Campbell, H. R. Kirby, E. Hal- dane, G. Marshall, C. Church; Ens. J. H. Cramer, J. P. Marshall, W. A. Miller.

2d Batt. 4th Regt. (now 15th Regt.) Maj. W. M. Robertson; Capt. J. D. W. Rand, A. Stock, H. Conway, J. J. Wabbe, H. Willis; Lieuts. A. Sibbald, H. T. Van Heythausen, G. B. Wardell,

F. Haldeman, W. H. Smith, J. E. Chab- vel, H. A. Bishop, J. Ross, R. B. Faunce, C. A. Browne, Ens. A. M. Nattr, C. Thursby, H. L. Harris.

1st Batt. 5th Regt. (now 5th Regt.) Maj. G. Matheson; Capt. R. Guille, O. Herbert, P. Parquharson, C. Paulson, C. Sinnock; Lieuts. J. G. Mitchell, J. H. Winbolt, H. S. Burgess, W. Vis- tice, J. M. Ross, J. Macdonald, Minto, T. Perrier, M. Poole, W. Maires, J. R. Sayers; Ens. S. Prescott, A. McKenzie, H. Beaver, H. Heyne.

2d Batt. 5th Regt. (now 16th Regt.) Maj. M. Cuthbert; Capt. A. French, J. S. Trotter, J. Anderson, R. Gray, F. Howell; Lieuts. A. McFarlane, W. D. Dalzell, J. Randall, J. K. Leach, P. Cook, C. Wahaby, F. B. White, J. Rich- ardson, R. A. Gledstanes, S. A. Grant; Ens. O. F. Sturt, E. Peppercorne, T. Coles.

1st Batt. 6th Regt. (now 6th Regt.) Maj. F. Bowes; Capt. C. D. De Car- ret, M. J. Harris, E. M. Mastor, J. An- thony, F. Mountford; Lieuts. H. Mit- chell, J. Howison, J. N. Beater, T. H. R. Rawstorne, H. Millington, J. Gor- don, M. Joseph, F. A. Reid, L. M. Lean, R. Mitchell; Ens. H. J. Dallas, P. A. Clarke, W. Gordon, C. J. Cole.

2d Batt. 6th Regt. (now 14th Regt.) Major N. H. Hatherly; Capt. P. Bar- clay, J. Watson, J. Panton, H. Salmon, A. Tulloch; Lieuts. S. Jackson, V. Mathias, A. Agnew, C. Fagan, jun., C. W. Younge, G. Barne, J. W. Harding, E. Newton, C. McEvers Palmer, C. F. Le Hardy; Ens. P. W. Todd, C. F. Liardet, H. Walker, W. E. Gibb.

1st Batt. 7th Regt. (now 7th Regt.) Maj. A. Balmain; Capt. G. Spinks, F. L. Burnan, A. Tulloch, J. Myers, H. White; Lieuts. B. R. Hitchens, A. Hen- drie, J. T. Webb, W. N. Burns, J. B. Barnett, F. McKinnon, C. W. Nepens, R. A. Harden, R. E. Boardman, H. St- apylton; Ens. R. H. Bingham, D. Scot- land, H. C. Gosling, J. S. Elliott.

2d Batt. 7th Regt. (now 19th Regt.) Maj. G. Jackson; Capt. E. Fitzpatrick, W. Hardy, J. Dalgairns, E. Fiott, W. Binny; Lieuts. J. H. Bonnette, R. Cuxton, J. J. James, J. Drever, G. W. Whistler, J. Sandys, A. Mitchell, H. T. Hitchens, G. W. Osborne, A. Covey; Ens. G. Nott, R. Prettymann, P. Wylie.

1st Batt. 8th Regt. (now 8th Regt.) Maj. A. Degraives; Capt. A. M'Laen, H. A. Miller, G. H. Isacke, G. Muriel, R. Backhouse; Lieuts. W. Low, K. Fos- berry, G. Lee, W. C. Carruthers, R. J. Bird, T. H. Förster, F. W. Cocker, P. S. Hele, F. B. Lucas, J. S. Impey; Ens. J. Dowes, J. S. Bushby, G. C. C. Rand.

2d Batt. 8th Regt. (now 12th Regt.)
Maj. R. H. Hume; Capts. R. Farnwick, A. Roberts, O. F. Smith, A. E. Spicer, P. Corbett; Lieuts. R. Shelden, J. B. Notridge, R. Dunmore, W. C. Coffin, T. Rocks, P. E. Glover, H. W. Yonge, O. Bell, H. A. Morshy, J. Stevenson;
Ens. E. Peel, R. T. Cox.

1st Batt. 9th Regt. (now 9th Regt.)
Maj. J. Bell; Capts. C. A. Elderton, G. Norman, W. Preston, J. Clemons, C. Maxtone; Lieuts. J. Laurie, A. Milne, G. Milson, T. M. Cameron, J. P. Woodward, T. A. J. Longworth, J. A. Campbell, H. Currie, H. Roberts, J. S. Macvie; Ens. E. W. Holland, J. H. Macbride, J. Robertson, R. S. M. Sprye.

2d Batt. 9th Regt. (now 11th Regt.)
Maj. T. Marrett; Capt. G. Field, W. H. Rowley, G. Stott, J. Tucker, C. M. Robertson; Lieuts. H. E. Smart, T. Clemons, J. Fraser, J. W. Roworth, J. Clough, W. M. Lally, J. S. K. Biscoe, H. Lee, W. Blood, M. Davies; Ens. G. Sprye, S. Carr, D. Wynter.

1st Batt. 10th Regt. (now 10th Regt.)
Maj. J. W. H. Howell; Capts. R. Short, F. Richardson, H. G. Jourdan, A. Wilson, G. B. Tolson; Lieuts. W. Stokoe, G. Fryer, W. Cotton, A. Pitcairn, G. Wright, W. Reece, H. E. Kenny, W. R. Foskett, J. F. K. Brett, M. Wall; Ens. A. Wight, G. Tranchell, J. Sinclair.

2d Batt. 10th Regt. (now 18th Regt.)
Maj. A. Grant; Capts. D. Ross, C. G. Alves, J. Friswell, W. Shaw, N. L. Austin; Lieuts. R. Smith, R. J. H. Vivian, D. Addison, C. Lyons, T. S. Warner, R. Deacon, P. Steinson, J. O. Mile, R. W. Sparrow, J. Symons; Ens. F. Daniell, W. E. T. Bradley.

1st Batt. 11th Regt. (now 21st Regt.)
Maj. H. Downes; Capt. J. Stewart, T. G. Newell, G. Norton, R. S. Wilson, R. Butler; Lieuts. W. Drake, G. Gray, I. Yaldwin, W. Gray, W. Cuppage, T. J. M. Johnstone, A. E. G. Turnour, M. Carthew, W. K. M'Cauley, A. Shirrefs; Ens. P. M. Stirling, D. H. Considine, J. W. Rickards.

2d Batt. 11th Regt. (now 22d Regt.)
Maj. R. L. Evans; Capts. J. Bayley, C. Lethbridge, W. Borthwick, T. J. Hammond, J. Peeke; Lieut. G. Hutton, J. F. Bird, F. J. Baird, T. P. Hay, J. R. Sandford, F. Darby, W. De Monte Lys, F. S. C. Chalmers, C. J. Whitlock, E. Atheron; Ens. D. Buchanan, A. T. Bridge.

1st Batt. 12th Regt. (now 23d or Wallajahbad L. I.) Major E. Coury; Capts. J. Henry, C. Wilson, R. J. Tabois, J. Kitson, J. W. Moncrieffe; Lieuts. J. Cameron, S. Macdonald, C. H. Gibb, F. Welland, M. H. Bain-

bridge, W. D. Barclay, A. A. Campbell, G. Perks, D. Kinlock, T. Setree; Ens. J. Wallace, H. Prior, J. Allardyce.

2d Batt. 12th Regt. (now 21st Regt.)
Maj. J. Green; Capts. J. Morgan, W. P. Cunningham, J. Macdonald, C. Swanston, J. W. Stool; Lieuts. G. Hutchinson, C. Sinclair, C. Boldero, F. C. Scott, J. Lewis, C. Dennett, J. Shepherd, H. Baker, P. Pope, A. J. Ormsby; Ens. J. Hill, J. Gordon, E. W. Snow.

1st Batt. 13th Regt. (now 25th Regt.)
Maj. H. Swayne; Capts. F. Brown, W. Isarks, H. Bentley, J. Ross, H. Harkness; Lieuts. R. M'Leod, W. N. Pace, T. R. Manners, R. D. O'Dell, C. Evans, F. Smith, R. J. Nixon, H. W. Sparrow, J. A. Duff, N. Geoghegan; Ens. H. Russell, H. Brooks, J. Mann, C. O. Backhouse.

2d Batt. 13th Regt. (now 26th Regt.)
Maj. W. Jones; Capts. C. W. Yeates, W. Kelso, N. Alves, J. Gwinne, T. Robson; Lieuts. S. A. Rebe, R. Gordon, T. Eastment, E. Blenkinsop, F. Bradfield, D. L. Arnot, N. Johnson, H. H. Watts, G. Jobling, K. A. M'Leay; Ens. W. Halpin, T. Maynor, C. Reynolds, W. C. Mackinlay.

1st Batt. 14th Regt. (now 27th Regt.)
Maj. T. King; Capts. H. Munn, R. Spears, J. Leighton, J. Hanson, H. Macintosh; Lieuts. H. Bevan, E. A. M'Curly, R. Thorpe, W. T. Croft, W. P. Burton, C. Rochfort, G. Waymouth, T. M. Mills, W. Cranston, H. Morland; Ens. R. A. Joy, L. E. Duval, H. Vanderzee, G. P. C. Smithwaite.

2d Batt. 14th Regt. (now 28th Regt.)
Maj. R. G. Wilson; Capts. C. Rundall, T. Cox, H. Coyle, J. Williams, A. Gray; Lieuts. J. Bell, T. Stockwell, B. H. Currie, J. Mills, R. F. Otter, L. B. Disney, W. Craigie, C. J. Torriano, C. Bradford, C. W. Nicolay; Ens. W. Stokes, E. Willis, G. K. Davidson, H. T. Yarde.

1st Batt. 15th Regt. (now 29th Regt.)
Maj. J. Briggs; Capts. J. Scott, J. Noble, J. Hume, E. T. Hingame, J. Sinclair; Lieuts. R. Cooke, J. Rickard, J. Forrest, J. S. Wyllie, W. E. A. Elliot, E. Servante, H. J. C. Memardier, F. W. Brodie, J. Milnes, A. D. Cameron; Ens. R. Harlock, R. H. Symes, C. A. Roberts, F. S. Nicolay.

2d Batt. 15th Regt. (now 30th Regt.)
Maj. J. Napier; Capts. S. Townsend, E. Craster, C. Snell, R. Morison, J. Wilson; Lieuts. F. H. M. Wheeler, C. Davinier, C. Owen, A. Chisholme, J. Deane, G. Leacock, E. Horne, H. Pace, G. A. Baillie, F. J. Nedham; Ens. J. Jones, W. C. M'Leod, E. J. Gascoigne, J. L. Jones.

1st Batt. 16th Regt. (now 31st or Trichinopoly L. I.) Maj. H. J. Bowler; Capts. A. Stewart, R. Robson, J. Perry, J. A. Condeff, W. Mackintosh, Lieuts. C. M. Birt, A. Derville, T. Ruddiman, G. F. Hutchison, C. Leslie, O. St. John, J. Davidson, G. J. Richardson, G. R. Johnstone, G. H. Milnes; Ens. R. Watson, J. Gordon, W. H. Budd, J. Smith.

2nd Batt. 16th Regt. (now 32nd Regt.) Maj. J. A. Sky; Capts. J. J. A. Willows, G. Jones, W. C. Hasker, R. W. Sherriff, J. F. Palmer; Lieuts. R. Budd, W. W. Baker, J. Woodward, H. Power, J. Harkness, W. B. Gilby, J. A. Russel, E. James, T. R. James, M. J. Rowlandson; Ensigns H. E. C. O'Connor, H. M. Edwards, G. Gibson.

1st Batt. 17th Regt. (now 23rd Regt.) Maj. J. Wahab; Capts. J. Lambe, G. Drewe, E. Cadogan, J. Glass, J. Tod; Lieuts. J. Kerr, R. Bradford, G. Brady, J. Campbell, T. F. Bond, R. F. Fames, T. B. Chalou, J. Black, J. Hatchings, T. Mc'Clella; P. Ensigns A. R. Alexander, T. R. Smith, R. Lambert, Hn. Clay.

2d Batt. 17th Regt. (now 34th or Chicacole L. I.) Maj. J. Ogilvie; Capts. J. J. O'Donoghue, J. Hodgson, H. W. Hodges, W. Allan, R. Gibbings; Lieuts. J. C. Stedman, C. C. Bell, M. J. Hart, J. R. Haig, J. Lindsay, T. S. Claridge, E. Armstrong, G. H. Sotheby, G. Affleck, T. Berry; Ensigns J. W. Smyth, T. R. Crozier, L. M. McLeod.

1st Batt. 18th Regt. (now 35th Regt.) Maj. J. S. Frazer; Capts. J. Mallandaine, J. Tennant, T. H. Monk, W. J. Bradford, W. Macleod; Lieuts. E. E. Bruce, W. G. White, C. Turner, C. G. T. Chauvel, R. Dowell, S. R. Hicks, J. Ure, A. Edie, J. C. Rankin, F. S. Senior; Ensigns W. E. Brooshoof, A. Trotter, P. Oliphant, J. G. Brew, J. C. Boulderson.

2d Batt. 18th Regt. (now 36th Regt.) Maj. A. Macqueene; Capts. T. W. Wiggin, R. Murcott, G. K. Babington, H. Wiggins, H. W. Poole; Lieuts. W. Watkins, T. Thompson, T. R. Barton, G. C. Whitlock, G. H. Kellett, G. Harts, G. F. D'Lanohy, J. F. Musgrove, M. Stephenson, J. J. Jackman; Ens. J. Woodgate, W. H. Simpson, G. A. Smith, J. Hayne.

1st Batt. 19th Regt. (now 37th Regt.) Maj. T. Smithwaite; Capts. W. Milne, H. Wahab, J. Mathews, T. P. Hall, W. Strahan; Lieuts. G. Storey, C. R. Braistreet, A. Clarke, E. T. Clarke, D. Duff, P. Beddingfield, J. B. Neere, G. Gibson, H. Wright, L. Rudd; Ens. R. W. Lang, J. W. Gordon, E. J. Simpson, A. E. McQueen.

2d Batt. 19th Regt. (now 38th Regt.) Maj. D. C. Smith; Capts. A. Cooke, J. Michael, H. Doyden, J. W. Cleveland, E. Dickson; Lieuts. W. J. Butterworth, J. M. Boyes, F. W. Hands, H. Gould, R. Garraway, J. Arden, C. Holl, C. Pooley, A. Harrison, P. A. Reynolds; Ens. R. G. Carmichael, J. Willis, E. Clutterbuck, E. Hawkshaw.

1st Batt. 20th Regt. (now 39th Regt.) Maj. C. Brooke; Capts. H. Walpole, J. Hadwan, W. T. Susyd, T. Crichton, W. T. Taylor; Lieuts. J. Ward, H. F. Bowness, P. Thompson, J. Hole, C. H. Graham, E. Messiter, J. V. Hughes, F. Eades, F. J. Warren, G. S. Wilkin; Ens. C. J. Otley, A. Dyce, C. W. Tolem, C. Stafford.

2d Batt. 20th Regt. (now 40th Regt.) Maj. W. T. Baker; Capts. J. W. Pew, C. O. Fothergill, J. Tucker, W. K. Ritchie, H. Kazalet; Lieuts. J. Wright, H. Newman, A. Woodburn, G. D. Clayhills, C. Wilford, D. Bruce, H. Bemmet, W. W. Kingston, H. N. Noble, W. Rawlins; Ens. G. H. Harper, S. Peeshall, G. P. Cameron, M. White.

1st Batt. 21st Regt. (now 41st Regt.) Maj. H. Bowler; Capts. W. B. Spry, J. Baxter, G. Leggatt, H. Keating, R. Calvert; Lieuts. H. Robinson, R. Allen, H. Sargent, A. Macarthur, W. Langford, T. Clendon, M. G. Fitzgerald, J. Campbell, G. Logan, W. P. Macdonald; Ens. H. Hall, G. C. Rochfort, D. Flyter, T. Dale, T. White.

2d Batt. 21st Regt. (now 42d Regt.) Maj. J. Wight; Capts. J. S. Chauvel, H. Ross, H. Tecker, J. Webster, J. Nash; Lieuts. E. M'Pherson, H. A. Thompson, W. Scott, J. Thomas, F. H. Ely, J. Waymouth, W. H. Trollope, F. B. Griffiths, P. Henderson, J. Lawson; Ens. T. H. Zouch, J. Fitzgerald, J. C. G. Stewart, C. Macleod.

1st Batt. 22d Regt. (now 43d Regt.) Maj. C. Ferrior; Capts. C. Cracroft, G. H. Budd, F. Crowe, J. Gwynne, T. C. S. Hyde; Lieuts. A. M'Leod, T. M. Claridge, G. Williams, A. T. Lindsay, R. C. Campbell, W. B. Cox, W. Rose, G. R. Boddam, J. U. Colabroke, E. C. Manning; Ens. J. E. B. Shaw, W. Scott, H. J. Taynton, C. P. Moor.

2d Batt. 22d Regt. (now 44th Regt.) Maj. C. Bowen; Capts. W. (Baron) Kutzleben, C. D. Dun, T. B. Jones, J. Malton, R. Frew; Lieuts. W. Cunningham, R. T. Wallace, J. S. Clemons, A. M'Call, M. Blaxland, A. Adam, W. Gompertz, R. Blanch, R. H. Brownlow, C. B. Phillipson; Ens. F. Dudgeon, T. F. Baber, F. Hirtzell.

1st Batt. 23d Regt. (now 45th Regt.) Maj. S. S. Gummer; Capts. W. Godley,

B. Blake, C. Newman, M. H. Davidson, A. M. Pearson; Lieuts. J. MacDonald, A. Fraser, J. Wolfe, W. H. Logan, R. Francis, J. H. Seddon, P. Fletcher, J. J. M. Murdo, H. J. Macdon, T. B. Wilford, Ens. W. T. A. Freeman, J. S. M. Anderson, J. Gerrard, J. Thomas.

2d Batt. 23d Regt. (now 46th Regt.) Maj. P. Henderson; Capts. R. Crewe, W. Hende, W. Murray, W. O'Reilly, W. T. Slade; Lieuts. J. Wallace, J. Low, A. Pinson, E. Dyer, C. Keating, R. Codrington, W. Powell, J. Henderson, W. G. T. Lewis, T. C. Mayo; Ens. J. A. Shennan, J. Benwell, C. Yates.

1st Batt. 24th Regt. (now 47th Regt.) Maj. J. Hackett; Capts. Peregrine Davie, L. Cooper, J. Ardagh, J. Crisp, F. E. Smith; Lieuts. J. Garpault, T. Bell, J. C. H. Campbell, E. Groves, F. Minchin, B. B. Shee, A. S. Logan, C. Bond, T. Pantou, W. Bremner; Ens. J. Bloxland, C. Woodfall, H. F. Campbell, F. Ensar.

2d Batt. 24th Regt. (now 48th Regt.) Maj. J. Moore; Capts. J. Tagg, T. Youngson, W. G. Page, A. Inglis, T. R. Mantell; Lieuts. H. Strong, A. A. Musita, H. C. Lynch, R. Alexander, J. E. Butcher, J. Harwood, T. D. Carpenter, R. R. Ricketts, R. Watts, H. Bawer; Ens. D. Littlejohn, G. Gordon, P. McIlish.

1st Batt. 25th Regt. (now 49th Regt.) Maj. J. T. Trempan; Capts. J. T. Swan, S. I. Hodgson, P. Whapnell, H. Moberly, R. Cozins; Lieuts. T. Swaine, C. Hewetson, C. H. Baddeley, A. Douglas, E. J. Dusanoy, T. Wallace, E. Roberts, W. Nicolson, R. Hall, G. E. Thompson; Ens. W. Duncan, J. T. Lugard, C. Pickering.

2d Batt. 25th Regt. (now 50th Regt.) Maj. W. Ormsby; Capts. W. Pickering, J. Walker, J. Crokat, S. Hughes, N. McNeill; Lieuts. T. Locke, H. Ewing, C. P. Rose, H. J. Lodgington, W. Macqueen, H. Walter, H. W. Lardner, J. Edgar, T. L. Green, G. Hamond; Ens. T. Sewell, H. Neale, J. Dickson.

MILITARY APPOINTMENTS.

Fort St. George.—March 30. Ensign W. H. Pears of Engineers to be Assistant to Sup. Engineer on Centre Division. April 2. The following Appointments have been made for the Force under orders to embark for the Presidency on Foreign Service: Col. W. Maclean, C. B. H. M. 54th Regt. to command; Capt. B. R. Hutchins, Assistant to Adj. Gen. Dep. to be Military Secretary; and Lieut. J. Clarke, H. M. 54th Regt. to be Brigade Major; Lieut. Col. E. W. Snow, Dep. Adj. Gen. of Army, to accompany Expedition as Dep. Adj. Gen.;

Capt. S. W. Steele, Assistant in Quartermaster Gen. Department, to proceed in charge of that Department, as Assist. Quartermaster General; and Capt. A. E. Spicer, 8th N. Regt., as Dep. Assistant Quart. Mast. Gen.

Engineers. Capt. J. Mackintosh to be Commanding Engineer; Ens. E. Luke to be Adj. to Engineer Park; Ensigns G. A. Underwood, and A. T. Cotton, of Engineers, to be attached to Force; Lieut. W. T. Lewis, of Artillery, to be Commissary of Stores.

Medical Staff. Mr. Superintendent Surg. Heward, Presidency Division, to be Superintending Surgeon with Surgs. A. Spiers and W. S. Anderson, and Assist. Surgs. J. Kelman, S. Higginson, and J. R. Gibb, on the Staff; Assistant Surg. R. Davidson to be Dep. Medical Storekeeper; Sub-Assist. Surg. Kipp, and Acting Sub-Assist. Surgs. Watson and R. Shaw, to be attached to Superintending Surgeon's Department; Acting Sub-Assist. Surg. Brown to be attached to Dep. Medical Storekeeper.

Commissariat. Assistants Coms. Gen. Capt. A. Cumming and Capt. C. Wilson to accompany Force, and Sub-Assist. Com. Gen. Lieut. T. R. Manners to be available for duty with Expedition; Capt. A. Stock, 4th N. Regt., to be Paymaster to Force; Capt. W. Hornblow, to be Agent for Transports.

The following arrangements sanctioned for brigading the Troops:—

Artillery. Capt. P. Montgomery to be Brigade Major, and Lieut. R. S. Seton to be Quartermaster and Interpreter.

Infantry. Capt. J. A. Macleod, H. M. 41st Regt., Capt. R. Evans, 11th N. I., and Lieut. J. Ker, 17th N. I. to be Brigade Majors; Capt. W. Williamson, 3d N. I. to be Deputy Judge Advocate Gen. to Force; Capt. A. L. Murray, of Artillery (Assistant to Secretary to Military Board), permitted to proceed on service with his Corps, without prejudice to appointment.—April 6. Lieut. (Brev. Capt.) A. Hendrie, 7th N. I. to be Adj. to 1st Batt. of that Corps, vice Mansfield, deceased.—20. Colonel R. Scott, C. B. to be Town Major of Fort St. George.—May 7. Major J. Colgrave of Engineers to be Acting Chief Engineer, with a seat at Military Board; Major G. A. Wetherell to act as Aide-de-Camp to Commander-in-Chief.—14. Lieut. Col. J. Ogilvie, C. B. H. M. 20th Regt. to command Provinces of Malabar and Canara, vice Miles; Capt. J. Crokat, 25th N. I. to be Aide-de-Camp to the Governor.—18. Lieut. S. Jackson, 6th N. I. to be Quartermaster Inter-

preter and Paymaster, to 2d Batt, 6th N.I. vice Salmon; Lieut. J. W. Harpington to be ditto ditto to 1st Batt. of that Corps; Lieut. G. Fryer to be Adjutant to ditto; Lieut. J. Rickard, 15th N.I. to be Adjutant to 2d Batt. of that Corps; Lieut. H. Ewing, 25th N.I. to be ditto to 1st Batt. of Corps; Lieut. W. T. Drewry of Engineers to be Superintendent Engineer with Light Field Division of Hyderabad Subsidiary Force at Jaulnah. June 4. Capt. E. Osborne, 2d N.I. to be Dep. Assist. Quartermaster Gen. in Mysore, vice Treymann; Capt. S. J. Hodgson, 49th N.I. to be Brig. Major in Mysore, vice King; Lieut. M. McNeil, 6th L. C. to be Brig. Major in Southern Div. vice Osborn; Lieut. A. B. Dyce, 4th N.I. to be Brigadier Major at Bangalore, vice O'Brien; Capt. A. R. Colberg, 13th N.I. to be Brigade Major in Mahabar and Canara, vice Fulton; Capt. H. O'Brien, 4th L. C. Capt. J. Fulton, 14th N.I. and Lieut. A. Macarthur, 41st N.I. to be Deputy Judge Adv. Gen.

Hon. Brigade Artillery. Lieut. J. M. Ley to be Quartermaster, Interpreter & Paymaster, vice Lewis; Lieut. R. Sewall to be Adjutant, vice Ley.

5th Light Cavalry. Lieut. R. B. Fitzgibbon to be Quartermaster, &c. vice Highmor.

6th Light Cavalry. Lieut. Knox to be Adjutant, vice McNeill.

1st European Regt. Lieut. E. Franklin to be Adjutant.

2d European Regt. Lieut. W. Stewart to be Adjutant, and Lieut. F. P. Robertson to be Quartermaster and Paymaster.

Native Infantry.

1st Regt. Lieut. P. P. Hodge, to be Quartermaster and Paymaster; Lieut. W. Babington to be Adjutant.

2d Regt. Lieut. J. P. James to be Adjutant.

3d Regt. Lieut. J. Leggatt to be Quartermaster, Interpreter, and Paymaster; Lieut. J. Maxtone to be Adjutant.

4th Regt. Lieut. J. D. Stokes to be Quartermaster, Interpreter and Paymaster; Lieut. R. N. Campbell to be Adjutant.

5th Regt. Lieut. J. H. Winbolt to be Adjutant; Lieut. W. Justice to be Quartermaster, Interpreter, and Paymaster.

6th Regt. Lieut. L. McLean to be Quartermaster, Interpreter, and Paym.

7th Regt. Lieut. A. Heudrie to be Quartermaster, Interpreter, and Paymaster; Lieut. J. T. Webbe to be Adj.

8th Regt. Lieut. F. B. Lucas to be Quartermaster, Interpreter, and Paym.

9th Regt. Lieut. G. Milson to be Quartermaster, Interpreter, and Pay-

master; Lieut. F. A. J. Longworth to be Adjutant.

10th Regt. Lieut. G. Fryer to be Adjutant; Lieut. G. Wright to be Quartermaster, Interpreter, and Paymaster.

11th Regt. Lieut. T. Clements to be Quartermaster, Interpreter, and Paymaster; Lieut. J. C. Biscoe to be Adjutant.

12th Regt. Lieut. R. Sheddon to be Quartermaster, Interpreter, and Paymaster; Lieut. J. C. Coffin to be Adj.

13th Regt. Lieut. G. Dods to be Adjutant; Lieut. J. Briggs to be Quartermaster, Interpreter, and Paymaster.

14th Regt. Lieut. S. Jackson to be Quartermaster, Interpreter, and Paymaster; Lieut. V. Matthias to be Adj.

15th Regt. Lieut. G. B. Wardell to be Quartermaster, Interpreter, and Paymaster; Lieut. M. A. Bishop to be Adj.

16th Regt. Lieut. A. Macfarlane to be Quartermaster, Interpreter, and Paymaster; Lieut. W. D. Dalzell to be Adjutant.

17th Regt. Lieut. J. Fullerton to be Adjutant.

18th Regt. Lieut. R. J. H. Vivian to be Adjutant; Lieut. P. Stinson to be Quartermaster Interp. and Paymaster.

19th Regt. Lieut. J. H. Bonnetto to be Quartermaster, Interpreter, and Paymaster; Lieut. J. J. James to be Adj.

20th Regt. Lieut. F. Plowden to be Quartermaster, Interpreter, and Paymaster; Lieut. W. G. Gordon to be Adjutant.

21st Regt. Lieut. W. Cuppage to be Adjutant; Lieut. M. Carthew to be Quartermaster, Interpreter, and Paym.

22d Regt. Lieut. J. F. Bird to be Adjutant; Lieut. F. S. C. Chalmers to be Quartermaster, Interpreter, and Paym.

23d Regt. Lieut. C. H. Gibbs to be Quartermaster, Interpreter, and Paym.; Lieut. W. D. Barclay to be Adjutant.

24th Regt. Lieut. C. Sinclair to be Quartermaster, Interpreter, and Paym.; Lieut. C. Boldero to be Adjutant.

25th Regt. Lieut. W. N. Pace to be Quartermaster, Interpreter, and Paym.; Lieut. W. H. Sparrow to be Adjutant.

26th Regt. Lieut. R. Gordon to be Quartermaster, Interpreter, and Paym.; Lieut. T. Eastment to be Adjutant.

27th Regt. Lieut. E. A. McCurdy to be Quartermaster, Interp. and Paym.; Lieut. W. Cranston to be Adjutant.

28th Regt. Lieut. T. Stockwell to be Adjutant.

29th Regt. Lieut. J. Rickard to be Adjutant; Lieut. J. Forrest to be Quartermaster, Interpreter, and Paymaster; Lieut. J. S. Wyllie to act as Adjutant during absence of Lieut. Rickards.

- 50th Regt.** Lieut. A. Christolins to be Quartermaster, Interpreter, and Paym.; Lieut. J. Deane to be Adjutant.
- 31st Regt.** Lieut. T. R. Riddell to be Quartermaster, Interpreter, and Paym.; Lieut. G. R. Johnstone to be Adjutant.
- 32d Regt.** Lieut. R. Budd to be Adjutant; Lieut. J. James to be Quartermaster, Interpreter, and Paymaster.
- 33d Regt.** Lieut. R. Bradford to be Quartermaster, Interpreter, and Paym.; Lieut. J. Kerr to be Adjutant; Lieut. T. B. Chalon to act as Quartermaster, Interpreter, and Paymaster, during absence of Lieut. Bradford; Lieut. G. Brady to act as Adjutant during absence of Lieut. J. Kerr.
- 34th Regt.** Lieut. T. S. Claridge to be Adjutant; Lieut. E. Armstrong to be Quartermaster, Interpreter, and Paym.
- 35th Regt.** Lieut. E. E. Brade to be Quartermaster, Interpreter, and Paym.; Lieut. W. G. White to be Adjutant.
- 36th Regt.** Lieut. G. C. Whitlock to be Adjutant.
- 37th Regt.** Lieut. A. Clarke to be Quartermaster, Interpreter, and Paym.; Lieut. E. T. Clarke to be Adjutant.
- 38th Regt.** Lieut. E. Garroway to be Quartermaster, Interpreter, and Paym.; Lieut. C. Pooley to be Adjutant.
- 39th Regt.** Lieut. P. Thomson to be Adjutant.
- 40th Regt.** Lieut. J. Wright to be Quartermaster, Interpreter, and Paym.; Lieut. H. Newman to be Adjutant.
- 41st Regt.** Lieut. H. Sargent to be Quartermaster, Interpreter, and Paym.; Lieut. W. Langford to be Adjutant.
- 42d Regt.** Lieut. W. Scott to be Quartermaster, Interpreter, and Paym.; Lieut. T. H. Zouch to be Adjutant.
- 43d Regt.** Lieut. T. M. Claridge to be Adjutant; Lieut. A. T. Lindsay to be Quartermaster, Interpreter and Paymaster.
- 44th Regt.** Lieut. A. M'Cally to be Adjutant; Lieut. M. Blaxland to be Quartermaster, Interpreter, and Paym.
- 45th Regt.** Lieut. A. Fraser to be Quartermaster, Interpreter, and Paym.; Lieut. J. J. M'Murdo to be Adjutant.
- 46th Regt.** Lieut. J. Wallace to be Quartermaster, Interpreter, and Paym.; Lieut. R. Codrington to be Adjutant.
- 47th Regt.** Lieut. R. Groves to be Quartermaster, Interpreter, and Paym.; Lieut. A. S. Logan to be Adjutant.
- 48th Regt.** Lieut. R. Alexander to be Quartermaster, Interpreter, and Paym.; Lieut. T. D. Carpenter to be Adjutant.
- 49th Regt.** Lieut. C. Hewitson to be Adjutant; Lieut. C. H. Baddeley to be Quartermaster, Interpreter, and Paym.
- 50th Regt.** Lieut. T. Locke to be Quartermaster, Interpreter, and Paym.; Lieut. H. Ewing to be Adjutant.
- Capt. M'Dougall, H. M.** 48th Foot, to be Aide-de-Camp to Commander-in-Chief, vice Major Wetherall.
- June 8.**—Colonel J. W. Freese to be Commandant of Artillery; Lieut. Col. J. Limond to be Principal Commissary of Ordnance in charge of Arsenal of Fort St. George; Capt. H. T. Rudyerd, of Artillery, to be Superintendent of Gun-Carriage Manufactory at Seringapatam; Capt. T. H. J. Hockley, of Artillery, to be Commissary of Stores at Bellary, vice Cullen, promoted.
- 17th Regt. N.I.** Lieut. R. B. Preston to be Quartermaster, Interpreter, and Paymaster; Lieut. F. W. Fairbrass to act as Adjutant during absence of Lieut. Fullerton.
- 28th Regt. N.I.** Lieut. W. Craigie to be Quartermaster, Interp. and Paym.; Lieut. M'Curdy to act as Adjutant during absence of Lieut. Stockwell.
- June 11.**—Lieut. C. Rochfort, 27th N.I. to have temporary command of Escort of Rajah of Mysore; Lieut. G. F. Smith of Engineers to act as Superintendent Engineer in Northern Division; Conduct. H. Bacon to be Dep. Assist. Commissary of Ordnance at Powder Mills.
- 18.**—Lieut. (Brev. Capt.) J. Buchanan to be Quartermaster, Interp. and Paym. to 1st L. C. vice Shaw, promoted.

MEDICAL APPOINTMENTS.

Fort St. George.—April 20. Assist. Surg. A. Campbell to be Garrison Assistant Surgeon at Negapatam, vice Smart; Mr. G. V. Cumming admitted Assist. Surgeon, and appointed to do duty under Garrison Surgeon of Fort St. George.—May 17. Assist. Surg. J. Simm to be Zilla Surgeon at Nellore, vice Knox.—18. Mr. D. Virtue admitted an Assist. Surgeon, and appointed to do duty in Horse Brigade of Artillery.—28. Senior Assist. Surg. J. White to be Surgeon, dated 22 May 1824.—June 1. Assist. Surg. W. Wilson, M.D. to be Surgeon, vice Kellie, deceased; Assist. Surg. R. Neilson to be Surgeon, vice White, deceased; and Assist. Surg. J. Cruikshank to be Surgeon, vice Richardson, deceased.

Medical Department.

June 8.—Acting Superintend. Surg. C. M'Cabe to be Superintending Surg.; Surg. J. Wyse to be Act. Superintend. Surgeon, during absence of Superintend. Surg. Heward on Foreign Service; Superintend. Surg. M'Cabe appointed to Southern Division, but will continue to do duty in Presidency Div. during absence of Superintending Surg. Heward,

and Act. Superintendent Surg. Wyse, will do duty with Southern Division, during absence of Superintendent Surg. McCabe; Surg. W. Macdowell to be Garrison Surgeon at Poonamallee; Surg. A. B. Peppin to be Acting Garrison Surgeon at Trichinopoly; Surg. D. Henderson to be Cantonment Surgeon at Secunderabad; and to take charge of Medical Dépôt at that station; Assist. Surg. W. Train to be Garrison Assist. Surg. at Cuddalore.

15.—Assist. Surg. T. M. Lane to have charge of Eye Infirmary, Male Asylum, and Police.

22.—The following Appointments are made in the Medical Department: viz. Assist. Surg. T. M. Lane to be Superintendent of Eye Infirmary; Assist. Surg. J. Lawder to Medical charge of Male Asylum and Police Estab.; Assist. Surg. W. Geddes to Zilla of Cuddapah; Assist. Surg. C. Searle to Zilla of Madura; Assist. Surg. R. Wight to Medical charge of Public Cattle Dépôt in Mysore; Assist. Surg. W. Fasken to Medical Survey of Shevaroy and Chaudamungalam Hills; Assist. Surg. G. W. Griffiths to Zilla of Combaumun.

MEDICAL POSTINGS.

June 30.—Medical Officers are removed and posted as follows: Assist. Surg. C. A. Price, from 24th N. I. to 2d Batt. Pioneers; Assist. Surg. J. Malcolm from 26th to 35th N. I.; Assist. Surg. G. Lockart from 7th L. C. to 2d Regt. or W. L. I.; Assist. Surg. R. Power from under Superintendent Surg. Doab to 44th N. I.; Assist. Surg. T. Key, from under Superintendent Surg. Hyderabad Subald. Force to 41st N. I.; Assist. Surg. J. C. Malcolmson, from under Superintendent Surg. Hyderabad Subsid. Force to 45th N. I.; Assist. Surg. T. Powell, from under Superintendent Surg. Ceded Districts, to 24th N. I.; Assist. Surg. E. Tracey, from 5th L. C. to 23d N. I.; Assist. Surg. G. A. C. Bright, from 35th to 26th N. I.

PROMOTIONS.

Fort St. George, April 6.

10th Regt. N. I. Senior Ensign J. Simons to be Lieutenant, vice Lawler, 8th Artillery; Senior 2d Lieut. C. J. J. Denman to be 1st Lieutenant, vice Leatherdale, deceased.

7th Regt. N. I. Senior Ensign B. Stapleton to be Lieutenant, vice Mansfield, deceased.

23.—11th Regt. N. I. Senior Ensign C. J. Whitlock to be Lieutenant, vice Gordon, deceased; Mr. J. N. Greaves admitted a Cadet of Infantry, and promoted to Ensign.

27.—The following Lieutenants have been promoted to the rank of Brevet Captains: G. Milson, 9th Regt. N. I.; H. B. Doveton, 4th Lt. Cav.; W. Drake, 11th Regt. N. I.; F. Fosberry, 8th ditto; J. B. Nottidge, 8th ditto; C. Maxtone, 9th ditto; G. Lee, 8th ditto; J. Leggatt, 3d ditto; H. Strong, 24th ditto; D. Montgomery, 7th Regt. L. C.; A. M. Campbell, 7th ditto; and F. Hunter, 1st ditto; Mr. T. Dumas admitted a Cadet of Artillery, and promoted to 2d Lieutenant; Mr. G. S. Mowat admitted a Cadet of Infantry, and promoted to Ensign.

Infantry.

May 4.—Sen. Maj. W. Clapham, from 4th N. I., to be Lieut. Col. vice Frith, deceased.

4th Regt. N. I. Sen. Capt. (Brev. Maj.) W. Jollie to be Major; Sen. Lieut. (Brev. Capt.) H. S. Hall to be Captain; and Sen. Ens. C. Church to be Lieutenant in succession to Clapham, promoted.

May 7.—24th Regt. N. I. Sen. Lieut. (Brev. Capt.) A. Inglis to be Captain; and Senior Ens. H. Bowler to be Lieut. vice Davie, deceased.

14.—6th Regt. N. I. Sen. Lieut. (Brev. Capt.) H. Salmon to be Captain; and Sen. Ens. C. F. Le Hardy to be Lieut. vice De Carteret, deceased.

10th Regt. Sen. Capt. R. Short to be Major; Sen. Lieut. (Brev. Capt.) G. B. Tolson to be Capt.; and Sen. Ens. A. Wight to be Lieut. vice Howell, deceased.

15th Regt. Senior Capt. J. Napier to be Major, Sen. Lieut. (Brev. Capt.) R. Morison to be Captain; and Sen. Ens. F. J. Needham to be Lieutenant, vice Hall, deceased.

Mr. T. H. Humffreys admitted a Cadet of Artillery, and promoted to 2d Lieut.; Messrs. E. A. Humffreys, S. Bayley, J. K. Trunell, J. D. Oliver, R. B. Dickinson, and G. P. Vallancy admitted Cadets of Infantry, and promoted to Ensigns.

28.—4th Regt. L. C. Senior Lieut. (Brev. Capt.) T. Greenhill to be Captain, and Senior Cornet A. R. Taylor to be Lieutenant, vice Magnay, dated 21 June 1821.

Madras European Regt. Senior Ens. E. Simpson to be Lieut. vice Clarke, dated 21 Sept. 1821.

June 1.—PROMOTIONS to supply Casualties since May 1:

6th Regt. N. I. Lieut. H. Mitchell to be Captain, and Ensign H. J. G. Dallas to be Lieutenant, vice De Carteret, deceased.

Infantry. Major F. Bowes, from 6th

Regt. to be Lieut. Colonel, vice Hall, deceased.

6th Regt. N. I. Capt. M. J. Harris to be Major, Lieut. J. Howison to be Captain, and Ensign F. A. Clarke to be Lieutenant, vice Bowes.

47th Regt. Lieut. G. Garnault to be Captain, and Ensign J. Blaxland to be Lieutenant, vice Davies, deceased.

24th Regt. Ensign J. Hill to be Lieutenant, vice Baker, deceased.

10th Regt. Capt. R. Short to be Major; Lieut. (Brev. Capt.) Stokoe to be Captain, and Ensign A. White to be Lieutenant, vice Howell, deceased.

12th Regt. Ensign E. Peel to be Lieutenant, vice Yonge, deceased.

31st Regt. Lieut. C. M. Bird to be Captain, and Ensign R. Watson to be Lieutenant, vice Stewart, deceased.

28th Regt. Capt. C. Rundall to be Major, Lieut. Ball to be Captain, and Ensign Stokes to be Lieutenant, vice Wilson, deceased.

22d Regt. Ensign D. Buchanan to be Lieutenant, vice Bond, deceased.

6th Regt. L. C. Lieut. (Brev. Capt.) R. H. Russell to be Captain, and Cornet J. R. Brown to be Lieutenant, vice Johnson, deceased.

June 18.—The undermentioned Cadets of Infantry are admitted and promoted to rank of Ensign:—Messrs. E. Cowle, G. Grautham, H. W. Hadfield, J. B. Key, J. F. Elliot, F. J. Clerk, N. Burrard, J. G. Deck, T. D. Rippon, J. Lewis, and A. Cuppage.

3d Regt. Sen. Lieut. (Brev. Capt.) J. Leggat to be Captain, and Sen. Ens. J. M. George, to be Lieutenant, vice Robinson, deceased; Capt. H. Salmon, 14th N. I. permitted to act as Paymaster at Bellary during abs. of Capt. Baker.

July 13.—Lieut. (Brevet Capt.) D. Montgomerie, 7th L. C. to act as Dep. Surv. Gen. vice Mountford, deceased.

6th N. I. Sen. Lieut. J. N. Beaver to be Capt. and Sen. Ens. W. Gordon to be Lieut. vice Mountford, deceased.

36th N. I. Sen. Ens. John Woodgate, to be Lieut. vice Jackman, invalided.

42d N. I. Sen. Ens. T. H. Zouch to be Lieutenant, vice Lawson, deceased; Mr. C. Abbot, admitted a Cadet of infantry, and promoted to Ensign.

Head-Quarters, June 3.—Colonels, Lieut. Cols. Commandant, and Lieut. Cols. of Cavalry and Infantry, are posted as follows:

Cavalry.

1st Regt. Lieut. Col. Com. J. L. Lushington, Lieut. Col. V. Blacker.

2d Regt. Lieut. Col. Com. J. Doveton, Lieut. Col. P. Cameron.

3d Regt. Col. T. Nudhall, Lieut. Col. H. Rinkford.

4th Regt. Maj. Gen. and Col. Sir T. Dallas, Lieut. Col. A. M. Ebb.

5th Regt. Maj. Gen. and Com. Sir John Doveton, Lieut. Col. G. Gillespie.

6th Regt. Lieut. Col. Com. D. Foulis, Lieut. Col. W. D. Dickson.

7th Regt. Lieut. Col. Com. J. Russell, Lieut. Col. J. Collette.

8th Regt. Maj. Gen. and Col. C. Rumley, Lieut. Col. F. Walker.

European Regiments.

1st Regt. Lieut. Gen. and Colonel D. McNeill, Lieut. Col. H. Kelly.

2d Regt. Lieut. Gen. and Col. W. Kinsey, Lieut. Col. W. J. Jones.

Native Infantry.

1st Regt. Lieut. Gen. and Col. R. Mackay, Lieut. Col. T. Webster.

2d Regt. Lieut. Gen. and Col. Sir H. McLean, Lieut. Col. F. W. Wilson.

3d Regt. Lieut. Col. Com. A. Grant, Lieut. Col. J. Knowles.

4th Regt. Maj. Gen. and Col. G. Doveton, Lieut. Col. W. Clapham.

5th Regt. Maj. Gen. and Col. A. Cuppage, Lieut. Col. G. Cadell.

6th Regt. Maj. Gen. and Col. A. Dyce, Lieut. Col. J. Wissett.

7th Regt. Lieut. Col. Com. R. McDowall, Lieut. Col. E. Chitty.

8th Regt. Maj. Gen. and Col. C. Corper, Lieut. Col. C. A. Walker.

9th Regt. Col. F. Pierce, Lieut. Col. W. Hankins.

10th Regt. Maj. Gen. and Col. C. Macaulay, Lieut. Col. A. Fair.

11th Regt. Maj. Gen. and Col. J. Dighton, Lieut. Col. T. H. Smith.

12th Regt. Maj. Gen. and Col. Sir T. Munro, Lieut. Col. E. Edwards.

13th Regt. Maj. Gen. and Col. W. Macleod, Lieut. Col. E. P. Stewart.

14th Regt. Lieut. Col. Com. C. Farran, Lieut. Col. W. C. Olliver.

15th Regt. Maj. Gen. and Col. G. Bowness, Lieut. Col. J. McKenzie.

16th Regt. Lieut. Col. Com. H. F. Smith, Lieut. Col. H. Durand.

17th Regt. Maj. Gen. and Col. J. Simons, Lieut. Col. T. Stewart.

18th Regt. Lieut. Col. Com. C. Hodgson, Lieut. Col. J. Veq.

19th Regt. Maj. Gen. and Col. S. W. Ogg, Lieut. Col. W. G. Fraser.

20th Regt. Lieut. Gen. and Col. T. Bowner, Lieut. Col. P. V. Agnew.

21st Regt. Maj. Gen. and Col. Sir J. Malcolm, Lieut. Col. A. Limond.

22d Regt. Lieut. Col. Com. T. Pollock, Lieut. Col. T. A. S. Ahmuty.

23d Regt. Maj. Gen. and Col. J. H. Symons, Lieut. Col. E. W. Suow.

24th Regt. Maj. Genl. and Col. N. Forbes, Lieut. Col. C. Macleod.

25th Regt. Maj. Genl. and Col. J. G. Graham, Lieut. Col. R. West.

26th Regt. Maj. Genl. and Col. T. Marriott, Lieut. Col. J. Prendergast.

27th Regt. Maj. Genl. and Col. H. Hall, Lieut. Col. R. H. Yates.

28th Regt. Col. J. Eeith, Lieut. Col. T. Sinyth.

29th Regt. Lieut. Col. Com. E. Boardman, Lieut. Col. A. Andrews.

30th Regt. Maj. Genl. and Col. J. Crippage, Lieut. Col. B. B. Parlyh.

31st Regt. Lieut. Col. Com. J. Munro, Lieut. Col. J. Wolfe.

32d Regt. Col. W. H. Hewitt, Lieut. Col. G. Jackson.

33d Regt. Col. T. Boles, Lieut. Col. J. Brodie.

34th Regt. Col. H. Fraser, Lieut. Col. J. D. Greenhill.

35th Regt. Col. H. S. Scott, Lieut. Col. C. T. G. Bishop.

36th Regt. Col. R. Scott, Lieut. Col. G. L. Wahab.

37th Regt. Lieut. Col. Com. D. C. Kenny, Lieut. Col. H. A. Purchas.

38th Regt. Lieut. Col. Com. G. Wahab, Lieut. Col. J. M. Coombs.

39th Regt. Lieut. Col. Com. W. Blackburn, Lieut. Col. W. B. Lee.

40th Regt. Lieut. Col. Com. C. Deacon, Lieut. Col. H. H. Pepper.

41st Regt. Lieut. Col. Com. J. Welsh, Lieut. Col. H. W. Sale.

42d Regt. Lieut. Col. Com. T. Steele, Lieut. Col. J. Carfrae.

43d Regt. Maj. Genl. and Col. H. Webber, Lieut. Col. J. A. Kelly.

44th Regt. Lieut. Col. Com. R. Podmore, Lieut. Col. H. Woodhouse.

45th Regt. Lieut. Col. Com. W. Munro, Lieut. Col. F. Bowes.

47th Regt. Lieut. Col. Com. A. Molesworth, Lieut. Col. A. Morrin.

48th Regt. Lieut. Col. Com. M. L. Pereira, Lieut. Col. J. Lindsay.

49th Regt. Lieut. Col. Com. D. Newall, Lieut. Col. T. Beckett.

50th Regt. Col. A. McDowall; Lieut. Col. G. Waugh.

BOMBAY.

CIVIL APPOINTMENTS.

Bombay Castle.—June 12. Mr. H. B. Morris to be Acting Assistant to the Accountant General, and Civil Auditor. —17. Mr. J. H. Cherry to be Collector in the Northern Conkan; Mr. A. Crawford to be Collector at Ahmedabad; Mr. J. B. Simson to be Sub-Collector at Sholapore; Mr. T. Williamson to be

First Assistant to the Collector at Poona; and Acting Collector. —46. Kaira; Mr. J. H. Jackson to be First Assistant to the Collector at Ahmedabad; Mr. A. Steel to be Second ditto; Mr. S. Marriott to be Criminal Judge of the Decan; Mr. A. Bell, Assistant ditto ditto; Mr. A. Elphinstone, Acting Register at Kaira; Mr. H. Brown, Second Acting Register at Ahmedabad; Mr. T. R. Webb, Register in the Southern Conkan.

ECCLESIASTICAL APPOINTMENT.

Bombay Castle, April 27.—The Rev. M. Davis, B. A. to be Junior Chaplain at Poona, in the room of the Rev. R. Ward, A. M.

MILITARY APPOINTMENTS.

Bombay Castle, July 8.—Lieut. T. Milne, 1st Regt. L. C. to be Adjutant, vice Hunter, dated 7 June 1821; Lieut. D. Cunningham, 2d Regt. L. C. to be Adjutant, and Lieut. A. Urquhart to be Quartermaster and Interpreter, dated 7 June 1821; Lieut. E. Stewart, 2d European Regt., to be Adjutant; Lieut. J. P. Cumming to be Quartermaster; and Lieut. J. B. Phillips to act as Quartermaster during the absence of the latter; dated 7 June.

12.—Lieut. Barlow, 23d Regt. N. I. to the charge of the Commissariat Department in Candesh, vice Parr, appointed to the Adjcy. of 7th Regt. N. I.

MARINE DEPARTMENT.

Bombay Castle, April 8.—The Hon. the Governor in Council having been pleased to abolish the rank of Commander in the Honourable Company's Marine, and to increase the number of Senior and Junior Captains to twelve of each rank, the following Promotions are made; date of rank 12 April 1821:

Junior Captains—Richard Morgan, George Walker, Daniel Ross, William Thomas Graham—to be Sen. Captains. Commanders—Wm. Maxfield, Philip Maughan, David Jones, Wm. Arrow, Henry Hardy, Chas. J. Maillard, John Crawford, Rich. E. Goodbridge—First Lieutenant Thomas Tanner—to be Junior Captains.

Lieut. James J. Robinson to be Secretary and Accountant to the Marine Board, and Marine Judge Advocate, date of Appointment 28 Feb. 1824.

CEYLON.

CIVIL APPOINTMENTS.

May 7.—David Stark, Esq. to be First Assistant in office of Chief Secretary to Government; J. G. Forbes, Esq. to be

Collector of Revenue and Customs for District of Galle.

22. Charles Marshall, Esq. of the Inner Temple, Barrister at Law, to be Master in Equity and Deputy Advocate Fiscal in Island of Ceylon.

June 26. J. A. Farrell, Esq. to be Collector of Revenue and Customs for District of Galle; J. G. Forbes, Esq. to be Provincial Judge of Jaffnapatam.

July 1.—Rich. Penn, Esq. to be Colonial Agent in London, in room of Right Hon. W. Huskisson, resigned; David Stark, Esq. to be Collector of Customs for Port of Colombo, and Export and Import Warehouse-keeper; E. Bletterman, Esq. to be First Assist. in Chief Secretary's Office.

PENANG.

CIVIL APPOINTMENTS.

Feb. 20.—Mr. R. Ibberson to be Acting Accountant; and Auditor during absence of Mr. Cracroft; Mr. A. D. Maingy to be Superintendent of Point Wellesley; Mr. J. Anderson to be Paymaster and Malay Translator to Government; Mr. W. M. Williams to be Dep. Sec. to Gov. and Sub. Treasurer; Mr. J. Weir to be Civil Storekeeper and Commissary of Supplies; Mr. E. A. Blundell to be Deputy Collector of Customs and Land Revenue; Mr. P. O. Carnegie to be Dep. Accountant and Auditor, and Account Gen. to Court of Judicature; Mr. T. W. Toosey to be Assist. to Collector of Customs and Land Revenue; Mr. J. R. Cuppage to be Assist. to Sec. to Gov. and Assist. to Hon. Governor in that Department.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

BENGAL.

Births.—April 2. At Dum Dum, the lady of Lieut. Laurenson, of the Artillery, of a daughter; at Calcutta, Mrs. S. Emmer, of a son and heir. 3. At Dacca, Mrs. C. Leouard, of a daughter. 4. At Burrisal, the wife of Mr. S. J. Benbow, of a daughter; at Calcutta, Mrs. J. Savigny, of a son. 8. At Myensing, Mrs. J. Radcliffe, of a son. 9. At Julnae, the lady of Capt. W. Lock, of H. M. the Nizam's Horse, of a daughter. 11. At Calcutta, Mrs. J. Madge, jun. of a son; at Chittagong, the lady of Capt. J. Taylor, Dep. Ass. Com. General, of a daughter; at Calcutta, the lady of Capt. C. E. Smith, of the Ship John Adam, of a son and heir. 12. At Masulipatam, the lady of Major Wahab, of a daughter. 13. At Calcutta, Mrs. F. Sinaes, of a son; at Fort William, the lady of Lieut. Graham, 25th Regt. N. I. of a still-born child; at Calcutta, the lady of J. C. Burton, Esq. of a daughter. 15. At Calcutta, the lady of A. MacTier, Esq. of a son. 16. At Burdwan, the lady of the Rev. Mr. Peronne, of a son. 19. At Calcutta, Mrs. J. D'Cruz, of a son. 21. At Calcutta, the lady of T. B. Swinhoe, Esq. of a daughter; at Elliehpore, the lady of Lieut. Ridout of the Nizam's Service, of a daughter. 23. At Allahabad, the lady of Lieut. Wood of the Artillery, of a son. 29. At Keitah, the lady of Capt. R. L. Austruther, of 6th Light Cavalry;

of a son; at Agrah, the lady of Major J. Nesbitt, 2d Batt. 3d Regt. N. I. of a son. 30. At Garden Reach, the lady of Lieut. P. Bellew, of 31st Regt. N. I. of a daughter. May 7. At Meerut, the lady of T. Jackson, Esq. Surgeon of H. M.'s 11th Regt. of a daughter. 9. At Azimgurgh, the lady of W. T. Robertson, Esq. of C. S. of a daughter; Mrs. J. Sinclair, of a son. 11. Mrs. L. M. D'Lawongirade, of a son. 18. At Saugor, the lady of Capt. H. Ross, 21st N. I. of a son. 25. At Myensing, Mrs. M. Gordon of a daughter. June 1. At Neemutch, the lady of Capt. G. W. Mosely, 4th Local Horse, of a son. 10. At Mozufferpore, the lady of T. T. Dashwood, Esq. of a daughter. 5. The lady of A. Pereira, Esq. of a daughter; at Trichinopoly, the lady of Capt. Fullerton of a daughter. 9. Mrs. Gabb, relict of the late Capt. Gabb, 31th N.I. of a daughter. 10. Mrs. J. Patton, of Barripore, of a son. 12. The lady of T. Pakenham, Esq. C. S. of a son. 13. At Chowringhee, the lady of S. Fraser, Esq. C. S. of a son. 17. The lady of B. Ferguson, Esq. of a daughter. 18. At Delhi, the lady of Capt. T. F. Hutchinson, of a son. 19. The lady of J. J. Hogg, Esq. of a daughter. 20. The lady of G. Mackillop, Esq. of a son. 21. Mrs. F. Boezalt, of a son; at Scaldah, Mrs. R. Fleming, of a son. 22. The lady of J. E. M. Read, Esq. of a son. 23. Mrs. R. Manly, of a son; at Dacca, the lady of Capt. H. L. White, Brigade Major at

Chittagong, of a son. 25. At Dum Dum, the lady of Lieut. Vandenbergh, of Artillery, of a daughter; Mrs. J. Vandenbergh, of a daughter. 26. Mrs. R. George, of a daughter. July 5. The lady of M. Gishorne, Esq. of a son. 7. At Dum Dum, the lady of Capt. Parby of Artillery, of a son. 8. Mrs. F. Crane, of a daughter; at Chowringhee; the lady of C. Stewart, Esq. of a son. 10. Mrs. H. Clark, of a daughter.

Marriages.—April 3. At Calcutta, J. Bush, Esq. to Miss Anna Moore; Capt. T. Howard, of the Country Service, to Miss M. A. S. Tichborne. 8. At Saugor, Mr. P. Hampton, Assistant Apothecary, to Miss M. Simmonds. 10. At Calcutta, M. D. Porel, Esq. of Chander-nagore, to Miss M. Hamilton of Chinsurah. 12. At Cawnpore, J. Douglas, Esq. of Moradabad, to Miss C. Carter. 19. At Calcutta, J. D. Smith, Esq. eldest son of Rev. D. Smith of Worcester, to Caroline Birch, third daughter of the late Capt. Gray, Muster-Master of H. M.'s forces in Bengal. 21. Mr. G. Gogery to Miss A. L. H. Ferris, daughter of the late P. Ferris, Esq. 23. At Bareilly, S. Hampton, Esq. of Bengal Army, to Miss E. Hall, eldest daughter of Major T. Hall, commanding Bareilly Prov. Batt. 27. In Turkey cantonment, Lieut. T. Warlow, of Bengal Engineers, to Miss M. P. Ord. May 1. At Hus-singabad, R. Jardine, Esq. 12th Bengal N. I. to Miss C. M. Mullins. 2. At Fattyghur, Mr. W. Jacob to Miss Tahircan. 3. At Cawnpore, Lieut. W. J. Macvitte, Regt. of Artillery, to Miss C. Campbell, daughter of Lieut. Col. A. Campbell. 12. At St. John's Cathedral, Lieut. G. H. Edwards, 1 Batt. 7th N. I. to Miss Finch; at Chander-nagore, Mr. J. Winton to Miss M. F. Poirer, only daughter of Mr. J. D. Poirer, Indigo-planter. 15. J. Ritceid, Esq. to Miss Lierop, daughter of D. Lierop, Esq. Indigo-planter; at Calcutta, Mr. D. Gomes to Miss C. Swaris; Mr. J. Martin to Miss A. Dessa; J. Ferrar, Esq. to Miss R. Dias. 20. At Cawnpore, Capt. J. Herring, 28th Regt. N. I. to Maria Ann, third daughter of J. Wright, Esq. 29. At Calcutta, J. Robertson, Esq. to Aurora, daughter of the late D. B. Dias, Esq. June 19. At Calcutta, Mr. F. Valentine to Miss J. Roberts, eldest daughter of Mr. F. Roberts of Calcutta; at Bankipore, Lieut. Col. R. A. C. Watson, commanding 44th Regt. N. I. to Miss A. Watson. 25. At Calcutta, B. Golding, Esq. of Hon. Comp. C. S. to Mrs. E. P. Sealy. 26. At Calcutta, R. Scunders, Esq. of Hon. Comp. C. S. to

Mrs. E. M. Chagor; B. Hughes, Esq. Captain of Country Sea Service, to Mrs. S. Leimley; Mr. J. Bettaguard to Miss C. E. Mills.

Deaths.—April 5. On his way from Cox's Bazar, A. Macdougall, Esq., M. D., Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh, and Assist. Surg. H. C. Service. 7. Major James Fenn, Commissary at Cawnpore. 12. At Rassa Pagla, His Highness Prince Ahmed Shah, one of the sons of Tippoo Sultan. 15. Mrs. Grace Metcalfe, lady of T. T. Metcalfe, Esq., of the Civil Service, aged 28 years. 22. At Saugor, in his 29th year, Mr A. Barnfield, late of the H. C. Marine. 23. At Kamptee, John, the infant son of Capt. H. C. Barnard, 1st bat. 26th N. I. 24. At Calpie, Georgiana, the infant daughter of J. G. Bruce, Esq., aged five years. 28. At Meerut, Mr. Alex. Guthrie, aged 20 years. May 4. On the banks of the Gogra, near Pitmillie, whilst on a shooting excursion, Capt. W. Smith, H. M. 11th Lt. Drags. 7. At Serampore, Capt. John C. Gaine, of the Pension Establishment, and late of the Bengal Artillery, aged 45 years. 8. At Benares, Frances Jane, the infant daughter of Lieut. W. Turner, 1st bat. 29th regt., and Adj. of the Benares Prov. Bat. 11. At Serampore, Elizabeth Mary Ann, the only daughter of Mr. John Mendies, aged seven years. 12. The infant son of E. R. Cuser, Esq. 13. At Jessore, Caroline, the infant daughter of Mr. W. Thomas, Missionary. 16. The infant daughter of Mr. W. H. Paine, aged 16 months. 17. At Ramghur, in the hills, Brev. Cap. W. Walker, of the Invalid Establishment. 18. At Midnapore, of fever, Murdoch Macleod, Esq., Assist. Surg. of that station. 27. At Hyderabad, Lieut. H. Russell, 12 Reg. N. I. 29. Mr. J. H. Rickaby. 30. Master H. A. Fitzgerald, aged one year. 31. At Kidderpore, Edward, the infant son of Mr. D. Shearman; at Lucknow, Julia Margaret Martin Baillie, the infant daughter of George Baillie, Esq., Surgeon to H. M. the King of Oude, aged three years. June 1. At Masulipatam, H. W. Pears, Esq. 3. At Cawnpore, Mrs. Mary Duhan, wife of Mr. James Duhan, merchant, aged 39 years. 4. Mrs. E. Ham, the lady of H. Ham, Esq., an Assistant in the Territorial Department, aged 23 years. 10. John Halkerston, Esq., M. D., Assist. Surg., aged 23. 11. At Cawnpore, of a severe fever, Helen, the lady of W. A. Venour, Esq., in charge of the medical duties at that station. 12. In Fort William, Arabella, the wife of Lieut. H. Donni-

shorter, H. M. 44th regt., aged 24. 14. Mr. Wm. Wrensch, keeper of the Calcutta gaol, aged 36. 16. J. H. Lacken, son of Mr. Lacken, of the Pilot Service, aged two years. 17. Mr. John Bowers, sen., aged 77. 20. Mrs. Mary Mellickneuz, second daughter of the late P. Berran, Esq., aged 42. 22. Mrs. J. A. Williams, Head Assist. to the Marine Paymaster, aged 40. 23. Mr. L. T. Jacob, of the firm of Messrs. Sheppard and Co., aged 24; at Agra, of a fever, Pre Zenobia Maria de Florenca, Catholic Bishop of Thibet. 24. Mr. C. Simón, aged 34. 25. At Purneah, of an inflammation in the brain, Mr. James Leicester, aged 21. 26. At Cawnpore, the infant daughter of Capt. Reynolds, 63d Regt.; Wm. Siret, the infant child of Mr. J. Siret, aged 20 days. 28. Drowned in consequence of the dingy upsetting, Richard Thomson, Esq., Surgeon of the ship Princess Charlotte. 30. At Kidderpore School, W. Edmund, the eldest son of Mr. D. Shearman, Head Master, aged six years; Master S. Boileau, the infant son of S. H. Boileau, Esq.; Mr. T. Andrew, senior, aged 46. July 6. Juliana M. Fitzgerald, daughter of T. C. Fitzgerald, Esq., of the General Department, aged 17 months. 9. Mr. John Williams, sen., aged 46.

MADRAS.

Births.—May 4. At Vepery, Mrs. R. Engles, of a daughter. 28. At Tellicherry, Mrs. A. Chambers, of a daughter. June 3. At Vepery, Mrs. D. W. Paul, of a daughter. 4. At Palaveram, the lady of Capt. J. R. Godfrey, of a son. 5. At Cochin, the lady of M. Surgon, Esq., of a son; at Trichinopoly, the lady of Captain Fullerton, of Engineers, of a daughter. 12. The lady of Major Marrett, 9th Native I., of a son. 17. At Berhampore, the lady of Major Hackett, 47th N. I., of a son. 20. At Pursewakum, the lady of Lieut. J. C. Pudner, H. M.'s 69th Regt., of a daughter; at Bolaurum, the lady of Capt. Oliphant, Nizam's Engineers, of a daughter. 21. Mrs. P. Fergusson, of a daughter. 23. Mrs. Smith, of a daughter. 25. At Pondicherry, the lady of Capt. C. Smith, 12th N. I., late of 2d bat. 8th N. I., of a son. 28. At Vepery, the wife of Conductor Hamilton, of a daughter. 29. At Trichinopoly, the lady of Ens. J. MacGregor, H. M. Royal Regiment, of a son; at Cannanore, the wife of Mr. Conductor T. Harris, of Ordnance Depart., of a daughter. July 3. The lady of Cornet Boddam, 2d L. C., of a son; at Vellore, the lady of Capt. Cox, A. C. General, of

a son; at Mangalore, the lady of Capt. W. Packerling, 60th N. I., of a daughter. 13. The lady of Major Napier, of a son. 19. The lady of Mr. Garrison Assistant Surgeon Searle, of a daughter. 26. The lady of R. Fraser Lewis, Esq., of a daughter. 27. The lady of Capt. Chase, of a daughter.

Marriages.—June 1. At Nagpore, George Adam, Esq., Surgeon Madras Establishment, to Mary Ricketts, daughter of the late G. Ricketts, Esq., of Madras. 5. At Poonamallee, John Morton, Esq., Madras Medical Establishment, to Aphie W., second daughter of the late W. T. Boyce, Esq., of Mallow, Ireland; at St. George's Church, T. E. Higginson, Esq., of the Supreme Court of Madras, to Miss Fauny Clay. 22. At St. Thomas's Mount, Major H. Swayne, 25th N. I., to Miss Ann Merton. July 7. At St. George's Church, T. M. Lane, Esq., Superintendent of the Eye Infirmary, to Eliza, daughter of W. Thomas, Esq., M. D. Wexford, Ireland.

Deaths.—May 1. At Trauqueburg Mr. Andrew Gantz, aged 57. 4. At Nagpore, Capt. Stewart, 16th N. I., Superintendent of Survey in those territories. 5. At Condapilly, Major John Hall, 2d bat. 15th N. I. 7. At Trichinopoly, the Rev. Manuel Evaristo Correa, Vicar Missionary of Portagoody, in the diocese of Trichinopoly, aged 46. 8. At Royapuram, Pascal Defries, Esq., second son of Adrian Defries, Esq., aged 25. 13. Mr. James Barrett, second son of the late Col. T. Barrett, of His Highness the late Nabob Omdut ul Omrah's service, aged 38. 16. Miss Maria Macpherson, grand-daughter of the late Col. T. Barrett, aged 14. 19. Of cholera, at Burrah Sotannah, Capt. A. H. Johnstone, of the 6th L. C. 20. In his 84th year, T. Hickey, Esq. 25. At Dimbutty, Neelgherry Hills, the infant son of Capt. B. Blake, 23d regt., aged seven months; at Jaulnah, Elijah John, youngest son of Lieut. J. S. Impey, 1st bat. 8th N. I., aged ten months. 26. At St. Thomé, of cholera, William Henry, the only son of the late Lieut. Bogle, 10th N. I., aged two years. —June 11. At Triplicane, C. Vadagnery late Head Manager in the Office of the Board of Revenue. 14. At Cuddalore, the infant daughter of Capt. Sim, of Engineers. 16. Anna Maria Susana, the infant daughter of F. Alexander, Esq., aged three years. 20. At Kilpauk, of cholera, L. A. Devienne, Esq., aged 19; T. Gellibrand, Esq., Sheriff of Madras; at Vizagapatam, John Smith, Esq., Collector and Magis-

trate of that district. 23. At Cuddalore, Conductor J. Leonard. 24. At Secunderabad, Richard, the infant son of Mr. C. M'Carthy, Conductor of Ordnance; at Bangalore, Capt. H. T. Rudyerd, Agent of the Gun Carriage Manufactory at Seringapatam, a distinguished officer of the Madras Artillery. 26. At Cannanore, of fever, Lieut. David Bruce, 40th N. I. (late 2d bat. 20th regt.), aged 21; at Salem, R. J. Hunter, Esq., of the firm of Messrs. Arbuthnot and Co. 27. At Belgaum, Capt. M. Kemble, 1st L. C., and Assist. Adj. Gen. of field force. 29. At Black Town, Jane, the infant daughter of Mr. N. Currie, Conductor of Ordnance.

BOMBAY.

Births.—June 24. At Hurnee, the lady of the Rev. John Stevenson, of a son. 24. At Tannah, the lady of Evan H. Baillie, Esq., Judge and Criminal Judge of the Northern Conkan, of a daughter. 27. At Surat, the lady of J. Vibart, Esq., of a daughter. July 3. The lady of the Rev. T. Carr, of a son. 4. At Colabah, the lady of Lieut. Schoop, of H. M. 67th regt., of a daughter. 6. At Surat, the lady of the Rev. H. Jeffrey, of a son. 7. At Bankoto, the lady of the Rev. A. Crawford, of a daughter. 10. At Poona, the lady of Lieut. Col. O'Donaghue, H. M. 47th Regt., of a son. 12. At Mr. Jeaffreson's, Byculla, the lady of Lieut. Probyn, 17th N. I., of a daughter; at Mazagon, the lady of Capt. L. C. Russell, of the Artillery, of a son.

Marriage.—June 28. At Surat, G. Grant, Esq., of the Civil Service to Mary, third daughter of the late W. Ironside, Esq., of Houghton le Spring, Durham.

Deaths.—June 26. At Poona, Lieut. R. S. Gibson, 6th N. I. July 4. At Ahmedabad, Isabella, infant daughter of Capt. R. Strutherland, 13th regt., N. I. At Colabah, Lieut. J. Hall, 24th regt., N. I. Capt. G. F. S. Plaisted, 19th regt., N. I.

CEYLON.

Marriages.—March 30. At Colombo, 2d Lieut. J. Rodney to Miss Ann Boyce. May 5. At St. John's Church, Jaffnapatam, Mr. De La Rambeje to Miss C. De Rosayro. 29. At Jaffnapatam, A. S. Franche, of Moeltivoe, to Miss E. D. Theile.

Deaths.—May 4. At Colombo, Lieut.

Scott Rigney, H. M. 16th Regt. 24. At Wiyangodde, on his road to Colombo, Lieut. F. O'Hara, H. M. 16th Regt. 25. At Kandy, of remittent fever, the Hon. Sir. John D'Oyly, Bart.

PENANG.

Death.—May 23. Capt. Wm. Arrow, of the Bombay Marine, and 1st Assist. to Master Attendant of Calcutta.

GREAT BRITAIN.

Births.—December 9. At Edinburgh, the lady of G. Govan, Esq. M. D. of the Bengal Establishment, of a daughter. 14. In Bryanstone-square, the wife of Joseph Hume, Esq. M.P. of a daughter.

Marriages.—Nov. 17. At Florence, Capt. D. Young, of the Bombay Army, to Miss J. S. Young, daughter of the late Professor Young of Glasgow. Dec. 2. J. Echford, Esq. Capt. of the Bengal Infantry, to Mary, third daughter of J. A. Haldane, Esq. of George-street. 9. At Portsea, Lieut.-Col. W. Woodhouse, 44 Regt. Madras N. I. to Miss Leggatt, of King's Terrace, Southsea. On the 27th inst. Charles Heard Beague, Esq. Royal Engineers, to Mary, eldest daughter of the late Major-General James Pringle, East India Company's service, and granddaughter of the late Sir John Halkett, of Pitfarrow, Bart.

Deaths.—December 3. In Devonshire-place, Anna, relict of the late T. Davies, Esq. Advocate-General at Calcutta. 12. R. Crossby, Esq. R. N. Commander of the Madras Indiaman, after a short illness, brought on by his great exertions when that ship was driven on shore near Portsmouth, on the 22d of the preceding month. 18. At Southampton, Harriet, wife of Capt. Edward Fitzgerald, of the 30th Regt. Bengal. N. I.

Nov. 20. At Broomhill, near Broughton-in-Furness, in his 82d year, Major Gilpin, formerly on the Bengal Establishment of the East India Company.

At his brother's house, in Couper-street, Leith, on the 19th inst. at the advanced age of 75, Charles Smith, Esq. portrait-painter in London. This distinguished artist, who was a native of the Orkney Islands, was for some time portrait-painter to the Imperial family of the Great Mogul, Shah Allum.

SUPPLEMENTARY INDIAN INTELLIGENCE.

By the arrival of the *Orpheus*, from Bombay, we have received accounts from the seat of war of a late date, from which we select the following:

Government Gazette, Calcutta, July 29.

(Official.)

The following copy of a despatch received from Brigadier-General Sir Archibald Campbell, K. C. B. and K. C. T. S., commanding the British forces at Rangoon, is published for general information.

SIR,—Since I had the honour of addressing you on the 16th ult. we have had several partial affairs with the enemy, except in one solitary instance, invariably sought for on our part, and all ending in the same brilliant manner that has hitherto marked the gallant and intrepid conduct of the troops under my command.—About the end of last month, it was stated by some prisoners of war, and corroborated by a few Rangoon people, who had escaped from the jungle, that the Burmese chief had received positive orders from court to make a general attack upon our line, and drive us at once out of the country. Every movement of the enemy plainly indicated that something was intended: large bodies of troops were, for two successive days, seen crossing the river above Kemendine, from the Dallah to the Rangoon side, and I felt the more inclined to give credit to the report, from being well aware that had any such order been received by the Burman General, certain disgrace or even decapitation would be the inevitable consequence of his disobeying it. On the morning of the 1st inst. every doubt on the subject was removed. Three columns of the enemy, estimated at 1000 men each, were seen crossing the front of our position, moving towards our right; and the jungle in front of the Great Dagon Pagoda, and along the whole extent of our line to the left, was occupied by a large force, but on this side, from the nature of the ground, it was impossible to ascertain either the disposition or strength of the enemy. The columns moving on our right soon came in contact with the piquets of the 7th and 22d regiments of Madras Native Infantry, which received the attack with the greatest steadiness, none of them yielding one inch of ground. The enemy then penetrated in considerable force between two of our piquets, and took post on a hill about four hundred yards from our position, occupying an old Pagoda and some houses in front, from which they commenced a feeble and harmless fire from some jingals and swivels. I instantly repaired to the point of attack with a gun and a howitzer from the Ben-

gal Artillery, and three companies of Native Infantry, viz. one company of the 7th and two of the 22d regiment, the whole under the command of Captain Jones of the latter corps. After a short but well directed fire from the artillery, I ordered Captain Jones to advance with his three companies and drive the enemy from his post at the point of the bayonet, and I had the satisfaction of seeing my orders carried into effect in the most cool and gallant style: the enemy flying in every direction towards their favourite haunt, and only place of safety, the jungle. During the firing on our right, parties of the enemy felt the piquets along our line to the left, but never appeared in any force, and retired on the first fire from our advanced posts. Thus ended the mighty attack that was to have driven us into the sea; defeated with the greatest ease by three weak companies of sepoys, and two pieces of artillery; although such an enemy might be well appalled at the appearance of the whole British line under arms.

From some prisoners who were taken, I am informed that 12,000 men were marched to the attack; the left columns were ordered to engage with vigour, and as soon as they had succeeded in penetrating our line, the attack was then to have become general. Such were the orders issued. But nothing more contemptible than the conduct of the enemy on that day was ever witnessed. They paid for their folly, by leaving at least one hundred men dead on the field. We had not one man either killed or wounded.

Before day-light on the following morning, some hundred men of the Dallah force entered the town of Dallah, firing in the direction of our post. Captain Isaack, of the 8th Madras Native Infantry, commanding, pushed forward with a few men, and was, I regret to say, unfortunately shot—the Burmese mutilating his body with the most savage brutality during the few minutes it remained in their power.

While the enemy abstained from converting their town to the purpose of annoying us, I also respected and afforded it every protection, although uninhabited by one individual; but when they thought proper to make it a mighty scene of savage warfare, I razed it to the ground.

Numerous reinforcements daily joined the enemy's army in our front—a thing much to be desired, as tending to increase the distress and discontent already prevailing in their lines; and having observed a disposition to recross part of their force to the Dallah side of the river, I determined on the 8th instant to make as general an attack as the very woody

and inundated state of the country would possibly admit of. For that purpose, I formed the force to be employed into two columns of attack; one proceeding by land, under the command of that excellent and indefatigable officer, Brigadier-General M'Bean, for the purpose of surrounding the enemy on the land side; while I, with the other, proceeded by water to attack their stockaded position, along the banks of the river, in front. To this post the enemy appeared to attach the greatest importance; and the stockades were so constructed as to afford mutual support, presenting difficulties apparently not to be overcome without a great sacrifice of lives. I therefore resolved to try the effect of shelling, and consulted with Captain Marryat upon the employment of such armed vessels as he might select to breach, in the event of our mortar practice not succeeding. The shells were thrown at too great a distance to produce the desired effect, and the swampy state of the country would not admit of any advance. The armed vessels, viz. the Satellite transport (late in his Majesty's service), the Hon. Company's cruisers *Teikunmonth* and *Thetis*, commanded by Captain Hardy and Lieutenant Greer, and the Penang Government yacht, the *Jessie*, Captain Poynton, the whole under the command of Lieutenant Pazer, of his Majesty's ship *Larne*, now took their stations according to a disposition made by Captain Marryat, and opened a fire which soon silenced that of fourteen pieces of artillery, swivels, and musketry from the stockades, and in one hour the preconcerted signal of breach practicable, was displayed at the main-mast head. The troops, as previously arranged, entered their boats on the signal being made, consisting of a detail of the 3d, 10th, and 17th native infantry, commanded by Major Wahab, of the latter corps, ordered to lead the attack, and supported by Lieutenant-Colonel Godwin, with two hundred and sixty men of his Majesty's 41st regiment, and one company from the Hon. Company's Madras European regiment. The assault was made in the best order and handsomest style; Major Wahab, with the native infantry, landed, and immediately attacked the breach, while Lieutenant-Colonel Godwin, almost at the same instant, pushed ashore a little higher up, and entered the work by escalade; the enemy kept up a sharp but ill-directed fire while the troops were landing, but as usual fled on our making a lodgment in the place. I now ordered Col. Godwin to re-embark with the detachment of the 41st regiment and attack the second stockade, which was immediately carried in the same style. The third stockade was evacuated by the enemy.

'The cool and gallant conduct of both European and Native troops on this occasion was to me a most gratifying sight. To the officers and men of the breaching vessels every praise is due; and I much regret that severe indisposition prevented Captain Marryat from being present to witness the result of his arrangements.

'The inundated state of the country did not admit of any communication with Brigadier-General M'Bean from the shipping, nor did I know the result of the operations of his column until I returned to Rangoon in the evening. Nothing could be more brilliant and successful! He took by assault seven strong stockades in the most rapid succession, throwing the enemy into the utmost consternation: and he had also the good fortune to fall in with a large body flying from a stockade attacked by the shipping, of whom a great number were killed. The Brigadier-General assures me the aidour of his column was irresistible, and speaks highly of the able aid he received from Brigadier McCragh. He also reports most favourably upon the judicious and gallant style in which Major Sale and Frith, of his Majesty's 13th and 38th regiments, led the troops under their respective commands.

'Ten stockades were thus taken from the enemy in one day, and upwards of (800) eight hundred of his best troops were left dead on the ground:—38 pieces of artillery, 40 swivels, and 300 muskets were also captured, a loss of no small importance where fire-arms are so scarce. Three of the enemy's chiefs, whose names are not yet known, were found among the dead. The chief destruction of the enemy was by the land column.

'Our loss has been comparatively small—40 rank and file killed; 1 Captain and 35 rank and file wounded.

'To Brigadier-General M'Bean my particular thanks are due upon this and on all occasions. To Lieut.-Colonel Tidy and Major Jackson, Deputy Adjutant and Quarter Master Generals, and to my personal Staff, I feel very much indebted for their indefatigable exertions in carrying on the duties of the service occasionally under every disadvantage; and I also beg leave to bring to the notice of the Supreme Government the name of Lieut.-Colonel Snow, Deputy Adjutant-General to the Madras division, whose ability, zeal, and activity I have often had occasion to remark.

'I cannot conclude without again adverting to the high feeling which animates every corps and every soldier under my command. Their patience in frequently undergoing the greatest fatigue, marching over a country almost wholly under water, merits every praise, and their intrepidity and valour, when~

ever the enemy can be found, cannot be sufficiently extolled.

‘A. CAMPBELL, Brigadier-General.

‘Head-quarters, Rangoon,
July 11th, 1824.

‘8th July. Total—Killed; 1 captain, 1 subadar, 1 sergeant, and 6 rank and file. Wounded: 2 captains, 4 sergeants, 3 corporals, 66 rank and file, and 1 lascar. Missing: 1 rank and file.

‘2d Battalion 8th Native Infantry—
Name of officer killed: Captain C. H. Isaack.

‘His Majesty’s 13th Light Infantry—
Names of officers wounded: Brevet Captain Knox Barrett, severely, arm amputated; and Captain Johnson, severely and dangerously.

(Signed) F. S. TIDY,
Lieut.-Col. D. A. G.

‘By command of the Governor-General in Council.

‘GEORGE SWINTON,
‘Secretary to Government.’

It was rumoured at Rangoon that the Bengal Division of the army would be removed to Chittagong, leaving Rangoon to the care of the Madras force. An attack on Pega was also talked of.

From the *Bombay Courier* of August 21, 1824.

We are happy in being able to lay the following particulars before our readers:—We before mentioned that the position occupied by our troops in advance, was very strong; notwithstanding this, on the 1st instant, about noon, the enemy, who had been actually engaged in concentrating his force for many days, advanced in great numbers, directly in front, shouting and cheering. Our men were kept quiet and steady till they reached a ridge of a copse of wood, close to our advanced sentries. At this spot they had about 2,000 men—having left about the same number a short distance in the rear, by way of reserve: and it was believed that they had a much larger force in the back ground. When they got into the copse they opened a fire of musquetry and jingals. As it was now evident they intended an attack on the Sepoy lines, between our strongly advanced posts and the town, fifty Sepoys were detached to feel their intentions. The enemy attacked them; but on the Sepoys advancing to the charge, the whole 2,000 went to the right about, and fled—chased by the Sepoys—who killed and wounded about 50 of them, without the smallest casualty on our part.—From what could be learnt they had not more than 125 muskets and 25 jingals on swivels, among the whole 2,000. The remainder were armed with spears, swords, and some even with sticks.—To add to their mishap, it so chanced that 200 of the 13th Light Infantry, and 200 of his

Majesty’s 38th regiment, under Majors Frith and Demie, had that morning been out on different roads to reconnoitre, and fell in with the unfortunate fugitives in their retreat. We have not heard what loss the enemy sustained from these meetings.

The following anecdote is mentioned. ‘A Lance Corporal of the 13th Light Infantry, who was employed in a boat in a small creek, was much annoyed by the enemy. He with two of his comrades prepared an ambush. In a short time a boat full of the enemy came down. The trio fired when they came close, killed two, and wounded one. The remainder jumped overboard, and swam away, with the exception of two who clung to the boat, with the wounded man. The corporal having no other means of getting at them, left his arms, and swam to the boat, when he made them all get in and row him to the shore. He afterwards brought all of them in as prisoners.’ On the 6th instant, one hundred men from each of the European regiments, were detached in two parties, viz. those from the 13th Light Infantry, 41st, and Madras European regiment, went to the right, those from the 36th and 89th to the left. The object was to reconnoitre a large party of the enemy said to be at work in a very thick wood about a mile from our posts. Both parties in going passed a stockade without seeing it; one of them about one hundred yards from it, the other at a shorter distance. The party to the right, in returning home, came suddenly upon it, and were for a short time exposed to a heavy fire from it, while the scaling ladders were being brought up by the pioneers. On their arrival, the detachments of the 13th and the Madras European regiment instantly stormed and carried the place. Captain Barrett, who commanded the detachment of the 13th, we regret to say, was wounded in the arm, which has since been amputated. Several men were also wounded, some with bricks and stones; none killed. The enemy, the instant our men mounted the ladders, fled over the other side of the stockade, and escaped.

On the 8th, a large force under Brigadiers M’Bean and M’Creagh, consisting of 250 men from each European regiment, and about 300 Native Infantry, were sent to attack three large stockades, about four miles up the river. On arriving at the spot, the advance, under Brigadier M’Creagh, was halted and formed in close columns of regiments as they arrived. After reconnoitering the position, General M’Bean ordered 500 men of his Majesty’s 13th Light Infantry, and 38th regiment, under Major Sale, of the former regiment, supported by 200 Native Infantry, to esca-

laid the nearest stockade. The men moved off with their arms slung across their shoulders, and advanced to the place without firing a shot. The pioneers behaved admirably, placing the ladders with much coolness and precision. The troops mounted very steadily, took the stockade, and put every man to the sword, without a single man being wounded on our side; about 200 of the enemy were killed here. The detachments of the 13th and 38th then removed outside, while that of the 29th moved to attack a stockade to the left. Both parties were fired upon from another large one on the right, when the 13th and 38th, having only two ladders, instantly attacked it, and carried it also, without receiving a single wound. About 100 of the enemy were killed here. On getting possession of this stockade it was found to be one of a chain of four—the last the strongest of all. The second and third were carried with some trouble, not a scaling-ladder having been left. This was also effected without loss beyond two or three wounded. In these stockades the enemy lost about 250, making their loss, by this party alone to this point, 550. So many men had been left in the captured stockades, that on securing the third, only 100 men were left to attack the strongest of all being nearly 12 feet high, and containing not less than 1000 men, and having 20 guns, and, as it afterwards appeared, containing all the chiefs.

With these, however, Major Sale succeeded in clearing one face of the work, by taking post at a small port-hole for one of the guns, and firing muskets, as they were handed up to him—every shot telling. After a short time, the body of the enemy went over to the other side of the stockade. The Major, with a few men, then got over the stockade. At the same time a party of men had found a wicket which they forced, and entered the work. About 400 of the enemy instantly fell a sacrifice, with the loss on our part of three killed, and about 14 wounded; among the latter, Captain Johnstone, of his Majesty's 13th regiment. During the storm one of the Burmese chiefs rushed out of a hut, and attacked a private of the 13th with his sword. He contrived to unscrew the bayonet, and made a cut at his head, which passed through the top of his cap, through the twisted braid, and even the scales, but without touching his head. The man staggered from the blow, and a second was just about to cut him down. The blow, however, was parried by Major Sale, who made a cut at the chief. The latter partially parried it, but not effectually; for the Major's sword entered his skull, and broke in two. He was, therefore, obliged afterwards to use his fallen enemy's golden one.

While this was going on, on the

Rangoon side, under Brigadier-General M'Bean, Sir Archibald Campbell, with 250 of the 31st regiment, and about the same number of Native Infantry, with the flotilla, attacked and took three stockades alluded to in our editorial notice. Two hundred of the enemy were killed in these, and it is supposed at least six hundred were wounded. Twelve pieces of cannon fell into our hands here. The terror created among the Burmese by these affairs is said to be excessive. Upwards of 900 bodies were found dead; of these nearly 600 in the stockade last taken by the detachments of the 13th and 38th, under Major Sale. His conduct, in every letter we have seen, is stated to have been truly distinguished; and it is said that more than twenty of the enemy fell by his sword. After securing the golden one of the chief he had killed, he was opposed to another with a silver one,—which, after a very short contest, also came into his possession. It is supposed that from both attacks the Burmese did not sustain a loss of less than three thousand men, killed and wounded. The stockade, which has been represented as so formidable, is now considered as nothing. The ladders are placed, our men mount, the enemy take to their heels.

The affairs of the 8th have inspired fresh spirits into all our troops, which had begun to droop a little from provisions not being over plenty. By this time the scarcity must have disappeared, on the arrival of the vessels from this place: some of which we yesterday stated had entered the river as the Alligator was coming out.

A few days before the affairs of the 8th, the Burmese, who are stated at 11,000 fighting men, made an attack on our shipping, by sending among them 50 or 60 fire rafts, and they accompanied this water attack, exactly at the same time, with an assault of the British lines, which ended in their defeat; while the rafts did no mischief to the ships.

It is singular, that in all the affairs of the 8th, we only lost three men killed and one officer and thirty men wounded. The officer wounded is Capt. Johnstone, of the 13th, who received a ball in the shoulder, which has been extracted at the breast. Brigadier-General M'Bean's force took and destroyed ten pieces of cannon, some of which were brass and of a rather superior kind.

It is said at Rangoon on the 6th, that a deputation was on its way from Ava, to try to come to terms of peace. The Burmese, however, are not represented as likely to submit, until they get such another defeat as they experienced on the 8th.—The same fever now raging in Calcutta was prevailing at Rangoon; at the date of the letters few had escaped it; but there were scarcely any deaths

from it.—The letters do not speak of advancing up the Irrawaddy; indeed some doubt the practicability.

From the Calcutta Government Gazette of July 31.—The epidemic fever, which we adverted to lately, continues to prevail throughout Calcutta, and it is supposed that already about three-fourths of the population, both European and Native, have been affected by it. The disease is attended with intense head-ache, violent pains in the limbs, and red inflammatory patches all over the body. When these symptoms, which

generally last three or four days, are removed, extreme languor and debility remain for some time. Whole families are suffering under the complaint together, and in many houses scarcely a servant is left to wait upon the sick. Fortunately, no fatal cases have occurred, at least not one has come to our knowledge. Nearly three-fourths of our press establishment are laid up with the same disease, and a few days ago, in one public office in town, only three assistants out of forty-five were able to attend their duty.

SUPPLEMENTARY CIVIL AND MILITARY INTELLIGENCE.

BENGAL.

CIVIL APPOINTMENTS.

Fort William.—June 5. Mr. Charles F. Thompson, Register of the Zillah Court of Beerbhoom.—July 1. Mr. Welby Jackson, Second Register of Bhaugulpore. Mr. R. W. Barlow, an Assistant in the Office of Register to the Courts of Sudder Dewanny, Adawlut and Nizamut Adawlut. Mr. J. S. Clarke, Assistant to the Magistrate and to the Collector of Patna. Mr. J. F. Cathcart, Assistant to the Collector of Nuddeah. Mr. B. Golding, Assistant to the Magistrate, and to the Collector of Jessore.—22. Mr. C. W. Smith, Judge and Magistrate of Ghazepore. Mr. R. Creighton, Judge and Magistrate of Sylhet. Mr. G. C. Cheap, Register of the Zillah Court of Dinapore, and joint Magistrate stationed at Malwah. Mr. E. Harding, Assistant to the Magistrate, and to the Collector of Allyghur.

PROMOTIONS.

Head Quarters, Calcutta.—July 26. Lieutenant F. D. Daly to be captain of a Troop without purchase, vice Sale deceased; dated 26 June, 1824. Cornet M. Richardson to be Lieutenant without purchase, vice Daly; dated 26 June, 1824. Captain J. Elliot, on halfpay, 21st Light Dragoons, to be Captain of a Troop without purchase, vice Barlow, deceased; dated 1 July, 1824.

MADRAS.

CIVIL APPOINTMENTS.

Fort St. George.—Aug. 10. Mr. E. H. Woodcock, Judge and Criminal Judge of Salem; Mr. Jas. Haig, Judge and Criminal Judge of Cuddapah; Mr. H. Fetherston, to the Zillah at Combeconum.

BOMBAY.

CIVIL APPOINTMENT.

Bombay Castle.—Aug. 14. Capt. T. E. Morris, 21th Regt. N. I., to superin-

tend the buildings and repairs authorized at Deesa.

GENERAL ORDERS.

Bombay Castle.—Aug. 14. Doubts having arisen regarding the relative rank and precedence of the Chaplains on this Establishment, the Governor in Council is pleased to direct that Chaplains shall henceforward take their rank with Majors in the Army according to their respective appointments and commissions, until the decision of the authorities in England on the question shall have been ascertained.

MILITARY APPOINTMENTS.

Bombay Castle.—Aug. 9. Lieut. J. Neville to be Adjutant, 8th Regt. N. I., vice Marshall, promoted; dated 7th June, 1824.—Lieut. J. W. Browne to be Interpreter in Hindostanee and Mahratta, and Quarter-master, vice Massy, promoted.—12th, Lieut. R. Troward, 13th Regt. N. I., to be Line Adjutant at Deesa, vice Morris, promoted; dated 1st Aug., 1824.—21st, Lieut. W. N. T. Smce, 6th Regt. N. I. 2nd Assistant to the Deekan Survey.

PROMOTIONS.

Bombay Castle.—Aug. 6th, 20th Regt. N. I., Capt. F. Roome to be Major; Lieut. W. Foquett to be Captain and Ensign; J. Munt to be Lieut., in succession to Browne, deceased; dated July 28, 1824. The following Cadets have been admitted and promoted to Ensigns: Messrs. W. Jones and D. C. Graham.—19. 7th Regt. N. I., Ensign E. Skipper to be Lieut., vice Hogg, deceased; dated 13th Aug. 1824.—13th Regt. N. I., Lieut. G. P. Le Mesurier to be Captain and Ensign; J. Burrows to be Lieut., vice Clarke, deceased; dated 22d July, 1824.

MEDICAL APPOINTMENTS.

Bombay Castle. Aug. 13.—Surgeon J. McAdam, to be Secretary to the Medical Board vice Ogilvy,—21st. Assist.

Apo. J. Durham, to be Sub. Assist. Sur., and attached to the Eye Infirmary.

REMOVALS.

Bombay Castle, Aug. 12.—Cornet W. Ottley, of the 3d Regt. Light C., is removed at his own request, to 2d Reg. as Junior Cornet, immediately below Lieut. Trevelyan.

MARINE DEPARTMENT.

PROMOTIONS.

Bombay Castle, Aug. 9.—First Lieut. J.

S. Criddle to be a Jun. Capt. vice Arrow, deceased, dated May 23d, 1824; Second Lieut. J. C. Hawkins to be First Lieut. vice Criddle, promoted; Second Lieut. W. Denton to be a First Lieut. vice Middleton, deceased, dated June 24, 1821; Senior Midshipman, G. B. Harrison to be a Second Lieut. vice Hawkins promoted, dated May 23, 1824; Senior Midshipman T. E. Rogers to be a Second Lieutenant, vice Denton, dated June 21, 1821.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

BENGAL.

Births.—July 10. At Patna, the lady of G. King, Esq. of H. C. Medical Establishment, of a son. 13. At Dacca, the lady of Capt. D. Crichton, 31st Reg. N. I. of a daughter. 21. At Patna, the Hon. Mrs. Elphinstone of a son. 22. At Bally Gunge, the lady of Capt. R. H. Sneyd, of a daughter. 23. At Chowringhee, the lady of Capt. T. Maddock, of a daughter. 25. At Calcutta, the lady of J. R. Cook, of a daughter; the lady of Capt. N. Campbell, 21st Regt. N. I. of a daughter. Aug. 1. At Calcutta, Mrs. Hooper, of a daughter; the lady of T. R. Davidson, of Hon. Co.'s C. S. of a daughter.

Marriage.—July 28. Lieut. E. Rushworth, Hon. Co.'s 2nd E. R. to Miss E. C. Conyers.

Deaths.—June 30. At Rangoon, of wounds received in action, Lieut. G. Mitchell, of H. M. 38th Reg. Foot. July 15. On the river near Baru, Mary Ann, the wife of Lieut. R. Irving of H. M. 87th Regt. 23. At Fort William, Lieut. Crawford, H. M. 14th Regt. of Foot. 30. Mr. S. J. Wakeland, of H. C. Marine. At Chinsurah, Mrs. M. Munday. 31. Mr. Smith, formerly of the Danish Comp. Service. Aug. 1. At Calcutta, Mr. E. Pots. T. Boudret, Jun. Esq. 4. At Calcutta, J. Parsons, Esq.

MADRAS.

Births.—July 31. At the Presidency, the lady of Capt. R. H. Russell, 6th L. C. of a daughter. Aug. 3. The lady of Capt. Maberly, Dep.-Sec. Military Board, of a son. 4. At the Presidency, Mrs. A. Harrison, of a son. 5. At Quilon, lady of Capt. Ross, of a son. 7. The Lady of R. Clark, Esq. of a son.

Marriages.—July 27. At Kulladghee, Lieut. G. Peres, 23d Regt. N. I., to Rosa Eliza, youngest daughter of the late C. Boddam, Esq., Bengal C. S. 29. At

Nagpoor, Capt. D. Bruce, Ass. Com. Gen. Bengal Army, to Margaret, fifth daughter of the Rev. Dr. A. Duncan, of Batho, Midlothian. At same time and place, J. Wylie, Esq. M.D., Madras Army Surgeon, on service of His Highness the Rajah, to Susan, sixth daughter of the Rev. Dr. A. Duncan.

Deaths.—Aug. 3. At Masulipatam, Lieut. J. Arden, 38th Regt. N. I. 10. At Royapuram, Capt. H. R. Weddall, Late Commander of the Ship Glenclg.

BOMBAY.

Births.—August 9. At Bombay, the lady of T. Barnard, Esq. of a son. The lady of L. J. Miguel, Esq. of a son. At Ahmedabad, the lady of Lieut. G. W. Blachy, 14th Regt. N. I. of a son. 10. At Ambrolly, Mrs. J. J. Fernandes, of a son. 16. At Matoonga, the lady of Dr. Smitten, of a son. 18. At Poona, the lady of Lieut.-Col. Taylor, commanding 20th Regt. N. I. of a daughter.

Marriages.—August 10. At Bombay, Mr. T. Brooks of the Bombay Tavern, to Mrs. M. Coggen. 23. At St. Thomas's Church, W. Simson, C. S. to Dora Lushington, eldest daughter of G. L. Prendergast, Esq.

Deaths.—July 31. At Ahmedabad, W. Law, Esq. Civil Surgeon. August 4. At Kaira, Mrs. Gibson, lady of Capt. G. 9. On board the James Scott, Mr. J. Benson, Chief Officer. At Bhewndy, Lieut. G. H. Hogg, 7 Regt. N. I. 13. At Kaira, Mrs. E. Fern. 24. Mrs. J. F. de Jesus. 25. At Bombay, J. Stephen, Esq. formerly of Sinat.

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

Deaths.—Oct. 1. C. M. Paulsen, wife of B. Klesmith. 3d. Mr. J. Williams. 7. Mr. J. A. Albert. 14. Lieut. J. Liddle of Hon. E. I. C. Bombay Artill.

SHIPPING INTELLIGENCE.

ARRIVALS IN ENGLAND FROM EASTERN PORTS.

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Port of Arrival.</i>	<i>Ship's Name.</i>	<i>Commander.</i>	<i>Port of Departure.</i>	<i>Date.</i>
Nov. 27	Portsmouth	.. Gilmore	.. Laws	.. Bengal	.. Mar. 19
Nov. 29	Downs	.. Bussorah	Mercht. Rowson;	.. Bengal	.. April 4
Dec. 3	Dartmouth	.. Ellen Douglas	.. Rice	.. Sumatra	.. Aug. 2
Dec. 12	Downs	.. Nourmahal	.. Scott	.. Singapore	.. July 27
Dec. 19	Off the Wight	.. Cambridge	.. Barber	.. Bombay	.. Aug. 12
Dec. 19	Milford	.. Fanny	.. Laird	.. Cape	.. Oct. 3
Dec. 21	Off Deal	.. Avon	.. Sumner	.. Bombay	.. July 21
Dec. 23	Downs	.. Hottentot	.. Shucklar	.. Cape	.. Oct. 17
Dec. 26	Off Dover	.. Orpheus	.. Finlay	.. Bombay	.. Aug. 28

ARRIVALS IN EASTERN PORTS.

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Port of Arrival.</i>	<i>Ship's Name.</i>	<i>Commander.</i>	<i>Port of Depart.</i>
June 30	Ceylon	.. Thaues	.. Litson	.. London
July 26	Bombay	.. London	.. Sothebey	.. London
Aug. 4	Bombay	.. Eliza	.. Frith	.. London
Aug. 4	Bengal	.. William Money	.. Jackson	.. London
Aug. 5	Madras	.. Tyne	.. Warrington	.. London
Aug. 13	Mauritius	.. Mulgrave Castle	.. Ralph	.. London
Oct. 6	Cape	.. Ellen	.. Camper	.. London
Oct. 16	Cape	.. Theodosia	.. Kidson	.. Liverpool

DEPARTURES FROM ENGLAND.

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Port of Depart.</i>	<i>Ship's Name.</i>	<i>Commander.</i>	<i>Destination.</i>
Nov. 27	Cowes	.. Ogle Castle	.. Weynton	.. Bombay
Dec. 2	Gravesend	.. Hercules	.. Vaughan	.. Madeira, &c.
Dec. 4	Plymouth	.. Patience	.. Kind	.. Cape
Dec. 4	Liverpool	.. Hero	.. Steel	.. Bombay
Dec. 5	Falmouth	.. Earl St. Vincent	.. Reeves	.. Singapore
Dec. 5	Portsmouth	.. Royal Charlotte	.. Corbyn	.. Bengal
Dec. 6	Deal	.. Ninus	.. Beau	.. St. Helena
Dec. 6	Portsmouth	.. Boyne	.. Lawson	.. Madras & Bengal
Dec. 10	Liverpool	.. Duke of Lancaster	.. Hanney	.. Bengal
Dec. 10	Deal	.. Abberton	.. Percival	.. Bombay
Dec. 16	Plymouth	.. Palmyra	.. Lamb	.. Madras & Bengal
Dec. 16	Deal	.. Rockingham	.. Beach	.. Madras
Dec. 16	Portsmouth	.. Nautilus	.. Winslow	.. China
Dec. 23	Deal	.. Venus	.. Kilgour	.. Cape
Dec. 23	Deal	.. Echo	.. Dunlop	.. Cape
Dec. 24	Deal	.. Lavinia	.. Brooks	.. St. Helena

SHIPS SPOKEN WITH AT SEA.

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Lat. and Long.</i>	<i>Ship's Name.</i>	<i>Commander.</i>	<i>From whence.</i>	<i>Where bound.</i>
May 29	Off Bourbon	Udney	.. Holden	.. Bengal	London
Sept. 24	Off the Cape de Verdes	Barkworth	..	.. Bombay	London
Oct. 5	23 S. 29	Euphrates	.. Mead	.. London	Bengal
Nov. 2	9 S. 18 44 W.	Avon	.. Sumner	.. Bombay	London
Nov. 11	16 N. 22 W.	Cornwallis	.. Henderson	.. London	Cape
Nov. 16	6 23	England	.. Reay	.. London	Bombay
Dec. 8	8 25 W.	Hero	.. Steel	.. Liverpl.	Bombay
Dec. 10	40 13	Caroline	..	.. London	South Seas

LIST of SHIPS trading to INDIA and Eastward of the CAPE of GOOD HOPE.

Destination.	Appointed to SAIL.	Ships' Names.	Owners or Consignees.	Captains.	Where Loading.	Reference for Freight or Passage.
Cape and Madras	Gravesend, Jan. 10	General Palmer	George Truscott	George Truscott	E. I. Docks.	Capt. T. 4, Birch-lane.
Madras & Bengal	Portsmouth, Jan. 13	Hope	John T. E. Flint	John T. E. Flint	E. I. Docks.	Gledstones & Co. 3, White-lion-court, Cornhill.
Cape, Madras, & Bengal	(Steam P.) Mar. 1	Enterprise	R. J. Saunders, Agent	James H. Johnston	Deptford.	R. J. Saunders, Agent, Old South Sea House.
	Gravesend, Jan. 8	Lady Campbell.	Cockerell, Trail & Co.	James Irvine	City Canal	Edmund Read, 1, Riches-court, Lister-st.
	Jan. 20	Coromandel	George Joad	Thomas Boyes	W. I. Docks	John Lynne, jun. 24, Birch-lane.
	Feb. 3	Lady Flora	Cockerell, Trail & Co.	Thomas Mac Donnell	Blackwall	John S. Bruley, 14, Birch-lane.
	10	Maitland	Thomas Ferguson	Michael O'Brien	City Canal.	Edmund Read, (Sea House.
	13	John	And. Loughnan & Co.	Thomas Popplewell.	City Canal.	Anstree & Thornhill, Old South
	28	Thalia	Francis Robinson	William Henry Bilen	City Canal.	R. F. Waile, 14, London-street.
	Mar. 10	Nalcolm	Watts and Heath	James Eyles	Deptford.	John S. Bruley, [Lane.
	30	Essex	Johnston & Meaburn	Thomas A. Watt	City Canal.	William Abercromby, 4, Birch-lane.
	31	Eliza	David Sutton	David Sutton	E. I. Docks.	Harber & Neate, 21, Birch-lane.
	April 10	Royal George	Joseph Stames & Co.	Thomas Whitlock	E. I. Docks.	Marjolinbanks & Co. 16, King's
	15	Neptune	J. Cumberlege, jun.	William Reids	W. I. Docks	Edmund Read, [Lal-street.
	30	Woodford	Alfred Chapman	John A. Cumberlege	E. I. Docks.	John Lynne, jun. [Lal-street.
	May 1	William Miles	Samuel Beadle	Samuel Beadle	E. I. Docks.	John Chapman & Co. 2, Leaden-
	10	Kingston	Wm. Adkins Bowen.	William A. Bowen	City Canal.	Cockerell, Trail & Co. N. Aus. Fr.
	20	Gilmore	Hunter and Co.	Richard W. Laws	E. I. Docks.	Hunter & Co. 50, Old Broad-st.
Bengal	Jan. 1	Amity	John Chapman & Co.	John Gray	W. I. Docks	John S. Bruley.
	15	Royal George	John Barry	Stephenson Lillierly	City Canal.	John Lynne, jun.
	31	Norfolk	Alexander Greig	Alexander Greig	City Canal.	Isbister & Horsley, 11, Leaden-
Bombay	Mar. 5	Britannia	George Whiggins	William Luke	City Canal.	Edmund Read, [Lal-st.
	April 15	Shannon	Henry Bannister	Henry Bannister	E. I. Docks	Edmund Read, [Lal-st.
	April 25	Tiger	Robert C. C.	James K. Forbes	City Canal.	Edmund Read, [Lal-st.
Ceylon	Jan. 15	Africa	William Tindell	John Stelton	W. I. Docks	John Lynne, jun. 33, Mark-lane.
Mauritius and Ceylon	Feb. 15	Peto	Robert Rutter	William Rutter	City Canal.	Edmund Read.
Batavia and Singapore	Jan. 10	Redzoni	Robert Granger	Andrew Anderson	City Canal.	Edmund Read.
Singapore	25	Woodlark	Buckley and Co.	Thomas Brown	City Canal.	Buckles and Co.
Bencoolen, Penang, and Singapore	—	Maria	Thornton and West	James Moffatt	City Canal.	Edmund Read.
	20	Batavia	Thornton and West	Robert Blair	City Canal.	Edmund Read.
	30	Rosella	Smith and Co.	Thomas Atkinson	City Canal.	John Pirie & Co. 3, Freeman's-
	30	Spring	Richard Drew	James P. Heckman	City Canal.	Edmund Read. [court, Cornh.
Cape	1	Borneo	Joseph Hare	John C. Ross	City Canal.	Isbister and Horsley.
	15	Marsac	Alex. Robertson	John C. Ross	City Canal.	Cookes and Long.
New South Wales	Convict Jan. 5	Maner	John Chapman & Co.	Thomas Welbank	Dept. & Cork	John Chapman and Co.
Van Diemen's Land and New South Wales	10	William Shand	John Lumsden	Alexander Kenn	London Dks.	Buckles and Co.
	15	Maintenance	John Chapman & Co.	John Herbert	London Dks.	John Chapman and Co.
	Feb.	Victoria	William Shand	James Muddle	London Dks.	Isbister and Horsley.

PASSENGERS HOMEWARD.

By the *Gilmore*.—From Bengal: Mrs. Laws and Child; Lieut. Wilson, H. C. S.; two Masters Alsopp; Miss Lathrop; Dr. Watson; Mrs. Watson; and two Messrs. Forsters.

By the *Heroine*.—From Batavia; Mr. H. Thompson, formerly Surgeon of the Bengal Establishment.

By the *Bussorah Merchant*.—From Bengal: Mr. C. Choke, from Calcutta.

By the *Cambridge*.—From Bombay: Mrs. Ashburner; Mrs. H. Lock; Mrs. MacLeod; two Misses Elliot; two Misses Ruddock; Mrs. Hall, landed at the Cape; W. Ashburner, Esq.; Lieut. Warlow, R. N.; Lieut. H. Taylor, Second Regiment, Madras Cav.; Mr. J. R. Backhouse, Ceylon, Civil Service; Capt. Duckfield, Williams, Brett, and Anthony; J. Inkes, Esq.; J. Dowler, Esq.; Capt. F. Stratton, landed at the Cape; Lieut. Liddell, Bombay Artillery; Capt. Priessik, formerly of George the Fourth; Mr. S. Fowler; Master Ashburner; two Misses Ashburner; Master D. Campbell; Miss Hall, landed at the Cape; Misses Barington and Lock; Mr. H. Watson, three European Servants, and three Native ditto.

By the *Aron*.—From Bombay: Lieuts. Snydys, Cornet Walker; Mr. and Mrs. Gardiner, from the Cape.

By the *Taney*.—From the Cape. Ensign Rochford, Eighteenth Brigade, N. I.; and Mr. Griffiths, late Capt. of the 8th.

By the *Brazil*.—Capt. C. Kemp of the Bombay Merchant; Mr. J. Seton, passenger, and six of the crew.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The *Conelia*, from Batavia, has unshipped her flooring, and has been sold at Ramsgate, by public auction, for 350*l.*, soon after which, she went entirely to pieces.

Portsmouth, Dec. 5.—The *Madras* has floated off in Stokes Bay, and been towed into harbour by four smacks, with the loss of her keel.

Plymouth, Dec. 4.—The *City of Rochester* has floated off this afternoon, and was conducted to Sutton Pool.

The *Eole*, from Bengal and Bourbon, has arrived at Nantes with much damage.

Portsmouth, Dec. 10.—The *Victory* has been floated off the Blackhouse Point last night's tide by the lighters, and men belonging to the dock-yard.

The *Udney*, Holden, from Bengal and Madras, was spoken, 29th May, off Bourbon, and has not since been heard of.

The *Bombay Merchant*, Kemp, from Bombay to London, was abandoned at sea, on the 27th November, in lat. 8 N., long. 21 W. The crew and passengers were conveyed by the *Emma*, (from Gibraltar) and arrived at Rio Janeiro 24th of October. Ten thousand pounds specie, saved from the wreck, was brought home in the *Lord Melville* Ph. from Brazil.

The crew of H. M. S. *Andromaque*, at Mauritius were sickly, Commodore Norse, Lieut. Grant, R. N., and four others had died of fever.

Several courts have been held during the month, at which Capt. S. Serle was sworn into the command of the ship *Ingles*, consigned to Bombay and China; Capt. W. Crikshank of the *Taiquharson*, for St. Helena, Bombay and China; Capt. J. Hine of the *Atlas*, for Madras and China; Capt. W. Hay of the *Charles*, for China direct, Capt. H. Cobb of the *Kent*, for Bengal and China; Capt. D. R. Newall of the *Seahoby Castle*, for ditto; and Capt. E. L. Adams of the *Kelley Castle*, for Bombay and China. The following commanders have also taken leave of the court previous to departing for their respective destinations. Capt. W. N. C. Dalrymple of the ship *Vansittart*, and Capt. F. Haveride of the *Windsor*, for Bombay and China.

Capt. Brown, of the ship *Bengal Merchant*, has had a handsome letter addressed to him by a long list of passengers whom he conveyed to Madras, in which they say, "It is to express our warm acknowledgments for the solicitude you have manifested during a very protracted voyage, to secure to us every convenience and comfort that the most liberal attention could provide, and to request that you will permit us to gratify our feelings by presenting to you a piece of plate of the value of 250 guineas, as a token of our sincere regard and esteem." To which Captain Brown returned a handsome and suitable reply.

INDIAN SECURITIES.

CALCUTTA, AUG. 1.
Government Securities.

Remittable Premium.....36 8 to 37 0
Non-Remittable ditto.....5 12 to 11 8

Bank of Bengal Rates.]

Per Cent.

Discount on Private Bills.....4 0
Do. on Government Bills of Exchange.....3 0
Interest on Loans on Deposit, open date.....3 8
Do. 2 Months certain.....3 0

Buy.]

Course of Exchange.

[Sel.]

1 10 to 1 11 On London, 6 Months' sight, per sicca rupees 1 11 to 2 0
Bombay, 30 Days' sight, per 100 Bombay rs. 92
Madras ditto, per 100 Madras rs.91 to 92 s. rs.

Bank Shares, Premium 48 to 42 per Cent.

MADRAS, AUG. 6.

On England, at 6 Months' sight, 1*s.* 8*ld.* per Madras rupee.
On Bengal, at 30 Days' sight, 93 to 96 sicca rupees per 100 Madras rupees.
Company's Paper, Remittable, 37 per Cent. Premium.
Unremittable, 5 to 8.

BOMBAY, AUG. 28.

On London, at 6 Months' sight, 1*s.* 8*ld.* per rupee.
On Calcutta, at 30 Days' sight, 103 Bombay rupees per 100 sicca rupees.
On Madras, at ditto, 100 Bombay rupees per 100 Madras rs.
Company's Paper, Remittable, 144 Bombay rupees per 100 sicca rs.
Unremittable, 110 to 118 ditto.

TO SUBSCRIBERS.

THE undiminished interest which the Editor of this Publication continues to feel in the cause of improvement in India, and his ardent desire to increase as much as possible the interest of the British community at large in the fate of that distant but highly important possession, led him, at the suggestion of numerous Correspondents in India, and in conformity with the expressed wish of a considerable number of the Friends of India in England, in whose views he cordially concurred, to contemplate arrangements for the more frequent publication of *THE ORIENTAL HERALD*, by issuing it on the 1st and 16th of every month:—while the increasing sale of the Work in England and India, with the additional labour and assistance required for all the details of its preparation, issue, and delivery, led him to consent also to the formation of a separate and exclusive Establishment for that purpose.

A severe and long continued indisposition most unexpectedly prevented the Editor from carrying either of these arrangements into effect, within the period announced for their commencement, in consequence of which, it was as publicly made known in the Papers of the day, that these arrangements were at least suspended, until some future and undefined period.

He now feels it his duty, however, to state, that during this interval, a considerable number of applications have been made to him from parties deeply interested in the success of the Publication, and especially desirous of rousing, through its influence, a strong feeling of sympathy for their unhappy fellow-subjects in India, expressing their conviction, that this great end will be most effectually attained by continuing the Work *EXACTLY ON ITS PRESENT FOOTING*; urging that, however desirous the British community of India might be to possess a Number even every week, if it could be published so frequently, yet the influential part of the community of England, who have less leisure and less inclination for reading than their countrymen abroad, who have moreover a thousand claims on their time, their attention, and their means, of which Englishmen resident in India cannot be aware, are not prepared to receive any Periodical Publication of high character more frequently than *ONCE A MONTH*, and that even in this, there must be such a conformity to established usage, as to quantity, matter, price, &c. that any innovation or departure from the established standard is likely to contract rather than enlarge the circle of its readers, and consequently to lessen the amount of its influence on the public mind.

As this last is really the only great object which the Editor has ever had deeply at heart, both in the commencement and continuation of his labours, he is willing to relinquish all the additional advantages which this double publication would have secured to him in India, where many of the objections here urged would be neither felt nor expressed, for the sake of extending as widely as possible the circle of its influence in England; it being beyond a doubt that whatever reform is to be effected in the system by which India is so wretchedly governed, must now originate in *this* country, since the most powerful engine for effecting such reform in *that*, a Free Press, unhappily no longer exists.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

THE Letter of A SUBSCRIBER, dated Hay Park, near Knaresborough, Yorkshire, has been received. The enclosure which it contains, being a Letter from Dharwar, in India, dated July 10, 1824, cannot be inserted in the *Oriental Herald*; though we are obliged by the attention of our Correspondent in transmitting it to us for perusal: and shall be glad, on any future occasion, to hear from him again. The Letter has been sent according to the request of the writer, in the event of our declining to insert it, to Mr. Cobbett, for such use as he may be disposed to make of it.

THE Note of A CALM OBSERVER has also been received. We regret the delay of his intended communication, as we value his contributions too highly not to wish them to be frequent.

A Voice from Common Sense, in reply to the Voice from India, has been sent to us by the author of the Letters to the Marquis of Hastings on the Indian Press, who is now understood to be a foreigner; but it came too late for publication in our present Number.

The Introduction to the Tale of the Hermitage of Candr, from the German of Mons. Schlegel, is again postponed for want of room.

Among the articles prepared for our present Number, but necessarily omitted in consequence of the extreme length of the Debate at the India House, and the extent of the Military and other Intelligence from India, are the following:—

Original Letters in the British Museum.—Recent Account of the Kingdom of Cochin China, and a Review of Lieut. White's Voyage.—Analysis of the First Volume of the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, just published.—On the Translations of the Scriptures into Oriental Languages.

THE ORIENTAL HERALD.

No. 14.—FEBRUARY 1825.—VOL. 4.

BRILLIANT RESULTS OF FREE TRADE AND JUST LAWS, IN THE SETTLEMENT OF SINGAPORE.

The principle which introduced an arbitrary and despotic government into India, on the false pretence of its tending to the strength and security of the British possessions there, and the assumption that this arbitrary power is necessary to give vigour and despatch, is a libel on the liberties of the people of England, and a libel on the British constitution: it gives the lie to all common sense, to all reason, and to the uniform experience of ages.—BURKE.

It might have been hoped that the disclosures of Indian iniquities, first effected by the persevering industry of Burke and his colleagues, and since stamped with the seal of impartial history, in the invaluable record of Indian errors, oppressions, and crimes, for which the friends of truth and justice are deeply indebted to the integrity of Mr. Mill, would have, long ere this, so roused the indignation of Englishmen, that the system of monopoly and despotism, by which the finest countries of the globe are still kept in degradation and slavery, would have been swept, as it deserves to be, from off the earth. But it would appear as if the generation that was moved by the splendid eloquence of Burke, had nearly passed away; and as if the generation that should profit by the more sober, yet not the less instructive pages of Mill, was yet to come.

The indifference of the existing race of Englishmen to those acts, the bare recital of which used to rouse the souls of their ancestors to action, is one of the most striking features of the times. Political contention for great public rights, in which such minds as those of Locke and Milton were proud to take a part, seems to have dwindled down to idle controversy, among envious and angry rivals, either on questions of no interest whatever to the great mass of mankind, or on the party questions, and individual interests of the particular newspaper or journal, by which they may, for the time, happen to be paid. Literary disquisitions on the high and sublimer truths of metaphysics, in which the noble intellects of Bacon and Bayle were habitually engaged, have given place to the most miserable trifling that can be well imagined: so that the "reading public," as they are called, are not only *not* furnished with the only materials which could be acceptable to "thinking beings," but by the uninterrupted torrent of worthless matter that is poured out from the English press, they are absolutely diverted from the consideration of graver matters, so that the grain of wheat which is sometimes hidden in the chaff forced on their daily attention, thus often escapes them altogether. The details of a prize-fight, the particulars of a murder, the history of a

criminal's amours, and the piety of his demeanour at the moment of execution, will fill, not merely whole columns, but whole pages of the public prints, to the exclusion of all other subjects, for days in succession; and be repeated in every journal throughout the kingdom: while questions involving the most important principles that can be named, and discussions in which the happiness of millions is at stake, are deemed, by those who sit in the chair of public instructors, to be unworthy a moment's attention.

This perversion of the most powerful engine of good, to purposes of the greatest evil, in encouraging frivolity, and excluding the graver and important topics, which ought to occupy the chief share of their attention, is not, however, confined to the daily or weekly publications of the press; the accusation may be as safely and truly extended to the higher order, as they are called, of public censors, to magazines, reviews, and separate volumes that every now and then put in their claim to public patronage: and which succeed, generally, in proportion to their frivolity and uselessness, if entertainment be the aim,—or to their advocacy of the most odious principles, and the support of all existing abuses, if popularity as a work of instruction, be the end in view.

In such a state of things,—and this is by no means an overcharged picture—when the crimes of the most abandoned profligates can excite a more intense interest, without correspondent detestation, than the benevolence of the most distinguished philanthropists: when the degrading butchery of two ignorant and vulgar pugilists can draw thousands to the scene, and excite a more general interest throughout all England, than the invasion of territories, the torture of slaves, or the destruction of thousands of men, women, and children, by their own countrymen abroad—what voice, that lifts itself up in favour of oppressed but distant nations, can hope to be heard? Even the miseries of our pretended sister, Ireland—as if called by that endearing name, in bitter mockery and derision—near, as she is at hand, have scarcely yet roused the sympathies of a tithe of the English nation: while Mr. Owen's proposal to improve their unhappy condition by the introduction of a better system of labour and management, has been treated with scorn and derision; and Mr. Cropper's still pending endeavours to establish among them manufactories for India, in the hope of having, for the furtherance of his plan, the existing restrictions on returns from that country removed, have scarcely been heard of beyond the island in which his benevolent exertions have been called forth for its benefit.

These are but discouraging preliminaries, with which to usher in a notice of what has been done, and what is doing at so remote a spot as Singapore, a place, the very name of which is still new to our ears, and the present condition of which can hardly yet be supposed to be known to one half of those who will read our pages in Europe. We have seen instances, however, in which remote and insignificant places have been raised into notoriety by some circumstance of interest attached to them; Otaheite and Owyhee will long be remembered, from their connexion with the name of Cooke; St. Helena, from its being the prison-house and grave of Napoleon: and others of less note from similar associations. The events connected with Singapore ought to be far more interesting to the friends of the human race than either of these; for in this small spot has been tried one of the greatest and most interesting experiments,

if not the only one of the kind, since the existence of the ancient Tyre, as to the rapid progress with which wealth, population, power, and happiness, are sure to accumulate under a just and beneficent administration of known and equal laws; and with a complete freedom for the exercise and development of individual industry, unfettered by the senseless and mischievous restrictions that still cramp its energies in almost every other part of the world.

The experiment of a free press was tried in India for five years, by the Marquis of Hastings; and never was the country so prosperous, so well governed, or so tranquil as at the end of that period, though all manner of evils were predicted as the certain consequence of such a measure. It accorded not with the views of the India Directors, who dread nothing more than the advancement of knowledge in their dominions, and who openly avow, and glory in the avowal, that the weakness and ignorance of their native subjects constitute the strength of their rulers; that the government of India has been, is, and, in their hands, ever will be, an absolute despotism! This is avowed in a public court in the heart of the free city of London, and excites no emotion, no indignation, nay, scarcely a denial; such is the degraded state of feeling even in England, with respect to the condition of the people in our Indian dominions.

The experiment of a free trade and equal laws for men of all castes, colours, and even creeds, has been also tried at Singapore, by Sir Stamford Raffles; and never was there a parallel instance of such a rapid advance in wealth, population, and comfort, made by any settlement known, either in ancient or in modern times, as in this small spot. The language of its own inhabitants, in an address presented by them to the founder of their prosperity, is such as all good men should be ambitious to deserve. They say, "To your unwearied zeal, your vigilance, and your comprehensive views, we owe at once the foundation and the maintenance of a settlement, *unparalleled for the liberality of the principles on which it has been established*; principles, the operation of which has converted, in a period short beyond all example, a haunt of pirates into the abode of enterprise, security, and opulence." One would have thought that even the East India Company might have had virtue enough among them to hear this testimony with pleasure; and to do their utmost to render so happy a state of things permanent. But no! They will have nothing but fetters on trade and enterprise of every description, as well as on mind and opinion. If they are not possessed of unlimited despotism, they are never satisfied.—In his answer to the address of the merchants of Singapore, Sir Stamford tells them the reason of all this prosperity and happiness, of which they avow their fortunate possession. He says, "*Monopoly and exclusive privileges*, against which PUBLIC OPINION has so long raised its voice, are here unknown, *Singapore is a free port*; and AS LONG AS IT SO REMAINS, IT CANNOT FAIL TO PROSPER." Here was, indeed, a declaration which was enough to draw down upon the head of him who made it, the denunciation of the East India Company, and to provoke their wrath for ever. What! when they had been endeavouring for the last two centuries to make the world believe that monopoly and despotism were the only means by which the countries of the east could be made to benefit the people who conquered or cajoled them; and when they

had so far succeeded in impressing this belief on others, as to have their charter of monopoly and despotism renewed from period to period by the legislature and the people of England—shall a servant of their own start up, in rebellion to the first principles of their government, not merely to proclaim, but to *prove* by actual experiment to the world, that free trade is more conducive to the prosperity of states than monopoly;—that a government by law is more productive of security and happiness than an absolute despotism! and thus destroy the charm by which they had imposed on the ignorant and unthinking for centuries?

Sir Stamford Raffles was then, however, in a condition which enabled him to think of his own honest fame, and the benefit of his fellow-creatures, as objects of even higher importance to him than the approbation of the East India Company. He accordingly acted as an independent man, pursued the dictates of an upright and benevolent heart, and did his utmost to strengthen and confirm the liberal principles and institutions, which he had already had the happiness to see produce such powerful effects at Singapore. He is now, however, unhappily in a different situation. The sad catastrophe, by which the whole of his valuable property was burnt in the *Fame*, is already known to our readers: the loss to the world, by the destruction of his valuable collections in natural history, his papers, maps, drawings, &c. will long be lamented by the friends of knowledge: but in this destruction was involved a double evil; for it swept away from his possession the accumulated earnings of years, and left him destitute of that private property, on which there was every reason to hope he might have lived in affluence in his native land, and devoted the remainder of his independent days to useful exertions in England, for the benefit of her eastern subjects. This hope has been destroyed: and the benevolent founder of Singapore is now compelled to approach the Court of Directors with a Memorial, setting forth his services, through a long course of years, in Java, Sumatra, and Singapore; on which, rather than on the total loss of all his private fortune by the burning of the *Fame*, he submits to them his claim to some consideration, for the sake of his family as well as of himself.

It is not our object to go minutely into the facts developed in this Memoir, which we must, in justice, characterize as ably drawn, and remarkable for the clearness, as well as modesty, of all its statements; but we shall briefly notice them under their respective heads.

During Sir Stamford's residence in Java, he collected materials for an excellent history and description of the island; framed the first map of it that ever appeared, though the Dutch possessed the country for two centuries before; introduced the registry of existing slaves; and established regulations, making it felony to trade in human beings after the period of the passing of this law; formed a benevolent society for the improvement of the natives; obtained a mineralogical map of Banca; and attracted 1700 labourers from China, to work in the tin mines of that island, which soon made rapid advances towards wealth and importance; opened an intercourse between Java and Japan, and offered to go in person to secure all its advantages; which was approved by the authorities at home, but defeated by a transfer of Java to the Dutch: and lastly, came honourably out of an inquiry, instituted in consequence of unfounded charges made against his public conduct by an Indian officer.

While Lieut.-Governor of Bencoolen, in Sumatra, to which Sir Stamford had been appointed, immediately after the investigation before alluded to, and as an especial mark of approbation, his labours were directed to the most benevolent objects. Gaming, cock-fighting, slavery, and forced services—from all of which, evils of different descriptions sprung—were happily abolished. The Government derived a revenue from the opium by which the Malays were intoxicated, and by the gambling to which, in this state, they were greatly addicted, though it often ended in robberies and murders; so that there was no security for person or property, and profligacy and immorality intruded themselves every where. The native population laboured under oppressions and disabilities from the forced services exacted in the cultivation of pepper for the Government: and African slaves, men, women, and children, purchased by the East India Company, were employed in the hardest work—in loading and unloading the Company's ships, without any care being taken of their morals, being dissolute and depraved, the women living in promiscuous intercourse with the public convicts, for the purpose (as the superintendent alleged) “of keeping up the breed,” and the children left to a state of nature, vice, and wretchedness.¹ This degrading state of things was at once ameliorated: the whole of the slaves were furnished with a certificate of their freedom, and slavery in Sumatra was abolished. The pepper monopoly was relinquished, free cultivation introduced, and agriculture greatly extended; encouragement was given to the cultivation of grain; the relations between the chiefs of districts and the cultivating classes were adjusted; a recognition was made of native property in the soil; a good police was introduced; and, lastly, native schools were established at Bencoolen, and extended throughout the country in every direction. The results were, that even in a commercial point of view, (to say nothing of the moral consequences, which a company of merchants never rank as first in importance,) before Sir Stamford quitted the settlement, he had the satisfaction to witness the rapid and successful progress of cultivation in the principal productions of the soil.² We must not omit to add, the service rendered to humanity by Sir Stamford, in sending a commission of qualified persons to examine into the state of Nias, respecting which some information had been given him, which induced him to take this step. It led to the discovery, that it contained a population of 230,000 souls; that the state of the cultivation among them was such as to furnish an *export* of 12,000 bags of rice annually; yet that so active a slave trade was carried on upon this coast, that no less than 1500 slaves were taken away from Nias every year! The nature of this trade is thus described:—

The circumstances that attended this inhuman traffic were of the most appalling nature, and no less revolting than those which attached to the same abominable commerce on the coast of Africa. The unhappy victims, torn by violence from their friends and country, are delivered, pinioned hand and foot, to the dealers in human flesh, and kept bound during the whole course of the voyage. Instances have occurred, where the captives have seized a moment of liberty to snatch up the first weapon within their reach, stab all whom they encountered, and conclude the scene by leaping overboard, and seeking deliverance from their persecutors in a watery grave!

It was at Singapore, however, that the greatest and most successful

¹ Sir Stamford Raffles' Memorial, 4to, p. 35.

² Ibid. p. 39.

efforts of Sir Stamford Raffles were made: and these would deserve a more detailed notice than we have room to afford. We shall endeavour, however, to embrace the most important features of them, so as to give the reader at least an outline of the whole.

It would be unnecessary, even if our space admitted of such a retrospect, to go back to the history of the first formation of the settlement at Singapore. The facts are known to almost every political reader in England, from the notoriety which they obtained through the papers of the day, and from the discussions which have taken place in the House of Commons on the subject. We shall give, however, in the words of the Memorial which is before us, the following description of its local advantages of position, and proof of its realizing those advantages, in the actual results which are here recorded:—

Independently of the tribes of the Archipelago, the situation of Singapore was peculiarly favourable for its becoming the entrepôt to which the native traders of Siam, Camboja, Chumpha, Cochin-China, and China itself, might annually resort. It was to the Straits of Singapore that their merchants were always bound, in the first instance; and if, on their arrival in them, they could find a market for their goods, and the means of supplying their wants, they would have no inducement to proceed to the more distant, unhealthy, and expensive port of Batavia. Siam, which is the granary of the countries north of the Equator, was rapidly extending her native commerce; nearly the whole might be expected to centre at Singapore. The passage from China had been made in less than six days, and the same number of days being all that is requisite in the favourable monsoon for the passage from Batavia, the coast of Borneo and Penang, the advantages of its central position, for the purposes of commerce, need no further explanation.

In how far the occupation of Singapore has been found to answer all these purposes, the experience of the past five years, during which it has been in our possession, affords the best proof. I will only observe, that while it has effectually prevented the system of *exclusive monopoly* aimed at by the Dutch, it has tended essentially to the increase of our commerce. During the first two years of the settlement, no less than 2,889 vessels entered at the port, of which 383 were owned and commanded by Europeans, and 2,506 by Natives; and their united tonnage amounted to nearly 200,000 tons. The value of merchandize in native vessels, which entered and quitted within the same period, being estimated at about five millions of dollars; and that of the imports and exports by European vessels, not amounting to less than three millions more. During the subsequent year, 1822, the tonnage employed in the trade of Singapore was not less than 130,629 tons; and the value of the imports and exports by the same, amounted to Spanish dollars 8,568,171. In the last year, 1823, the tonnage amounted to 151,991 tons; and the value of the imports and exports, to Spanish dollars 13,268,397.—p. 55, 56.

These are the happy and inevitable results of the principles of free trade, results which monopoly could never produce; and while this example of Singapore is on record, it will be impossible that the claims of monopolists to exclusive privileges should ever again be attended with the recognitions which have hitherto been conceded to them.

Sir Stamford Raffles, however, did not stop here. As the servant of a commercial company, it would have satisfied his masters if he had increased their wealth; but as a philanthropist, and a statesman, his regards were extended to even higher objects than this. He determined to elevate the condition of humanity in the East, as far as the commencement of the great work at Singapore could lead the way; and to frame a body of laws, which should have for its basis the principle of equal rights, and the end of which should be “to promote the greatest happiness of the greatest number, and that for the greatest length of time.” It is worthy of remark that, in his Memorial to the Court of Directors, before

adverted to, he confines himself principally to the political and commercial advantages produced by his public measures, and slurs over, with a brief and hurried mention, the great and excellent things done by him for the due administration of justice at Singapore. As if conscious that this, his greatest merit in the eyes of philosophers and the friends of the human race, would not operate in his favour in the eyes of the India Directors, who desire no such innovations and reforms; he merely says, on this head—"On the regulations provisionally established for the police and administration of justice, it is difficult to present concisely the view which the importance of the subject demands." It shall be our task, however, to detail more fully, what his well-grounded fears appear to have induced him to pass over so lightly. We have before us, a copy of "*Local Laws and Institutions of Singapore*," as drawn up and established by Sir Stamford Raffles himself, and we only regret that our limits preclude us from printing them all. We trust, however, that they will be published in a form that will make them accessible to all who feel an interest in the welfare of mankind, as an example of what may be done by the enterprize of one man to improve the condition of millions, and an encouragement to others to follow it.

The first regulation of the series is one for the registry of land at Singapore, for the protection of property, and the prevention of disputes arising out of contested boundaries, &c. It is short, intelligible, and entirely divested of technicalities, comprizing, in a single page, more good sense than is to be found in many of our English statutes that spread themselves over a hundred folios.

The second is a regulation for the Port of Singapore, which commences with the following memorable declaration:—"The Port of Singapore is a *free Port*: and the trade thereof is open to ships and vessels of every nation, free of duty, *equally and alike to all*." The remaining provisions are all in the same excellent spirit.

The third regulation is "for the establishment of a provisional magistracy, and the enforcement of a due and efficient police at Singapore, with certain provisions for the administration of justice,"—and presents a picture of freedom and equity not to be paralleled throughout the East.

The first remarkable feature of this regulation is the appointment of magistrates, to be selected from the British inhabitants of respectability; three of whom are to act in rotation quarterly, doing the business of sitting magistrates for affairs of police, and once a quarter at least holding conjointly a quarter sessions for the hearing and deciding cases not cognizable by a single magistrate. The power of committal, so lavishly given to magistrates in England, is here restricted, however; and no British-born subject can be committed, or his person or property affected, but by a warrant countersigned by the chief local authority for the time being. In this body of local magistracy, persons of colour, as they are called in the West, and half-castes, as they are termed in the East, are admitted equally with British-born subjects; and, in point of fact, some of this description were actually enrolled among that body, the only qualification being property, education, and respectability of character.

Native Chiefs were also appointed to have authority over the principal classes of the native inhabitants, thus recognizing the right of the natives of the country, to have at least a share in the authority, emoluments, and

honour of administering their own laws, and assisting in the business of government.

For the adjustment of civil disputes, a Court was established, in which the Resident, as chief authority, would preside, assisted, however, by the Native Chiefs, where natives might be parties in the cause. The subsequent provisions are equally marked by equity and good sense.

For the formation of local laws and regulations, it is provided, that they might originate either with the magistrates or the Resident; each submitting their suggestions to the other, and in case of the Resident not acceding to those proposed by the magistrates, giving them power to transmit their recommendation for the consideration of the Governor-General of India. All laws, by whomsoever proposed, to be in *no way* inconsistent with any known British *law or usage*.

The fourth regulation prohibits gambling-houses, cockpits, &c. supported by authorities from the penal code of China, the people of that country being the class among whom it chiefly prevails at Singapore. Even in this, however, there is this excellent reservation—"The magistrates will adopt all such minor regulations as they may deem advisable for suppressing the vice of gaming, as far as possible, *without trespassing on the free will of private conduct*, as long as it may not be injurious to society in general."

The fifth regulation is for the prevention of the slave trade at Singapore; and is characterized by the same spirit of humanity and justice as all the preceding ones. It recites the existence of a traffic in slaves, contrary to the spirit and letter of the acts of the British legislature; and proclaims that the condition of slavery, under any denomination whatever, cannot be recognized within the jurisdiction of the British authority; adding, that all persons then in that condition are entitled to claim their freedom; and that a residence of twelve months under the British authority at Singapore, shall be considered sufficient to entitle the party to *all* the benefits of the British administration. The practice of enslaving persons as bond-debtors is also declared to be inconsistent with that freedom of the subject which it is the duty, and was then the desire, of the British authorities to introduce into this Island; and certain rules are laid down for its modification and gradual abolition.

The sixth and last regulation was passed in furtherance of the objects of the third, before adverted to, and contains additional provisions for the magistracy and administration of justice at Singapore. This regulation increases the number of magistrates from three to twelve, who are to be appointed annually, on the first of January in each year; the Resident having the power to appoint supernumeraries to supply vacancies in the magistracy as they occur, but granting to the twelve a power of rejecting his appointment by the vote of three-fourths of their body, on their stating in writing the grounds of their objection. Any new law originating with the magistrates, to be approved by a majority of the twelve.

Two Courts were then formed, with defined powers of jurisdiction to each; and the following paragraphs, incorporated with others in the regulation, are worthy of especial notice.

All men in the settlement are bound to give their especial aid, where required, towards the administration of justice.

While employed in the public service in these capacities, the individuals shall be entitled to peculiar and honourable privileges, such as that every insult or injury

offered to them shall be visited on the offending party with much more severity than if the offence were committed against private individuals.

The individuals selected for the duties of constables or *jurymen*, may be of ANY NATION OR RELIGION, provided that they are able to read and write.

It is impossible not to be struck with the high moral courage which must have animated the excellent mind and heart of Sir Stamford Raffles in making so bold a declaration as this. In England, neither a Deist, a Mohammedan, nor a Jew, can be admitted on a jury. Nay, even certain sects of Christians are excluded; the Quakers, and the Independents, neither of whom will yield to what they deem the unchristian practice of swearing, since they consider the command of Christ, "Swear not at all," to be more binding than the authority of those who say, "Swear every hour, if oaths are required of you." In India, there are no juries at all in civil cases, though in no country on earth are larger amounts of property litigated than there, where the decision of the most important questions is thus often left to a single judge; and even in criminal cases, where juries *are* admitted in India, none but British-born subjects are permitted to sit on them, let the criminal under trial be of what description he may. Among the natives of India, and indeed throughout the East generally, a species of jury is known and resorted to for the decision of doubtful cases. It is described by many writers on India, under the name of the "Punchayet," from being composed of five persons; so that the people are familiar with this mode of trial, and qualified to exercise it. Notwithstanding this, however, neither Mohammedans nor Hindoos are permitted to sit on juries in India, though the prosecuting and defending parties, as well as all the witnesses on both sides, should be from one or other of these respective classes. But the greatest injustice and absurdity still remains to be told. Indo-Britons, or the offspring of English-born fathers and Indian-born mothers, though born in lawful wedlock, and qualified by the best English education, which many of them receive, by a familiar acquaintance with the laws and languages of the country, by wealth, by consideration in society, and by every other claim, are altogether excluded from any share in the administration of justice, either as special or petit jurymen, in India, though there are instances of men of this race being as distinguished for their talent and integrity as any individuals of English birth throughout the whole country. The English reader may, perhaps, conceive it possible that they have no ambition to share in this troublesome privilege, and that they would rather be exempt from its duties. On the contrary, they have repeatedly petitioned the Indian Government, and the Indian Court, to be admitted to this as a right, from which they conceive themselves to be unjustly and undeservedly excluded; but their petitions have been uniformly rejected, and they still remain as they were.

To return to Sir Stamford Raffles:—Let his wise and equitable provision, which admits *men of any nation or religion* to be jurymen, provided that they can read and write, be contrasted with the absurd and unjust exclusion of wealthy, educated, and Christian subjects, many of whom have passed their days, from infancy to manhood, in the schools and colleges of England,—merely because they happened to be *born* in India, (which ought rather to strengthen their claim,) and because their complexions are one shade darker than the Judge's, though twenty shades lighter than most of the individuals who come before the Court for trial. Let

this fact explain the spirit of a Government founded on exclusive privileges and monopoly.

After the regulations for the local administration of Singapore, of which we have given all the principal heads, there follows, in the compilation from which we quote, an Appendix to Regulation VI. which contains what are called Rules for the Residents' and Magistrates' Courts. All these deserve republication at length; but we must be content to select a few only:—

When the subject of litigation before the Courts equals or exceeds one thousand dollars, it shall be competent to either of the parties, at the commencement of the suit, to demand that the same shall be decided by the assistance of a jury. Such jury to consist of five respectable Europeans, or of four Europeans and three respectable natives of other countries, when the Court shall consider it advisable to refer to a jury so composed.

In all cases in which Government may be a party, either as plaintiff or defendant, the same are to be decided by a jury.—p. 24.

In all cases in which an indictment has been laid, the accused may demand to be tried by a jury; and in no case where the crime charged in the indictment may, if proved, involve the punishment of death, banishment, removal from the settlement, imprisonment for more than twelve months, or a pecuniary fine of more than five hundred dollars, can the Court proceed without a jury. The jury may be purely European or purely native; and, in this last case, it ought, if practicable, to be of the same nation and religion with the accused.

The jury shall consist of five persons of respectable character, who can write and read, and who have been borne on the roll of jurymen for the settlement three months previous to the trial.

Seven names shall be taken from the roll of jurymen, (according to the manner prescribed by the particular Regulation regarding the formation and impannelling of juries in civil and criminal cases,) and from these seven the accused shall have the power of rejecting two; and should he be able to afford the Court reasons which may appear to them satisfactory, for removing from the jury any of the remaining members, they shall use their discretion in doing so; but in that case the Court shall have the power of summarily filling up the vacancy so occasioned.

The Court will first cause the indictment to be read in English, and interpreted to the accused, who is then to be asked if it had been so interpreted on a former occasion, and how it had been served.

If any thing objectionable should appear in this stage of the proceedings, or that the prisoner has not been allowed the facilities which the Court may have directed for communication with his friends or his counsel, the trial must be postponed, and a new indictment laid, unless the accused may urge the Court to go on.

Should there however be no objection, on the above grounds, the jury will be sworn and impannelled, the prisoner put to the bar, and the trial will proceed.—p. 25, 26.

Whatever diversity of feelings may exist among different tribes, however much the influence of habit may have perverted their judgment in particular points, there are still certain rights, necessities, and interests, common to all, and which all will wish to secure.

The measures which tend to this result they can be easily brought to appreciate; and while they continue to view them in that light, they will naturally incline to support them.

A steady and uniform application of the same principles in judicial proceedings, without reference to the rank, condition, or situation of the parties, will have the effect of establishing a system to which persons of every description must look with confidence and respect, notwithstanding the very great variety of those on whom the laws of the settlement may be called to bear, and the many obstacles which may be opposed by the force of established habits and prejudices.

To these prejudices it is hoped the Court will always concede a humane and patient consideration; and that it will endeavour to remove them, by kindly exposing their erroneous tendency on every proper occasion, pointing out at the same time the superior objects held in view in the system of legislation which we have adopted, and safely trusting the issue to the result of such a comparison.—p. 27, 28.

At the close, is the form of the oath administered to the magistrates of Singapore, who swear as follows :—"That in the execution of the duties of the magistracy, we will do equal right to the poor and to the rich, without favour or partiality to any one."

To this follows a Report on the Administration of Justice, addressed by Sir Stamford Raffles, from that island, to one of the Secretaries of the Government at Calcutta, from which we can, as before, make selections of paragraphs only, though it would afford us considerable pleasure to reprint the whole. Sir Stamford acknowledges the existence, and expresses his wish to encourage the expression, of *public opinion* at the settlement of his formation, though Mr. Adam wished to extinguish it in that over which he ruled; and yet the population of Bengal was not more mixed, or motley, than that of Singapore:—the difference was, that an imbecile presided over the one country, and a statesman governed the other. In the Report, Sir Stamford says,

It is, I believe, generally admitted, that in colonies formed entirely of Englishmen, they naturally carry the laws of their country with them, subject only to such local modifications as the constitution of the colony may require; but nine-tenths of the population of Singapore will most probably consist of Chinese and Malays: and the *restrictions of the British Legislature* may for many years operate against any considerable extension in the number of Englishmen.³—p. 37.

The view which I have been induced to take of the subject, inclines me to think that, under the peculiar circumstances of the establishment of the settlement, the manner in which the whole of the population has accumulated under the protection of our flag, and the real character and interests of the people who are likely to resort to it, we cannot do better than apply the general principles of British law to all, equally and alike, without distinction of tribe or nation, under such modifications only as local circumstances and peculiarities, and a due consideration for the weaknesses and prejudices of the native part of the population may from time to time suggest.

Precautionary measures for the prevention of crime, are, of course, the first to be attended to; but something like a code, which shall explain, in few words, what is considered a crime, and what is the punishment attached to it, seems indispensable, even in this respect.

He concludes this Report by saying :—"I should have but ill fulfilled the high and important trust reposed in me, if, after having congregated so large a portion of our fellow-creatures, I had left them without something like law and regulation for their certainty and comfort."—He *has* done his duty as an Englishman and a philanthropist. We would only say to every public functionary in the world, "Go thou and do likewise."

After the Report, is given a Proclamation, in which it is stated, as a preamble, that as it is above all things desirable that the will of the legislature should be distinctly known by those who are expected to yield it obedience, and that men should be apprized of their respective rights and duties, in order that ignorance of them may not hereafter be pleaded, the Lieutenant-Governor proclaims, in a minute, for the information of all classes, first, what are the principles and objects that have been and are to be kept in view, in framing the present and future laws for Singapore; and secondly, what has been actually established as law, and is to be regarded as such. He then adverts to the difficulty of adopting either the English, the Hindoo, the Mohammedan, or the Chinese laws, for the government of a population in which people of all these several classes are to be found; and proceeds :—

³ This admission ought to be of itself sufficient to make our legislature see the impolicy of such restrictions, and to induce them at once to remove them.

Under these circumstances, nothing seems to be left but to have recourse to *FIRST PRINCIPLES*, to use every precaution against the existence of temptation to crime, that is found consistent with the perfect liberty of those who have no evil intentions; and when these precautions fail, to secure redress to the injured party, if possible, and such punishment as will be most likely to prevent a repetition of the crime, either by the party himself offending, or by those who may be inclined to follow his example. Nothing should be endured in the settlement, however sanctioned by the local usage of particular tribes to resort to it, that has either a direct effect, or notoriously strong tendency, to endanger the safety or liberty of person, or the security of property: and, in the same manner, no want of what are considered legal-formalities in any country, should debar a person from having substantial justice rendered to him, so that legal and moral obligation may never be at variance.

Taking this as the fundamental principle of the laws of the settlement, it may be presumed that no local regulation would be enacted which the society, if left to themselves, would not desire to see carried into effect; no public institution, or source of expense would exist, of which the benefit was not obvious, to the enlightened part at least, who would therefore soon feel that the government was not made to tyrannize over the people, but for their protection and happiness.—p. 40, 41.

Precautionary measures being taken, on the above principles, for preserving the peace and good order of society, and removing, as far as practicable, the immediate temptations to crime and violence, it next becomes necessary to define what shall be considered crimes, what lawful punishments, and how injuries shall be redressed.

By the constitution of England, the absolute rights of the subject are defined as follows:—

The right of personal security, which consists in a person's legal uninterrupted enjoyment of his life, his limbs, his body, his health, and his reputation.

The right of personal liberty, which consists in the power of locomotion, of changing or removing one's person to whatever place one's own inclination may direct, without imprisonment or restraint, unless by due course of law.

The right of property, which consists in the use, enjoyment, and disposal of all acquisitions, without any control or diminution, save only by the laws of the land.

There seems no reason for denying corresponding rights to all classes of people residing under the protection of the British flag at Singapore, the laws of the land being such as are or may be enacted under the provisions of Regulation No. 3, of 1823, dated 20th January last, with such others, of a more general nature, as may be directed by a higher authority, or which may necessarily accrue under the provisions of the legislature, and the political circumstances of the settlement as a dependency of Great Britain. Admitting these rights to exist, it follows that all acts by which they are invaded, are wrongs; that is to say, crimes or injuries.

Both the Malays and Chinese are a reasoning people, and though each may reason in a way peculiar to itself, and different in some respects from our own way of reasoning, this germ of civilization should not be checked. Let no man be punished without a reason assigned. Let the principles of British law be applied, not only with mildness, and a patriarchal kindness and indulgent consideration for the prejudices of each tribe, as far as substantial justice will allow, but also with reference to their reasoning powers, however weak, and the moral principle which, however often disregarded, still exists in the consciences of all men.

Let native institutions, as far as regards religious observances, marriage, and inheritance, be respected, when the same may not be inconsistent with justice and humanity, or injurious to the peace and morals of society.

Let all men be considered equal in the eye of the law.

Let no man be banished the country without a trial by his peers, or by due course of law.

Let no man be deprived of his liberty without a cause, and no man be detained in confinement beyond forty-eight hours, without a right to demand a hearing and trial, according to due course of law.

Let the public have a voice through the magistracy, by which their sentiments may at all times be freely expressed.

In fixing a scale of punishments, the first principle to be attended to is, that they

should be graduated, as far as practicable, so as to attach to each particular crime its due and relative punishment, according to its enormity; and with regard to the nature of the punishments to be inflicted, let them be as mild and humane as the general security of person and property will admit. Severity of punishment defeats its own end; and the laws should, in all cases, be so mild, that no one should be deterred from prosecuting a criminal by considerations of humanity.—p. 45—47.

With these views and principles, the Lieutenant-Governor has this day transmitted to the acting magistrates, such a graduated scale of crimes and punishments as appears to him sufficient to meet the existing circumstances of the settlement, and to answer the ends of substantial justice; with instructions that they will duly deliberate on this subject; and, after such revision as their local knowledge and experience may suggest, submit the same to the chief local authority, with their opinion, and in the form of a code of laws to be established for the settlement, and to be in force after publication by the Resident, until rescinded by a higher authority, or altered under the provisions laid down for the enactment of local laws and regulations.—p. 48.

The last of all this series of valuable and interesting papers is a scale of crimes and punishments, in which, in the space of half a sheet of paper, is included all the great divisions of offences, from murder and piracy, down to riotous and disorderly conduct, with the specific punishment annexed to each; so that on publicity being given to this, no man can remain in ignorance of his duty.

This is a brief, but faithful summary of the enlarged and benevolent views entertained by Sir Stamford Raffles; as well as a correct statement of the beneficial effects which sprung from their being reduced to practice in the settlement which he formed, and it might be said matured, at Singapore. Had he returned to England with an independent fortune, and taken his seat in the senate of his country, the developement of these views, in the only place where full and complete publicity can be secured, by the rivalry of journals, each endeavouring to outstrip the other in the fidelity of their Parliamentary Reports, would have not only obtained for him the fame which he so justly deserves; but would have created, we have little doubt, so powerful an impression on the public mind of England, as to rouse a large portion of the nation to use their efforts for the speedy abolition of the monopolizing and tyrannical principles by which British skill, capital, and industry are so unjustly excluded from all participation in the wealth that might be shared by them in the East. The India Company would not then have dared to pull down the beautiful fabric which the hands of their servant had erected, to the honour of humanity, and in spite of a thousand opposing obstacles. To preserve some remnant of their remaining privileges, they would have been compelled to yield to the public voice of England, in suffering the good that *had* been done, to remain untouched. But Sir Stamford Raffles has *not* returned with what can alone secure perfect independence, a sufficient fortune to render him no longer obliged to court the patronage of the East India Company. He appears as a Memorialist, at their Court, and must receive at their hands, either money or employment; to secure even the chance of which, he must not now lay bare, as he could, and otherwise no doubt would do, the iniquities of a system, which it was his chief labour and delight to abolish wherever he could, and to substitute more liberal principles and institutions in its stead. But, he has done enough to send down his name to posterity with honour; and no one can regret more sincerely than we do, the necessity which postpones his reward until then. His situation is one of no ordinary delicacy: and since the circumstances detailed, are likely to deprive the English community of

his valuable efforts here, in favour of the freedom and happiness of our distant fellow-subjects in India, we sincerely hope that he may have employment rather than remuneration, and be sent out to some part of the Eastern world again, to do as much good in other quarters as he has done at Java, Sumatra, and Singapore.

Mr. Canning, in the debate on the Indian Press, on the 25th of May last, stated "his readiness to take into consideration the modifications of the system of Indian Government, which the progress of knowledge, and the improving condition of the population of our Asiatic empire, might appear to demand." If this profession were sincere, (which we have no reason whatever to doubt,) he could have no objection to use his influence with the Board of Control, for the purpose of securing one of the Indian Governorships for Sir Stamford Raffles, whose whole career seems to have been bent on that improvement, which Mr. Canning professes his readiness to encourage. The difficulties which have arisen respecting the choice between contending parties, for the prizes of Bombay, Madras, and Bengal, might be set at rest at once by the nomination of Sir Stamford to either; for which he is as well qualified, both by talents and services, as any of the candidates that have been named: and even Lord Amherst, whose *splendid* performances in China, appear to have dazzled the Ministers that appointed him to his present post, might yield precedence to the less famed, but far more valuable labours of Sir Stamford Raffles in the eastern hemisphere.

Mr. Canning, we repeat, might secure for this individual the emoluments and honours which he deserves; and what is of even still greater importance, he might, by this means, secure to that part of India to which he might be sent, the improvement he professes to desire: provided that the powers of the Governor were free to introduce the reforms which his talents and disposition would be sure to suggest. But the East India Directors will *never* do this: there is more hope of their relinquishing the patronage of their body altogether, than of their employing it to put liberals and reformers—anti-monopolists and anti-despots—into the seat of power, in their presidential chairs.

Will the English reader believe it possible that these Directors have already not only withheld their approbation from the admirable system of freedom and equity introduced into the government of Singapore; but that they have sent out orders to crush, destroy, and annihilate every trace of the wisdom and liberality of its enlightened founder? Unfavourably as we think of the system and the men, by which the destinies of India are at present ruled, we had hardly thought such a step as this possible; yet, we are assured, on authority of no common value, that the Court of Directors, instead of being charmed, as all other men would be, by the admirable regulations for the government of Singapore, and delighted at the happy and prosperous results which the system of freedom and justice had there, in so marked a manner, and so rapidly, produced—have sent out, with "breathless haste," imperative orders to abolish them all, and to place this free and flourishing, though still infant settlement, under the chilling system of their old monopoly, subject to the government of Penang, of which Singapore is henceforth to be considered a dependency, and nothing more; with this striking disadvantage, that it will thus be made subject to a settlement, all the local and commercial interests of which are in direct opposition to its own—which, in the very earliest period of its formation, excited the most hostile jealousy on the part of

the public authorities at Penang; and, at a subsequent period of its marked prosperity, drew forth the envy and hatred of the merchants and traders of the same place. This is like delivering over a successful rival to the tender mercies of a neglected one, bound hand and foot, in a slavery, the bitter draught of which it is sure to be made to drink to the very dregs.

Under the system of exclusive privileges and arbitrary power, by which all the East India Company's settlements are still governed, it is quite impossible that Singapore should continue to make that rapid progress which it did under the better system of its first legislator; and for this destruction of all its dearest and best hopes, it will have to thank the India Company. The day is approaching, in which the hired advocates of these monopolists will endeavour to persuade their countrymen that it will be dangerous to take from them their charter of exclusive privileges; they will, no doubt, again repeat all the absurdities which have been uttered a hundred times before, and strange to say, believed, in order to prove that Englishmen cannot be admitted to trade with China so safely as Americans; that British-born subjects are more dangerous as settlers in Hindoostan than the subjects of foreign states; that an absolute despotism is necessary for the government of mixed races of men; that free trade can never be suited to the prejudices of the Eastern people; and that a free press would lead to disturbance of the general tranquillity of the Empire. All this will no doubt be repeated by one set of imbeciles, and applauded by another; but we trust that the mercantile, the manufacturing, and the just and benevolent part of the English people, of whatever class and profession, will tell them in reply, that the settlement of Englishmen in every part of India has been *tried*, and found productive of unmixed good; that a government by law, trial by jury, and equal rights for all men, has been *proved* to be suited to a mixed as well as an unmixed population; that free trade *has done* for particular ports and settlements what monopoly could never effect; and that a free press is not only *not dangerous*, but *ESSENTIAL* to the consolidation and security of all the benefits, which even free and liberal institutions cannot, *without* its aid, invariably maintain.

We have gone into greater length than we intended to have done on this subject; but its high and paramount interest has carried us along without fatigue, and we should still indulge our feelings in comment, were we not aware that our limits had already been passed. We have this, however, to plead as our apology—that the almost total silence of the public journals of England, on subjects connected with the improvement of the Eastern world, induces us to be the more desirous of performing a duty which they neglect; and as to any reliance on the efforts of the India Directors to ameliorate the condition of the people over whom their power extends, it would indeed be leaning on a broken reed. Well and truly has Mr. Huskisson said, in words that cannot be too often repeated, “Monopoly *always* produces an indifference to improvement; and the prohibitory system by which it is upheld, is fertile, as every one knows, in inconveniences and crimes.” We believe so too; and it shall therefore be our constant aim, to exhibit to our countrymen, the facts with which the past and present history of Indian affairs abounds, in illustration of this important truth, until we have the happiness to see Monopoly and Despotism regarded as they deserve to be, by all thinking men, with execration and contempt.

THE MINSTREL OF LOVE.

My harp along the midnight deeps
 Sends forth no dark prophetic tone,
 Its chords the wretched hand that sweeps,
 No sorrow touches save its own.
 Back o'er the misty flight of years
 So slow to come, so quick to go,
 My youthful eye, bedimmed with tears,
 Reverts towards the spring of woe.

As, far upon the distant blue,
 When Ocean heaves his panting breast,
 Is seen the snowy spotless mew
 Between the curling billows' crest,
 When brightly streams the golden ray
 Upon the moving waste of waves,
 When softly glides the lingering spray
 From off the beauteous wing it laves:
 So bright, so pure, so sweetly shines
 On long-past time's absorbing billow,
 Lit up by gems from Memory's mines,
 The form that haunts my lonely pillow;
 So transient too! it comes and goes,
 And through such chinks of time is seen,
 That when the eager minute flows
 I barely feel that it has been.
 Old Nature with her changing face
 In other hearts the subtle flame
 Lights, and re-lights in little space,—
 But curses mine to feed the same.

O gentle harp! attune thy string
 To names than Ellen fairer far!—
 What! wilt thou still, rebellious, sing
 The praises of that setting star?
 Thou wilt?—then thus thy stubborn note
 For aye to come I render mute—
 Go, on those endless waters float;
 Thy substitute the pensive lute!
 Come, melancholy lute, begin,
 Commence thee with some soothing lay;
 Nor listen to the storm within
 Would bear thy lovely voice away.
 "Ellen is fair!"—The same? Ah! now
 'Tis not the harp, the lute, I find,
 From which these restless numbers flow—
 Their ceaseless spring is in my mind!
 Farewell, ye lute and harp, farewell!
 I weep not o'er your chords again;
 Repose ye on the ocean swell,
 Or breathe to whispering winds your strain.

ESSAYS ON THE DISTINGUISHING CHARACTERISTICS OF THE
PRINCIPAL GOVERNMENTS OF ASIA.

No. 10.—*Modern Egypt and the Mamalukes.*

THE mind, in approaching Egypt in any manner, experiences a peculiar sentiment. It is a country resembling no other on earth. Its inhabitants stood apart in antiquity from all mankind, as if cased in the darkness and mystery of its institutions. Their physical structure differed from that of other men; few comprehended their language; none fathomed the depth of their knowledge. In spite of the lights of modern science, we turn back upon them, even now, with a mixture of awe and wonder, surprized that a thick-lipped, woolly-headed, negro race, should have led the way in tracing the course of nature, and in giving motion to those powers of the mind which have operated so many changes in the world. What singular associations are awakened by the word *Nile!* or *Memphis!* or *Thebes!* We seem, while pronouncing them, to converse with Isis and Osiris, with Menes and Sesostris. They smell of mummies and the catacombs. Our admiration is kept in countenance, too, by observing that we share it with the wiser Greeks of old days: they travelled, Pythagoras and Plato, to sprinkle their minds with the mysteries of the Nile; and it is pleasant to fancy one of those white sages by the side of some old swarthy priest of Isis, leaning over a tough page of hieroglyphics, or bisecting a triangle on the sands of Canopus. Nature, and the genius of the inhabitants, inclined the people in that country to bestow perpetuity upon every thing; the former brought about the return of the seasons to a day, and the latter raised pyramids and enclosed the population in septs which they were never to overstep; they were like the law of the Medes and Persians, that altereth not. Yet no country has experienced so many revolutions as Egypt, or seen so many despotisms strive in vain to strike root in the soil. To conquer it, is to get footing on a ball that rolls away as you press upon it. Persians, Greeks, Romans, Arabs, Mamalukes, Turks, Frenchmen, have trodden on the neck of Egypt; but all have appeared as sojourners and strangers in the land, and time has swallowed up their footsteps as quickly, almost, as the wind hides the track of a caravan in the desert.¹

It is not our intention to describe all the various governments that have been introduced by its numerous conquerors into Egypt, nor to speak of its ancient institutions: we shall confine ourselves to the despotisms of the Mamalukes and Turks, endeavouring to illustrate by facts, rather than to evolve a chain of principles; for, in reality, no settled principles have ever prevailed among either, except those of mere tyranny.

It may be proper to begin with a rapid sketch of such revolutions as have happened since the first Mohammedan invasion, that the reader may

¹ Parmi les nations qui ont été souvent subjuguées, il y en a peu qui puissent compter autant de maîtres que la nation Egyptienne; mais en revanche, il n'en est aucune qui, par l'ascendant de son caractère et de ses mœurs, ait remporté autant de triomphes sur ses propres vainqueurs, et qui ait offert à leurs innovations une résistance plus forte et plus constante. Aussi retrouvons-nous encore aujourd'hui quelques restes de ses antiques usages, de ses longues habitudes, qui se sont conservées jusqu'à nous, au mépris des siècles, des religions, et des conquérans. — *M. A. Lancret, Mémoire Sur l'Administration de l'Egypte*, p. 234.

see the date and duration of the modern institutions that have prevailed in it. From the time it was conquered by Amrou, lieutenant of the Caliph Omar, Egypt was governed by the Caliph's viceroys. Al Mamoun having formed a guard of Turcoman slaves, suffered their power to increase until they seized all military offices, and usurped the government of the provinces. About the year 872, Ahmed-Ben-Touloun,² one of these military slaves, made himself independent in Egypt, and founded an empire which extended from Rahbé, near Mousul, to Barbary. Thirty years afterwards, Egypt again acknowledged the power of the Caliphs; but in 934, Akchid, a soldier of fortune, raised Egypt once more into an independent empire, and kept up an army of 400,000 men. Upon the death of Akchid, Kafour, a black slave, usurped the sceptre, and is said to have governed with transcendent merit. In 968, the descendants of Fatima, who had been previously acknowledged as Caliphs in Barbary, made themselves masters of Egypt; but they are represented, by an Arabic historian, as a series of mere madmen and fools.³ One of these Caliphs founded Cairo in 969.⁴ In 1171, or, according to D'Herbelot, in 1170, Saladin (Salaheddin), lieutenant of Noureddin King of Aleppo and Damascus, came into Egypt, to assist the Fatimite Caliphs against the Franks. He was made the Caliph's Vizier, but shortly after destroyed the Caliphate, seized the country for himself, and founded the Ayoubite dynasty, so called from his father's name, *Ayoub*. In 1250, this dynasty was overthrown by the Circassian Mamalukes, who held the country 267 years. Their twenty-third Sultan was defeated and slain, near Aleppo, by Selim I. who pursued Tounan Bey, the new Mamaluke leader, into Egypt, and having cut to pieces the greater part of the Beys and their forces, reduced the country into a Turkish province, in 1517.⁵ It has

² For the History of these various Dynasties, see De Guignes, *Histoire Générale des Huns*, t. v. p. 110—328; t. ii. 185—215, 223; t. i. 264, 270, 416. An Abridgment of the History of the Mamalukes in the 'Description de l'Égypte par l'ordre de Napoleon le Grand,' Savary's *Lettres on Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 124, et seq. D'Herbelot, 'Bibliothèque Orientale,' under their respective titles. But, above all, the concise and philosophical sketch of Volney, *Voyages*, t. i. p. 81—132, and his curious analysis of the Vizier Kalil's work on the Empire of Egypt.

³ Sheikh Meref, ap. Volney.

⁴ New Cairo was twelve miles long, comprehending Old Cairo and seven large suburbs; and contained 700,000 inhabitants. Old Cairo was the port of Upper Egypt. In the time of Sultan Najjeddin it contained 1,800 boats.—*Kutib, Analyse de Volney*.

⁵ The first Mamalukes were called the *Baharite*, and the second the *Borgite* Dynasty. The following will give the reader some notion of their government:—In the space of 263 years there were no less than 48 Sultans, 24 Turcomans, and 24 Circassians. Of the 24 Turcomans, 11 were assassinated, six deposed; and of the 24 Circassians, six were assassinated and 11 deposed; and many of these princes reigned only a few months. All they knew was how to make war, to pillage, ravage, and afterwards endow mosques and schools. Under the 11th Turcoman Sultan, it was intended to turn the Nile into the Red Sea, by the foot of Mount Mokattam. The expense was estimated at 106,250*l*.—*Sheikh Meref*.

Bahairir.—This word comes from *Bahr*, which the Arabians use to express the sea, or any great collection of water. The name of Bahairir was first given to a thousand youths, whom Melik Ussali had bought of the Tartars who ravaged Turkestan, and whom he had educated in all military exercises in a castle built by his orders opposite to Cairo, on an island of the Nile, called Roudbah. This fort was called Bahruel, or the maritime fortress, on account of the Nile surrounding it. It was in this castle that Melik Ussali, who had not forgotten the cowardly conduct of his troops at the siege of Napolous, fixed his residence. He gave his whole confidence to those of Bahairir, loaded them with favours, and named

continued nominally dependent on the Ottoman Porte from that time; but in reality the Mamalukes regained their ascendancy about 1746, and were entire masters of the country up to the period of the French invasion. From that era to the present it has been in loose subjection to the Porte; but its Pasha is generally a kind of sovereign prince, though he holds the government on a suspicious tenure.

The government of the Mamaluke Sultans was a despotism, resembling in its principles the other monarchies of Asia.⁶ But the circumstances in which it was exercised were peculiar. The prince and his slaves were foreigners; and renewing their race by fresh importations of slaves from Mingrelia, Circassia, &c. never perpetuated their families, or naturalized themselves to the soil. To look for legislation among so rude a people, would be a useless search; they were totally ignorant of the matter, as a science, and very slightly skilled in it as an art for giving stability to power. Their principal reliance, next to the sword, was in the pomp and trappings of royalty, which, observes the Vizier of Malek-el-Asheraf, are wont to make a very great impression upon the minds of the vulgar. He was right; they are the most imposing and the most mischievous things belonging to royalty, because they ward off the glances of the people from the vices they cause and cover. These barbarians had also discovered the convenient principle of *divine right*, and tacked to it the divine institution of a Vizier. Yet the Sultan was expected to fulfil certain duties, and to possess a number of virtues: it was required of him that he should be pious, and perform the acts of religion before the people; he was to be free from pride, presumption, avarice, falsehood; to curb his anger, possess a dignified, imposing, and silent manner; be patient, just, and, in one word, have all the qualities of mind and heart which compose, in every kind of government, as far as the individual is concerned, the *only* art of reigning, leaving out all consideration of the social contract.⁷ We may add, from the same writer, the duties of the subjects: these consisted in profound respect for the Sultan, in blind submission to his commands, in devotion to his service, in advice promoting his success. Meanwhile it was understood that God commanded the Sultan *to labour for the good of his people*; thus acknowledging that the end of government is *the greatest good of the greatest number*.⁸

When any weighty matters were to be considered, the Sultan assembled a Divan, consisting of the Caliph, (reduced under the Mamalukes to a secondary rank in the state,) the four great Cadis, the Vizier, the Emirs commanding a thousand horse, and the Emir of the palace. Previous to the assembly of the Council, the Sultan explained his views to the Great

from among them the governors of provinces, the commanders of his armies, and the first officers of his state. The remainder were reserved for the guard of his new palace, and to attend on him wherever he went, during peace or war. It is this body of troops that L. de Joinville means under the name of La Haulera.—*Gloss. to Louvre edit. of Joinville's Hist. of St. Louis, voc. Bahari.*

⁶ Savary calls the government established by Selim, a *republic*; but De Guignes and others, whose views were much more sane than Savary's, say that it resembled the previous government of the Mamalukes, which was a mere despotism.

⁷ Kalil-ben-Châhin, in Volney's *Analysis, Voyages*, t. i. p. 273. *Les enfans des Sultans sont élevés avec soin dans le harem. C'est un usage ancien de faire enfermer tous ceux qui existent à l'avènement d'un prince. Malek el Acheraf donna la liberté à quarante; mais ils moururent dans la peste de l'an 1429, qui enleva jusqu'à dix mille cinq cents têtes par jour.*—*Idem*, c. v.

⁸ *Idem*, c. ii. sect. i.

Advocate of the Divan, a trusty and eloquent person, whose office it was to lay the matter before the Council, and to reply to all objections. The Sultan remained silent, and never interfered. This Advocate was set up, that the Sultan might in no case be compromised, and that objections might be urged freely, all error being put to the account of the Advocate.

It was the duty of the Vizier to overlook every department of the government, and all the agents of the administration; to establish, depose, punish, or reward them. He kept the register of the income and expenditure of the state; and was admonished to increase its revenue, not by tyranny, but by wisdom and economy.⁸

During the early periods of the Mamaluke empire, Egypt was divided into three governments, whose administration was in the hands of as many Kashefs, or governors. Two of these Kashefs had each seven emirs under them, who transacted the affairs of the provinces, according to their immediate orders. The third managed his own government. These Kashefs were afterwards increased to six; which, according to Kalil, only created confusion; for it was his opinion that dividing places, and multiplying governors, only weakened the power and influence of those in the administration. Each of the fourteen provinces, into which the country was divided, contained three hundred and sixty villages, and many cities. The affairs of these cities and villages were managed by a *cadi*, a collector of the royal treasure, a collector of the private treasure, and the inspector of the Sultan's domains;⁹ besides a commissary of navigation, a military commander of the police, an inspector of canals, and the elders of the place.¹⁰

At first the taxes were levied in kind; but the Mamalukes very early farmed out the revenues to the highest bidders, who lived in more opulence and splendour in their villages, than many petty sovereigns of Asia.

The seven tributary provinces of Damascus, Karak, Aleppo, Tripoli, Hems, Safad, and Gaza,—were governed by Viceroy, whose courts equalled that of the Sultan.¹¹ These Viceroy's disposed of all offices in their provinces, civil and military. The great military officers consisted of the Emir commanding in chief, the Marshal of the Palace, twelve Emirs of the first class,¹² twenty of the second, and sixty of inferior rank.

⁸ De même que le vizir surveille le; officiers, le sultan doit surveiller le vizir; et le vizir conseiller le sultan, l'avertir et même le reprendre.—*Kalil*, c. 4. Analyse de Volney.

⁹ Le domaine est le revenue propre du sultan.—*Kalil*, c. 4. sect. vii.

¹⁰ Les inspecteurs du terrain sont choisis parmi les émirs de la première classe; ils sont expédiés tous les ans au commencement du printemps, dans toutes les provinces de l'Egypte, pour faire exécuter les travaux nécessaires à l'entretien des canaux, à l'élevation des digues et chaussées, et tout ce qui est relatif à la hausse et à la baisse du Nil.—*Kalil*, c. 9. sect. i.

¹¹ Under the military government of the Mamalukes, Syria was supposed to contain sixty thousand villages.—*Gibbon*, vol. i. p. 81. Histoire de Timur Bec, l. v. c. 20.

¹² Les émirs sont divisés en plusieurs classes. Ceux de la première possèdent cent Mamlouks, et commandent à mille: devroient être vingt-quatre. Ceux de la deuxième possèdent quarante Mamlouks: ils devroient être quarante. La musique guerrière joue à la porte de leurs hôtels à l'*àsr* (ou heure de la troisième prière); elle est composée de timbales, tambours, et clarinettes. Ces derniers instrumens sont de date récente. Les émirs de troisième classe devroient être au nombre de vingt: ils ont chacun vingt Mamlouks. Les émirs de quatrième classe devroient être cinquante, et avoir chacun dix Mamlouks. Enfin la cinquième

The tribunal of justice was composed of four great *Cadis*, of the four orthodox sects, each of whom nominated a representative in Damascus and the other cities of the province, to judge in all cases civil and criminal.

The Sultan's military establishment was splendid and vast. A curious observer, who visited Egypt ten years before the downfall of the Mamaluke dynasty, witnessed, with wonder, the pomp, discipline, and courage of the royal troops. The forces had, at that time, shrunk considerably from what they once were; but he saw sixty thousand Mamalukes performing their exercises at Cairo. They were all clothed in a white uniform, and stood in the presence of the Sultan with great reverence and silence. The Sultan's black and flowing beard particularly pleased the fancy of the German nobleman; and he dwells with evident delight on his superb turban. "Not far from the Sultan, on a lower ground, sat their Pope," says Baumgarten, "whom they call Caliph, a swarthy and notable companion."¹³ The same writer relates that the Sultan's camp stood in the upper part of Cairo, and was conspicuous for its size and fortifications; being entered by twelve iron gates; which, however, were fastened by nothing but bolts of wood.¹⁴

But one of the Sultans of the Circassian dynasty made, himself, an enumeration of his forces, reckoning the tributary Arabs, the Turcomans, and the Curdes; from which it appears that his own troops, Mamalukes and others, amounted to 132,000 horse, and, with the Arabs and Turcomans, to 526,000. The *Djendis-el-Halka*, or royal guards, were 24,000, exclusive of 10,000 Mamalukes, who were also called the Sultan's guards.¹⁵ All these troops were well disciplined, according to their system of military exercises; they were taught to stand upright on a swift charger, and even on two running side by side, and in that position to discharge arrows in all directions. It was also customary with them to ride with two swords fixed in their saddle, one pointing to their back, the other to the abdomen, so that on the slightest awkwardness one of these might pierce them. Others lay on their backs upon the fleetest horses, discharging arrows as the animals galloped along.¹⁶ The exercises of the modern Mamalukes are described by Volney, in which the musket is substituted for the bow. They assemble every morning, he observes, in a plain near Cairo; and there, they accustom themselves, while on full gallop, to draw the carbine from their belt, to fire it with exactness, to place it under their thigh, in order to seize a pistol, which they fire and throw over their shoulders, then a second, with which they do the same, trusting to the cords that fasten them, without giving themselves time to replace them. The Beys, who are present, encourage them; and he who shatters the earthen vase, which serves for their target, is rewarded with praises and money. They are also taught to manage the sabre skilfully, especially the reverse stroke, which cuts

et dernière classe est de trente émirs, qui ont cinq Mamlouks pour cortège. Parmi ces émirs, les uns ont de l'emploi dans l'état, d'autres n'ont que leur titre et grade.—*Kalil*, c. v.

¹³ Peregrinationes Baumgartnerianæ, p. 46, 47, 4to. Norisburg, 1594.—A rare and authentic picture of those times, which seems to have escaped the researches of Gibbon, De Guignes, and other Europeans who have described the revolutions and dynasties of Egypt.

¹⁴ *Ib.* p. 45, 46.

¹⁵ *Kalil-ben-Châhin*, c. v.

¹⁶ Baumgarten, *Peregrinat.* p. 48, 49.

upwards, and is most difficult to ward off. The edge of these sabres is so excellent, and their hands so skilful, that many will cut through a bale of wet cotton, as if it were butter.¹⁷

But the condition of the Egyptian people, under the rule of these disciplined savages, was most deplorable. Before the success of Selim, while the Mamalukes were in complete possession of the country, it was observed that the inhabitants were used little better than a people smarting under recent conquest; a soldier was permitted to eject a citizen from his own house; and Baumgarten was eye-witness of an act of this kind, where the poor Saracen sat weeping in the street, without pity or redress.¹⁸ Volney remarks, that the people were passive in all revolutions, and cared little when their tyrants cut each other to pieces; excepting that now and then they pillaged the houses of such Mamalukes as were driven into exile, not being opposed by the ruling party. In all skirmishes they fled into their houses, to avoid the bullets and cuts of the sabre, which were dealt round with little discrimination.¹⁹ The tyranny of the Sultan fell also on the army, in which those of his own guard were not spared. The Lord de Joinville²⁰ relates that, whenever any of the Djendis-el-Halka (whom he styles *Knights of la Hauteclac*), had, by his prowess and chivalry, gained a sufficiency, so that he was no longer in want, and could live independent, "the Sultan, for fear he should either dethrone or kill him, had him arrested and thrown into prison, where he was secretly put to death, and then he took possession of all the fortune his wife or children might have left to them. An example of this happened while I was in that country, for the Sultan had imprisoned those who, by their valour and address, had made prisoners the Counts of Montford and Bar; and from envy and jealousy, and from his dread of them, had them put to death." Another instance of capricious tyranny which he adds, is too characteristic to be passed over:—"He acted in like manner to the Boudendars, who are his subjects, for when they had defeated the King of Armenia, and came to inform him of the event, they found him hunting wild beasts. Having dismounted to make him obeisance, and thinking, as they had behaved so well, they should be recompensed, he eyed them maliciously, and said he should not return their salute, for they had made him lose his chase; and ordered their heads to be struck off."²¹

We now come to the form of government established by Selim and his successor; the wisdom of which has been attested by more than two centuries of public tranquillity, comparatively seldom disturbed by revolts and insurrections. The chief of the administration was a Pasha, whose power, limited by the greater and lesser Divan, consisted in presiding over those assemblies, in sanctioning their resolutions, and in giving the necessary orders for their execution. Previous to all deliberations, his Kiâhyâ and Defterdar received his orders, and rendered him an account of such decisions as had been made respecting them. He lived in the citadel of Cairo; his office lasted only one year, unless confirmed in his station by the Sultan's firman. All assemblies which deliberate on state affairs, are denominated *Divans* by the Orientals. But the Divans instituted in Egypt by Solyman, the son and successor of Selim, were real legislative

¹⁷ Volney, *Voyages*, t. i. p. 144.

¹⁸ *Peregrinatio*. p. 68.

²⁰ *History of St. Louis*, t. i.

¹⁹ *Idem*, p. 146.

²¹ *Idem*, *ibidem*.

assemblies, possessing the exclusive right of deciding on those general affairs of the country, whose direction was not reserved to the Ottoman Porte. The lesser, or proper Divan, which assembled daily in the Pasha's palace, took cognizance of the current business of the state, reserving such matters as were of great importance, for the consideration of the Grand Divan. The smaller council was composed of the Pasha's Kiâhyâ, the Defterdar, the Rousnamgi, deputies from each division of the army, and a few other officers, all of whom were members of the Grand Divan, as were also the Emir Hajji, the Cadi of Cairo, the principal Sheikhs descended from Mohammed, four Muftis of the Ulemas (lawyers), and numerous other public men. The Pasha alone possessed the right of convoking the Grand Divan, to which the orders of the Porte were always addressed.²² In each of the provinces there was a divan, dependent on the Grand Divan of Cairo. This national assembly might resist the will of the Pasha, when they considered it unreasonable, and even depose him in extreme cases.²³

The troops which Selim left behind him in Egypt, were divided into six Ojaki, and a seventh was formed of those Mamalukes who had survived the massacre which accompanied their downfall. D'Herbelot thought the whole race had been exterminated by the Turks;²⁴ but that learned man seems not to have been very exact. At all events, we have seen that they afterwards recovered the possession of Egypt, and it is certain that they still form a body politic in the interior of Africa. The soldiers left behind by Selim, formed at once the garrison and reigning people in Egypt, and fixed themselves there by marriages, which transmitted their prerogatives and obligations to military service, to their posterity. Each division of the army had one effendi, or more, whose business it was to collect its revenues, distribute its pay, which was small or great in proportion to the nature of its services and arms; and to defray the general expenses of the corps.²⁵ Suez, Damietta, and Alexandria, the keys of the country, were not under the jurisdiction of the Pasha, and their garrisons were yearly renewed from Constantinople, their commanders holding their offices directly from the Sultan. This kept open to the Ottomans, a channel by which their forces might be poured into the country in case of revolt. The number of troops left by Selim in Egypt may have been about 20,000 men. Solyman, his successor, created twenty-four Beys; twelve of whom received fixed appointments; the rest were intended to fulfil any extraordinary missions. Those who had fixed offices were—the Kiâhyâ of the Pasha; the three Captain Beys, commanding the cities of Suez, Damietta, and Alexandria; the Defterdar; the Emir Hajji; the Emir Khasneh; and the Governors of the five provinces of Girgeh, Bahyreh, Menoufyeh, Gharbyeh, and Sharkeyeh. The Kiâhyâ, the Defterdar, and the Emir Hajji, were the only Beys who entered the Divan. The Defterdar was Registrar of Property;

²² Le Compte Estève, *Mémoire sur les Finances de l'Égypte*, p. 300.

²³ The members of the Divan had the right of rejecting the Pasha's orders, assigning their motives; and even to depose him, and to ratify all civil and political ordinances.—*Volney, Voyages*, t. i. p. 87.

²⁴ *Biblioth. Orientale*, art. *Mamlouks*.—*Mamlouk*, the passiv. participle of *malak*, to possess, a man possessed, as property; a slave: but this species must be distinguished from domestic, or black slaves, who are denominated *abd*.—*Volney, Voyages*, t. i. p. 85.

²⁵ Le Compte Estève, *Mémoire*, &c.

and even the titles of possession conferred by the Sultan, were not legal until entered in his books. The Emir Khasneh conveyed the tribute of Egypt to Constantinople.

At present the Pasha is not, as formerly, curbed by the authority of the *Divan*, which he assembles merely for the purpose of advising with it; and dismisses without ceremony, when its advice happens to be unpalatable. He is an absolute prince, who seems to submit to the Porte, because his title is not strengthened by any prejudices which might justify him in setting it at defiance. It were to be wished, however, that Egypt had its independence, though at the expense of an absolute monarch; for whatever might be the character of its ruler, a prince will take better care of his country than a prince's servant. Mohammed Ali, though but a Pasha, is an encourager of commerce, and, for a Musliman, does a good deal for the public good. His extensive cotton plantations, and other public works, diffuse an air of industry among the people, for many ages unknown in that country; and in order to assume and deserve the character of a great prince, nothing seems to be wanting in him, excepting the wisdom to know what are the real interests of a sovereign, and what the arts that perpetuate useful power. Foreigners are invited into the kingdom; their property protected. With these will find their way, the arts and habits of civilization; and nothing is more probable than that the independence of Egypt will follow closely upon the complete formation of a state in Greece. This event is not to be regarded with apathy by the countries of Europe; for Egypt might furnish, at a cheap rate, numerous articles of trade now purchased at great disadvantage elsewhere. At all events, much actual misery and slavery would be removed; for it is certain, that independence would be as beneficial to the people, as to the prince who should effect it.

INDIAN SONG.

To-NIGHT, my Love, on tree and flower
 The moon will softly shine;
 Then meet me at the midnight hour:
 Let joy once more be mine.
 Away with doubt, each fear dismiss,
 Let caution sway no more;
 Oh! meet me in that bower of bliss,
 Where once we met before.

Again delight shall fill thine eyes,
 And rapture beam from mine;
 Love's trembling tones and yielding sighs
 Shall hallow bliss divine.
 In union sweet our lips shall meet,
 While passion's warmest glow
 With rosy blush thy cheek shall flush,
 And lighten o'er thy brow.

Muttra.

W.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF LONDON.

WE are, at length, enabled to introduce to the notice of our readers the 'First Part of the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society.' The gratification which we have derived from the perusal of these, its infant labours, is considerable. Some portion of regret, however, is still mingled with our more pleasing sensations, from the consideration of how much might have been accomplished, towards the elucidation of those subjects which it is the peculiar object of the present Society to investigate, had an institution of this description been established in England at a much earlier period; instead of suffering the French, whose interests are so much less connected with the East than our own, to take the lead in the formation of a society for the especial and exclusive cultivation of Oriental research. The tacit reproach on the supineness of our countrymen, in a cause so peculiarly their own, implied by the establishment of the *Société Asiatique*, appears to have at last stimulated them to emulate the example of France, by the institution of a society in England, which, to judge from the character and qualifications of its leading members, and from the first-fruits of their united labours, on the consideration of which we are about to enter, bids fair to equal, at least, its continental predecessor.

The Papers contained in the volume now under consideration, relate to the early History of the Chinese, the Philosophy of the Hindoos, the domestic policy of the Chinese, the Natural History of Ladakh, the Geography of Sirmór, the manners, customs, &c. of the Bhills, the classical history of the Banyan Tree, and the history of the last Hindoo King of Delhi.

In the Memoir concerning the Chinese, the author, Mr. Davis, presents a cursory view of those facts connected with their history, which may be regarded as authentic. Following the example of some of the best informed among themselves, and dismissing, as unprofitable fables, the most remote traditions of their annalists, he commences his sketch with the race of Chow (B.C. 1100 to 240), from which the authentic history of the Chinese may be dated. Of the source from which they spring, as indeed of the original stock of almost every other nation, little certain is known. In the *Institutes of Menú*, as quoted by Sir William Jones, it is written that "many families of the military class, having gradually abandoned the ordinances of the Beda, and the company of Brahmens, lived in a state of degradation, as the *Chinas* and some other nations." This is regarded by Sir W. Jones and Mr. Davis as a strong testimony that the original Chinese were "outcast Hindoos;" but to support this opinion it was certainly necessary for the former to add, "who either never knew, or had forgotten, the alphabetic character of their wiser ancestors," since their system of writing, more powerfully than that of any other nation, evinces a distinctness of origin, subsisting from a very early period, which cannot be called in question, more especially when we advert to the singular results derived from the analysis of its syllabic characters, recently undertaken by M. Rémusat.¹

¹ See *Oriental Herald*, vol. iii. p. 182.

During the reigns of the monarchs of the race of Chow, the Empire of China can scarcely be regarded as having existed; since to the whole of these the inferior denomination, Wang, or Prince, is applied by the historians. Chi-hoang-ti, the first Emperor, as his name seems to import, was the founder of the race of Tsin, which rose upon the ruins of that of Chow, about two hundred years before Christ. His reign was distinguished by the erection of the "Great Wall," but although his memory will thus be conveyed to all posterity, it is "damned to everlasting fame" by the literati of China, by whom he is universally execrated on account of the general order which he issued, that all the books of the learned should be cast into the flames. Among these must have perished, had this edict been completely carried into effect, the writings of Confucius and of Laou-Keun, (Lao-tseu,) the founders of two of the principal sects of China, who flourished during the Chow dynasty, at a period subsequent to the birth in India of Fo, or Buddha, the author of the third, which was not, however, introduced into China till after the time of which we are speaking. The system of Confucius, as is well known, is the religion of the state, while those of the other two are stigmatized as "impure doctrines," and can merely be said to be tolerated. On this subject, Mr. Davis appears to have deeply imbibed the orthodoxy of the present Tartar government; but we feel convinced that, on more mature consideration, he will regret having characterized as "absurd superstitions," and "fictions of artful, and ravings of fanatical, teachers," the most pure and philosophical systems which Eastern Asia has yet produced, those of Buddha and of Lao-tseu, the modern professors of which alone are to blame for the extravagant fancies and reprehensible practices with which they have defaced their original beauty.²

² The following quotations from MM. Klaproth and Rémusat bear so strongly on this subject that we may be excused for inserting them here, premising that the whole of them have been published since the reading of Mr. Davis's Memoir before the Royal Asiatic Society. The first two are illustrative of the opinion of M. Rémusat on the doctrines of both these Philosophers, and the last, of that of M. Klaproth on those of Buddha.

"Like many other founders of sects," (says M. Rémusat, speaking of Lao-tseu,) "he was doubtless far from foreseeing the direction which the opinions he inculcated would take; and were he now to reappear upon the earth, he might justly complain of the wrong which his unworthy disciples have done him. Instead of the patriarch of a sect of jugglers, magicians and astrologers, searching after the beverage of immortality, and the means of gaining heaven by traversing the air, I found in his book a true philosopher, a judicious moralist, an eloquent theologist, and a subtle metaphysician."—*Journ. Asiatique*, vol. iii. p. 9.

"It would be unjust to pass over in silence the services rendered to humanity by the Buddhist religion, and more particularly by that branch which the Lamæ have carried into the countries of the North. The Samanian reformation would have conferred a great political advantage on the inhabitants of Hindoostan itself, had it been able to prevail among them over the creed of the Brahmens, of those mortals who are so wise, yet teach nothing but folly; who fear to crush an insect, yet tolerate human sacrifices; interested supporters of an order of things in which not only ranks, dignities, and the advantages of social life, but even sins and merits, the chastisement of vice and the rewards of virtue, have, for the last three thousand years, been rendered subordinate to a fantastic, hereditary, and irrevocable classification. Less attached to puerile observances, and barbarous prejudices . . . the Buddhists have recalled man to the dignity which he holds from his Creator; they have shown less respect to cows and hawks, but they have testified more commiseration for artisans and labourers. Out of the limits of the region watered by the holy rivers, the salvation of mankind is, according to the Brahmens,

Towards the latter period of the dynasties of Han, the first of which is called Si, or Western, while the latter bears the opposite name of Tung, or Eastern, the power of the Emperors was so much reduced by the various wars in which they had been engaged, that the sovereigns of that era appear to have lost the denomination of Hoang-ti, and are called merely Choo, or Lord. Under this dynasty, however, learning is said to have flourished, and paper and ink were first invented. The succeeding period, that of the San-Kwô, or three nations, into which the Empire was then divided, is a very favourite subject of the historical plays of the Chinese. The dress of that age, as represented on the stage and in pictures, presents a remarkable contrast with the modern garb, which has been forced upon the Chinese by their Tartar conquerors; and few circumstances, as Mr. Davis justly remarks, could more strongly prove their complete subjection than this total change of their national dress. The Woo-tae, or five short dynasties which succeeded, present no very striking peculiarity; and that of Tang, which brings down the history to A. D. 900, is chiefly remarkable for the extraordinary power assumed by the Eunuchs of the palace, whose influence and authority were, for a considerable time, equal to those of the Prætorian guards, enabling them to make and unmake Emperors at their pleasure. With this period Mr. Davis concludes his historical sketch, which closely corresponds, in many respects, with that subsequently given by M. Klaproth in his *Tableaux Historiques de l'Asie*.

The remainder of the Memoir is devoted to observations on the science, population, and state of civilization of China. Its knowledge of astronomy—and on this subject Mr. Davis's statements will possess the greatest weight—has been, in his opinion, much overrated. It partook not of the character of science, until the Arabians, and subsequently the European missionaries, introduced into the empire some portion of their skill. In this point, they ranked far below their neighbours the Hindoos, who are well known to have possessed considerable astronomical knowledge; none of which appears, however, to have been by them at any time imparted to the Chinese. The numerical amount of the population of China has also, in his opinion, been considerably exaggerated; and he is inclined, for reasons which he adduces, and which may be considered as almost conclusive, to reduce the three hundred and thirty-three millions stated to Lord Macartney, to about one hundred and fifty millions. In point of civilization, Mr. Davis regards it as much below the standard of Europe; but, at the same time, he claims a pre-eminence for it over all the nations of Asia. In some respects, in the treatment of females

impossible; and it is even useless for men to trouble themselves about it. It is precisely in these countries disinherited of the celestial influences, that the religion of Buddha has shed its generous and salutary principles, applicable to all nations and to all countries," &c.—*Journ. Asiatique*, vol. iv. p. 271.

"No other religion, with the exception of that of Jesus Christ, has so much contributed to render men better, as that of Buddha. Originating in Hindoostan, it has spread itself over the greater part of Asia. Its dominion extends from the sources of the Indus to the Pacific Ocean, and to Japan. The fierce Nomades of Central Asia have been converted by it into mild and virtuous men, and its beneficent influence has been felt even in the more Southern districts of Siberia."—*Journ. Asiatique*, vol. iv. p. 9.

A brief analysis of the papers from which the above are extracted, forms part of the series of articles on the labours of the Asiatic Society of Paris, part of which has already appeared, and the remainder will be continued in our subsequent Numbers.

for instance, and in personal security, we might contest this claim in favour of the Burmese, but we have already dwelt too long upon this sketch, and cannot extend our remarks farther than to enter our decided protest against his concluding observations on the great danger to be apprehended from a free trade with China, which are full of the most glaring fallacies, already a hundred times exposed and refuted.

The Essay on the 'Philosophy of the Hindoos,' by Mr. H. T. Colebrooke, whose profound and extensive knowledge has justly obtained for him the office of Director of the Society, consists of a succinct analysis of the doctrines of the Sānc'hya, a system in a great measure orthodox, but comprising also some opinions at variance with the more legitimate doctrine of the bedas. The reputed founders of this system, which is respected and studied by very rigid adherents of the bedas, who are taught, however, to reject so much as disagrees with their scriptures, are Capila and Patanjali, to both of whom a mythological origin is attributed, and who, differing upon some very essential points, have given rise to two distinct schools,—that of Patanjali, professing to believe in the existence of one supreme overruling God, which is denied by that of Capila. A third school, denominated Pauranica Sānc'hya, considers Nature as an illusion; conforming, upon most other points, to the doctrine of Patanjali, and upon many, to that of Capila. In a subsequent article, Mr. Colebrooke examines the opinions professed by two other schools of philosophy, the Nyaya, and the Vaiseshica, (which also differ, in some points, from the paramount authority of the bedas,) and which he has qualified with the titles of dialectic and atomical. The doctrine of these two schools, however distinct may be their primary objects, is generally found to coincide on those points which are treated of by both; they are consequently considered by their followers as a single system, forming two great branches,—the Nyaya, of which Gôtama is the founder, being purely metaphysical, and occupied solely with abstract reasoning, while the Vaiseshica, the origin of which is ascribed to Canáde, attaches itself more particularly to the study of physical and material objects. It would be impossible, within the limits of a single article, to convey to our readers an accurate idea of these philosophical systems, of which the papers before us contain so close and concise an exposition, that any attempt at analysis would only tend to render them obscure and unintelligible. The publication of M. Anquetil du Perron's French translation of a mangled Persian version of the four bedas, which has been ably analyzed, with reference to several of its more important doctrines, by the Count de Lanjuinais, in a series of articles inserted first in the *Magasin Encyclopédique*, and subsequently in the *Journal Asiatique*, had already thrown a considerable light upon this very obscure and interesting subject, but no one had hitherto ventured upon the arduous task of developing a complete system of Hindoo philosophy. For this desideratum we look to Mr. Colebrooke, convinced, from the manner in which he has commenced the undertaking, that he is capable of conducting it to a successful termination.

The 'Singular Proclamation issued by the Foo-yuen, or Sub-Viceroy of Canton,' translated by Dr. Morrison, curious as it may appear to those who have not already had opportunities of observing the mixture of pedantry and good sense, which characterizes the public and official papers of the Chinese, presents few peculiarities to distinguish it from

those previously published by Sir George Staunton and others. The Sub-Viceroy, in desiring that all his officers, &c. would not regard "this document as a paper issued for form's sake," has anticipated a remark, which the customary tenor of these proclamations would as naturally have elicited, as those which, with due regard to precedent, are regularly promulgated "against vice and immorality," on the accession of a king of Great Britain. "Encourage industry, establish education, praise virtue, and repress vice," these are the eight words which represent the objects of the Foo-yuen, on which, as on a text, he dilates, in conformity with the practice of his predecessors, introducing, as he proceeds, a considerable portion of curious moralizing, on the various means by which these precepts may be carried into effect, by the several classes to whom they are addressed.

Mr. Moorcroft's 'Observations on Ladakh,' which are dated Lek, Capital of Sarrak, April 25, 1822, apply chiefly to the advantages to be derived from the introduction of the Purik sheep of that country into the more barren districts of England. On spots where the eye can scarcely detect any vestige of vegetation, this hardy animal is capable of procuring sufficient nourishment, and it becomes more completely domesticated than, perhaps, even the dog, feeding from its master's hand, and nibbling the bones which he has rejected. The country is, indeed, throughout extremely unpromising; yet it is so managed by the farmer, as to produce good crops of grain, which is almost the only article cultivated. Every other source of production is neglected; and notwithstanding the sordid and avaricious character of its rulers, the collection of gold is forbidden in their rivers, in many of which that precious metal abounds, lest their harvests of grain should be injured. "It would be difficult," says Mr. Moorcroft, "for a logician to discover a connexion between this cause and its effect. It is to be found in superstition and policy, each equally absurd." Other observations, chiefly relative to one or two new animals, which he has observed, conclude this paper, which adds little to our geographical or statistical knowledge of the country to which it refers.

Considerable geographical information may, however, be derived from a 'Memoir on Sirmór,' by the late Captain George Rodney Blane. This country, which is bounded on the north by Bisér, on the west by Hindur and the Barah Tukrái, on the south by the Sikhi possessions, and on the East by Gerhwál and the Jumna, is divided into Pergunahs, each of which is again subdivided into Pattis. The head of each of these minor divisions is styled a Siana, and is liable for the revenue of his district. The only towns are Náhen the capital, Kalsi and Keardah, which appear to be fast falling into decay. The villages generally consist of from three to fourteen houses, which are neatly and substantially built of stone: south-west of the Giri these have flat roofs, but in the interior they consist of two or three stories, with pent roofs projecting considerably beyond the wall, and constructed of deal planks covered with slate. Numerous forts, or rather castles, built of stone connected with wooden binders, are scattered throughout the country. Their strength consists principally in the position which they occupy, on peaks commanding the surrounding heights; but the want of water to which their elevated situation necessarily exposes them, would render them of little permanent avail against a regular investing force. The Sirmóris are filthy in their persons and habits, and exceedingly addicted to superstition. Polyandry, or the custom of one

woman having two or more husbands (relations), obtains among them; and it frequently happens, that two brothers, who have succeeded conjointly to an estate, cohabit with but one wife, and thus preserve the integrity of the property. The constant and deadly feuds which have long subsisted between the Sirmóris and their neighbours the Gerhwáls, and which still rage with unabated fury on the borders of the two countries, enabled the Goorkhas, in 1804, to make an easy conquest of Sirmór, which continued under the iron yoke of those barbarous marauders, until its invasion by the British, who soon succeeded in reconciling its inhabitants to the change of masters which ensued.

The surface of the country is almost entirely mountainous, and from the peaks of the different chains several large rivers take their origin. The most considerable of these are the Giri and the Tans, both of which are tributary to the Jumna. This latter river itself is also said to rise in the same lofty range, as well as the Bhagirathi, one of the main branches of the Ganges, but the correctness of this information cannot be admitted on the vague authority on which it rests. The most elevated peaks are respectively 17,574, and 18,775 feet in height. The mineral productions of the country are, to say the least, very imperfectly known. A copper-mine, which was formerly worked in the neighbourhood of Kalsi, is now abandoned; iron exists in large quantities on the slopes of the hills near the great Lákandí, but the smelting of its ore scarcely affords subsistence to the labourer; and there is a lead-mine at Lódí, which yields about six maunds of metal a day, valued at ten rupees a maund. There are also some slate-quarries at Jounsar, and in other parts of the country. The climate is extremely various; "the thermometer," says Capt. Blane, "on the 26th May, at noon, at Pingoi, in Kandu, stood at 62°; on the 27th, near Sängük Ghat, on the Tans, at 102°." The degree of cultivation and fertility varies, of course, according to the climate and situation, but agriculture is most general upon the secondary ranges, the slopes of which are formed into terraces for the convenience of the plough. Nearly all the frumentaceous and leguminous plants common to the plains are grown, and the cultivation of rice, in particular, is conducted with considerable skill and ingenuity. The surplus produce is exported to the plains and to the upper highlands, but the crops are for the most part scanty. Seven distinct species of fir are met with in the woods which clothe the mountains, and some of these attain a high degree of perfection. The plentiful supply of pitch, tar, and turpentine, which might be obtained from these forests, renders them particularly deserving of attention; but considerable difficulties are opposed by the want of roads, &c. to the making them available for timber. The whole country has, in fact, nothing that can be called a road; "a path of a foot and a half in width, with the mountain rising perpendicularly on one side, and a deep glen on the other, if not very rugged, is esteemed by the natives a good road." It would, however, in Captain Blane's opinion, be neither difficult nor expensive to render them more commodious, or to open new ones. There are numerous fords over the different streams, which are not passable during the rainy season; but, under these circumstances, the natives have provided a substitute, which consists in four or five ropes thrown across the narrowest part of the river, and made fast to the rock; to these ropes, which vary from 60 to 130 feet in length, is attached a piece of wood called the jola, made to fit the small

of the back, by means of which the passenger glides across, with his back towards the water, which flows perhaps 30 or 40 feet below him.

This valuable contribution to the geography of Sirmór, is followed by a paper of considerable importance, not only to the philosophical inquirer, but also to all those who are interested in the good government of that district of India, to a large and turbulent portion of whose heterogeneous population it relates. It is an 'Essay on the Bhills,' by Major-General Sir John Malcolm, and forms an interesting supplementary addition to his Memoir of Central India. The name of this distinguished officer has lately become familiar to our readers, in consequence of the remarkable inconsistency which he has evinced on the subject of the Indian Press; and we are convinced that there are few among them who do not join with us in regretting that, instead of confining himself to the prosecution of those researches, for which his situation and acquirements had so peculiarly fitted him, he should have suffered any consideration to induce him to abandon the liberal opinions which he had formerly avowed, and to stand forward at this period of his career as the champion of irresponsible despotism and a fettered press.

The Bhills, of whose origin, character, and habits, the present essay contains a minute and elaborate account, constitute a formidable race of outcast Hindoos, inhabiting the mountainous tracts of Candeish, Malwa, and Rajputana, extending from 20° to near 25° N. latitude, and from 73° to 76° E. longitude. This extensive region is, however, only in part occupied by the Bhills, who appear to have been gradually dispossessed by the Rajputs of many of the fertile plains of which they were once masters, and who are now driven to seek shelter in scarcely accessible mountains, and almost impenetrable jungles, from the persecution and oppression to which the jealousy and hatred of the privileged classes would otherwise subject them. Although it is allowed on all hands that the Bhills have received, at different times, considerable accessions of outcasts from among the superior castes of the Hindoos, Sir John Malcolm is of opinion, that their numerous tribes were by no means solely and entirely formed from this degraded source. He considers them as entitled to lay claim to a far higher antiquity than is generally ascribed to them, and maintains that they existed as a distinct race previous to the construction of the Brahmenical system, although his inquiries have failed in detecting any written records of their history. They are, however, according to the observations of Captain Tod, to be traced, as powerful communities, so far back as the Mahabharata. As for their own traditions on the subject, each tribe has its particular legend with respect to its origin, whether of remote or modern date, some of which fabulous histories are given in the present essay; "but," says Sir John Malcolm, "I have remarked one important fact, that these traditions, which have been evidently fabricated to minister to the pride of chiefs, whose ancestors have been degraded from the higher and privileged orders, on account of their spurious birth, or some impure habit of life, have always a reference to Bhills, who existed previous to the date of the fable; and this evidence tends beyond all others to prove the title of the latter to antiquity, as an original tribe." This singular pride, which induces the Bhil to trace his descent from the outcasts of the higher castes, has given rise to the principal distinction which exists among them, by which they are divided into Ujjwala and Kálá, white and

black, or rather pure and impure Bhills. The former of these grand divisions claim to be descended from the Rajputs; they affect a greater degree of fastidiousness with respect to their diet, than the other class (who are by no means particular in their food), and endeavour, as much as possible, to assimilate themselves to the habits and customs of their ancestral caste, which even condescends to notice them with some degree of complacency. The Bhills are further subdivided into an infinity of petty tribes, which frequently owe their separation and particular designation to the most trifling circumstance, so that it would be a work of almost endless labour to trace them through all their minute ramifications, as well as perfectly useless, except for the immediate purposes of local administration.

The religion of the Bhills in general (with the exception of some tribes occupying the Sâtpûrâ range, who have been converted to the faith of Mohammed, of which, however, they appear to know little but the name) is the same with that of the great mass of the Hindoo population. They worship the same gods, of the principal of whom Sir John Malcolm has given a list; but their religious ceremonies are in a great measure limited to propitiatory offerings and sacrifices, to some of the Hindoo minor infernal deities, particularly the goddess of *small-pox*, Sita Mata, whom they invoke under various names, in the hope of averting the dreadful ravages of that horrible disease. They also pay great reverence to Mahâdêva, from whose intrigues with an earthly beauty they boast their common descent. They have neither temples nor pagodas; but commonly select for their place of worship some particular tree, which is surrounded by an elevated terrace of mud, on the top of which they place a few large stones. Besides the rawls and bhats, or priests and minstrels, they have also a sort of jugglers, called barwâs, who, when excited, by a particular kind of music, to a state of phrenzy, give utterance to oracles, which are listened to with eager credulity by those who come to consult them; and so implicit is the confidence reposed in their predictions, that their advice is resorted to on all occasions, and nothing of importance is undertaken, except in compliance with their injunctions. A very curious account of the ceremonies observed at their births, marriages, and funerals, is furnished by Captain R. Shears, the officer who had the superintendence of these tribes; but it would be trespassing too far on our limits, were we to enter into any particulars on these interesting subjects. The Bhills, who inhabit the mountains, do not congregate to form any considerable villages, but live in small clusters of huts, of the rudest construction. Each of these petty colonies has its particular chief, several of whom are generally united under one common head, whose title varies according to his class and the usages of the country. They have but little knowledge of agriculture, and are, consequently, in a great degree, dependent on the neighbouring villages in the plains, for their supply of grain, tobacco, and liquor; of the two last of which they are excessively fond. The result of a census of the Bhill population of the Vindhya range, has proved that their number does not exceed six to a square mile; and the same calculation is probably applicable to the whole extent of country which they inhabit. Their habits are entirely predatory; for they have, in fact, been deprived by the barbarous system of exclusion, which has placed them beyond the pale of civil society, of all other means of

subsistence; and these habits are so completely interwoven with their superstitions, that they actually believe that they were created to prey upon their neighbours; and, "I am Mahádéva's thief," is the common predestinarian answer of a Bhill detected in a crime. They do not, however, like many others of the predatory tribes of India, extend their incursions to any considerable distance from their native wilds. "Their arms, and their habits," says Sir John Malcolm, "are more suited to the ravines, the woods, and the mountains, amid which they live. The Bhill is small of stature: but active, and capable of enduring great fatigue. He has seldom any clothing but a small piece of cloth round his waist. His arms are a bow and a quiver of arrows, in the use of which he is very expert; but he seldom faces his enemy. His arrows are shot from behind bushes and rocks; and his acquaintance with the country, makes him almost always successful in eluding pursuit. If he descends into the plain, it is at night, to thief and plunder; or if in the day, to drive away unguarded cattle, or to attack defenceless travellers, who (if not killed) are kept till they are ransomed." The essay concludes with a few brief remarks on the means of reclaiming this wild and lawless race, particularly deserving the attention of those who are engaged in the administration of the districts which they inhabit. Much, he asserts, has been already done, by the adoption of the system which he recommends, towards reducing the Bhills who inhabit the right bank of the Narmada, as well as many other parts, to a state of peace and tranquillity; and he strongly enforces the necessity of a continuance of the same line of conduct towards them, in order to secure and to extend the advantages which have already been gained.

The 'Account of the Banyan Tree, or Ficus Indica, as found in the ancient Greek and Roman authors,' by Dr. Noehden, is a highly entertaining and curious piece of classical research; but as it does not tend to the elucidation of any new fact, relative to the East, we are compelled to pass it over, and to proceed to the concluding article of the present part of these Transactions.

This is a very learned 'Commentary on a Sanscrit Inscription, relative to the last Hindu King of Delhi,' by Captain James Tod, a gentleman distinguished for his attainments in Sanscrit literature, and more especially for his intimate and minute acquaintance with whatever relates to the Rajputs and the country which they inhabit. The inscription, which the present essay is designed to illustrate, was obtained in 1815, from the walls of a Mosulman place of worship, to which it had been transferred from the ruins of the palace, of which it originally formed part, at Hānsi (or, as the name is more correctly inscribed on the stone in question, Asī,) a fortress 126 miles nearly W. N. W. from Delhi. It would be in vain to attempt, within the limits to which we are of necessity confined, to follow Captain Tod through the great variety of discursive illustration which he has brought to bear upon the subject: we shall, therefore, confine ourselves to a few of those prominent points which are more particularly calculated to arrest the attention of the reader. The place where the inscription was found, appears to have been a fortress of considerable strength and importance, and to have been regarded as the key to the capital of the empire. It is situated on the N.W. frontier of what is now British India, immediately bordering upon the desert, and in the direct line of the fords of the Setlej or Garah, the usual route of

western invasion, whether led by Mahmúd, by Sháhábuddin, or by Timúr. The scope of the inscription is to commemorate a victory obtained by Prithiráája, the last of the Hindoo race who swayed the sceptre of India, by means of his vassal chiefs, Kilhan and Hammir, over the tribe of Doda. Passing over the slight notice which is given of this tribe, one of the thirty-six royal races of India, we arrive at a much more extended account of that of Cháhamána, from which the conqueror drew his descent. We cannot, however, dwell upon the profound researches of Captain Tod into the origin of this distinguished race, further than to extract the following passage, as illustrative of the opinions entertained by that gentleman, relative to the circumstances to which India is indebted for the distinct and martial character of its northern population.

Hereafter I may embody some distinct remarks on the martial races of India; and attempt an approach to the origin of some. It will involve some speculative notions, and without, perhaps, much solid foundation. The restless migratory hordes of higher Asia never found the *Atok* to be the Rubicon, which the more modern Hindoo wished it to be considered, to keep him from the impure contact of the barbarian (*Mékh'ha*) to the westward: and the plains of *Hindust'hán* have been often trod by swarms of the same race, who deluged Europe under the names of Kimbri, Goths, Huns, Juts, &c. The colony of Getae, or Juts, led by Odin into Scandinavia, gave their name, Jutland, to what is termed the Cimbric Chersonese. These were still celebrated as a nation, in the time of Jangíz Khán, and even in that of Timur, who carried on successive works of extirpation against them. A grand colony of them, settled where the Makh opposed Alexander, combated Mámúd of Ghizni, in a novel warfare on the waters of the Indus, but were slaughtered and driven across the *Setlej*. The *Getae*, or *Juts*, have a place amongst the thirty-six races; and I have an inscription, in an ancient character, recording the power of a *Jut* prince in the fifth century; his capital, Sálpúr, doubtless, that situated high in the Penjáb, mentioned in the twelfth century, as being amongst the conquests of Cumára Páda, of *Nehrálá Pattan*, and, perhaps, the *Syaleote* of our modern geography. What I mean to surmise is, that these, and many others of the tribes now assimilated as *Hindus*, have an appearance (from their manners and mythology, and the unsatisfactory details of their first appearance) foreign to the aboriginal inhabitants of the plains of India. The remark is more particularly extended to the peninsula of Sauráshtra, which comprehends tribes with every appearance (though for ages settled there) of foreign and of northerly origin.

We have given the above quotation in Captain Tod's own words, on account of the importance of the results to which his views, if correct, would ultimately lead; and it must be confessed, that there exist numerous strict analogies and close coincidences between the manners and, especially, the mythology of the Indian and Scandinavian tribes, which tend materially to strengthen his hypothesis. Many of these are incidentally pointed out in the course of his commentary; and should he prosecute the inquiry further, as he gives us reason to believe that it is his intention to do, he will, doubtless, be able to throw much light on this obscure, yet interesting, subject; for the investigation of which no person can be better qualified than himself. As for the Cháhamána (or Chohan, as it is pronounced) family itself, he is of opinion, that, "however much of the Scythian they possess in their ancestry, it might be going rather too far to suppose them a ramification of the Cho-han dynasty of China." He refers to the Hindoo genealogist and poet, for their fabulous origin from the Agni-cunda, or Fire-fountain, and gives a rapid view of their history, as derived from those sources, from Agnipála, the immediate offspring of Fire, to Prithwirája, the first of their race who mounted the imperial throne of Delhi, and under whose reign the Moguls achieved the conquest

of Hindoostan. For the history of this chivalrous but unfortunate prince, he refers largely to the poem of his bard Chand, who accompanied his beloved master in all his exploits, and at length perished with him, and whose immortal work is so familiar in the mouths of the Rajputs, as the record of the fame and of the gallant deeds of their forefathers, that he who could not quote it upon occasion would be regarded as an arrant dolt. The actions of Prithwiraja and his chiefs, as related in this poem, bear a striking resemblance to those of the *Preux chevaliers* who, about the same period of time, traversed the regions of the West in search of perilous adventures, and whose romantic gallantry was equally the theme of the songs of minstrels and troubadours.—We regret that we are unable to enter more at length into the variety of subjects discussed in this interesting paper, but we trust that we have already said enough to induce those who are curious in such investigations, to see and examine the volume for themselves.

LINES ON THE DEATH OF A GENERAL OFFICER IN
 THE EAST INDIES.

THE years of vanished Life
 The gun's loud voice hath told—
 The breast that dared the battle-strife
 Is motionless and cold !

The muffled drum's dull moan,
 The requiem of the Brave,
 Hath woke the deep responsive groan
 Above a Warrior's grave.

He lies on his dark bed,
 With cold unconscious brow ;
 For Sleep's eternal spell is spread
 Around his pillow now.

Behold the crimson sky,
 And mark yon setting sun ;
 For, like that orb, once bright on high,
 Was *he* whose race is run !

A few short moments' flight
 Hath wildly changed his doom :
 The worm shall be his bride to-night,—
 His home, the cheerless tomb !

The midnight blast shall howl—
 The dews his cold limbs steep—
 The wolf and wild dog loudly growl—
 Nor wake his dreamless sleep !

And vain the dirge of woe,
 That haunts his place of rest ;
 The Spirit smiles in glory now,
 In regions of the blest !

D. L. R.

THE BENCH—THE BAR—AND THE PRESS, AT BOMBAY.

THE contests between the Bench and the Bar, which ended in the suspension of the Barristers at Bombay, must be already familiar to most of our readers.¹ It was hoped that the restoration of the latter to the emoluments of their practice (the chief apparent object of their ambition) would have restored the interrupted harmony; and that the succession of a Supreme Court of Judicature, with an increased number of Judges, to that of a Recorder and a Bench of Magistrates, would have so softened down the angry and personal feelings which had been engendered between certain individuals of the former limited establishment, that all wounds would have been closed, and peace and good will have succeeded to open warfare and secret animosity. That hope has, however, been disappointed. The Bench and the Bar of Bombay are just as much at variance as ever. Party spirit pervades every class of society. And to add to the effervescence which such a state of things would of itself be quite sufficient to produce, the local Government appear to be hostile to the legal authorities, which it ought to be their pride and their duty to support. Even the inferior Magistrates of Police, holding their appointments from the Governor, make no scruple of setting the law at defiance. A young civil servant is encouraged, as well as defended, in a gross assault upon one of the native officers of the Court;—a portion of the Press, which is under the control of a member of the Bombay Council, (one of the newspapers of the settlement being his property,) joins in the opposition to the Judges;—and, to crown all, a British Editor, instead of being proceeded against legally, is ordered to quit the settlement in three months; or, in other words, is to be transported without trial, under the government of Mr. Elphinstone, a pretended Whig, a professed friend of liberty, and a man who received, without once denying his claim to them, the most extravagant praises for removing the censorship from the Press at Bombay, and suffering the world to consider him as a friend of its freedom!—Time, that great expositor of human actions, does much to unmask hypocrisy every where; and every day appears to assist in developing the manner in which this vice has pervaded the professions of most of the leading men in India. But we must enter on our narrative. The subjects are apparently distinct, yet they are closely connected with each other; and as we have the good fortune to be in possession of ample materials from the most accurate sources, we have thought it best to bring them all together under one point of view, for the sake of the illustration which they will each afford to the other.

The contempt in which the Governors and public functionaries of India generally hold the Natives of that oppressed country, is notorious. It is not, however, so generally known, perhaps, that the present Governor, and some of the Members of Council at Bombay, entertain this feeling in a more than ordinary degree. The case of the Parsee merchant, Cursetjee Monackjee, was but a single instance of its being extended to a total disregard of their well-founded claims, even when confirmed by law and justice. The arrival of a man like Sir Edward West in such

¹ See the Article entitled 'Mysteries of Law, as practised at Bombay'—*Oriental Herald*, vol. ii. p. 481.

a community, could not fail to excite some sensation; and when he made so early a display of his determination to administer equal justice to the poor and to the rich:—when he publicly declared, that British Courts were established in India for the express purpose of giving the Natives of the country redress against the Company and their servants:—when he said, “I cannot allow it to be surmised that the meanest or poorest Native would not at any period of the existence of the Court, obtain a full measure of justice against the Government:”²—it was hardly to be wondered at that he should be regarded with jealous and unfavourable eyes.

It appears, however, that better things were hoped for, from the Judges who might follow, when the members intended to form the Supreme Court should arrive; and accordingly, the party of Government officers and civil servants *opposed* to Sir Edward West are said to have looked for their arrival with no common feelings of anxiety. We have now before us a letter from Bombay, of a late date, which says, that on the arrival off that port of the ship in which Sir Charles Chambers was known to be, boats were sent out to meet her beyond the Lighthouse, with letters from certain individuals, to whom the new Judge had been mentioned by correspondents in England, for the purpose of inviting him to take up his abode with the writers, and *thus* secure an opportunity of preventing his alliance with Sir Edward West, as far as persuasion and previous possession of the ear of friendship might prevail. The attempt did not, however, succeed. Sir Charles waited until the vessel anchored, and then went on shore, and took up his abode in the house of his brother Judge, Sir Edward West, much to the disappointment of the parties who desired otherwise. Subsequent to this, it is asserted that a very vigorous attempt was made to prejudice his mind against his colleague in office, and to win him over to the side of the adverse party, but this also failed; and Sir Charles is known to have expressed himself generally to the effect, that *he* considered the conduct of the Barristers wholly inadmissible, and their suspension by the Judge strictly legal and proper. On this point we have already expressed our opinions, as not altogether coinciding with the view taken by the Judge, and need not repeat them here. But it is gratifying to find, at least, that where the Governor of any distant settlement, and his immediate dependants and followers, hold the Natives of the country in contempt, and reject their just claims,—British Judges, who too frequently lean towards the side of power, however unjustly exercised, have sometimes virtue enough to resist this system of arbitrary rule, and firmness enough to withstand all attempts made to seduce or to terrify them from the due performance of their duty.

The first occasion, after the sitting of the Supreme Court, in which the open defiance of some of the Barristers, and the secret influence of some of the members of Government, were seen to be conjointly opposed to the authority of the Court, was the following:—Mr. Alexander Nesbitt Shaw, a young civil servant, only two years in the country, attended the Supreme Court during its sitting; and while the business of the Court was proceeding, he went up to a native *Chopdar*, (a kind of usher placed in certain situations of the Court, to preserve silence and order,

² See the Judgment of Sir Edward West, as delivered at Bombay—*Oriental Herald*, vol. iii. p. 273.

and to prevent persons from going into parts of the Court reserved for its professional members,) and commanded him to bring him pens, ink, and paper. The Chopdar replied, that he was stationed at that particular part of the Court by the Judges, and could not leave it without deserting his duty; but added, that a sepooy of the Court would bring him what he required. On this, Mr. Shaw struck the Chopdar a blow upon the temple, which (to use the terms in which the Chopdar's deposition is translated,) "turned his head round," in plain English, we imagine, "such a blow as staggered him, or made him giddy."

This statement rested on the oath of the *Chopdar*, and was confirmed by that of two other native servants of the Court, who were in attendance at the time, and who witnessed the whole transaction. On these affidavits being made, a writ of attachment was issued against Mr. Shaw, and he was brought up on the following day, before the Court, in the custody of the Sheriff. It appears that Mr. Norton, the Advocate-General, whose hostility to the Chief Justice, Sir Edward West, had been before sufficiently evinced, was directed by the Judges, as the officer of Government, to conduct the prosecution against Mr. Shaw, in support of the order and dignity of the Court; but, to their great surprize, he avowed that he had already accepted a retainer from Mr. Shaw himself, to conduct his defence. Mr. Parry, another Barrister, and one who had before coalesced with Mr. Norton against the Judge, also came forward to bail the offending party!

On Mr. Norton's making this avowal, the Chief Justice, Sir Edward West, asked him, what he conceived to be his duty on such occasions as the present: to which the Advocate-General made such a reply as led to the inference, that he did not consider himself by any means *bound* to proceed against those who might offend against the *Court*, unless especially directed by the *Government* to do so.

Mr. Norton then moved the Court that Interrogatories might be filed, and that Mr. Shaw might be allowed to answer them, according to the usual practice. This was acceded to; and the Clerk of the Crown, Mr. Woodhouse, was directed to prepare the Interrogatories, and employ such professional aid for the prosecution, as he might deem necessary. A motion, that Mr. Shaw might be admitted to bail, was also granted; when Dr. Kembal, brother-in-law of the accused, and Mr. Parry, a Barrister of the Court, gave the necessary securities that Mr. Shaw should appear again on Friday, the 30th of July, to answer the Interrogatories respecting the alleged offence.

A private letter, from an individual who endeavours to represent the case of Mr. Shaw in the most favourable light, and who may, therefore, be taken as safe authority in any statements which make against him, states that after considerable altercations on points of technical difficulties, the Interrogatories were filed, and a day appointed for Mr. Shaw's answering them. In the interval, he had been furnished with a copy of the Interrogatories; and his counsel, Mr. Norton, apparently unwilling to trust to his client's discretion, as to the replies which he should make, prepared a set of written answers, for him to read from a paper when his examination should take place. When the day came, however, and he was about to read from the paper in question, the Clerk of the Crown, Mr. Woodhouse, would not permit him to read his answers, but insisted on his replying to the questions put to him, verbally. Mr. Shaw then

asked time to consult his counsel, which was granted, and his counsel's advice was, that he should make another attempt to carry his point of reading from the written paper; but if this could not be allowed, that he had better answer them verbally, (a piece of advice which at once proves that the adviser did not consider the point a *right* for which he could contend.) This second attempt was made, and failed: and Mr. Shaw submitted to answer accordingly, telling Mr. Woodhouse, however, that he saw plainly through the trick by which it was meant to *entrap* him. The accused complained that the questions were long, and nearly unintelligible, from the technical phraseology in which they were couched; and asked that the questions might be put to him verbally, and the replies given in the same manner. This was declined; and it is further said, that Mr. Woodhouse refused to permit counsel, or any other person, to be present on behalf of the individual questioned, during the examination. It is added, that Mr. Kemball, one of the gentlemen who bailed the accused, doubted whether Mr. Woodhouse would act upon this declaration, and made an attempt to enter the room where the examination took place (at the Clerk of the Crown's office); but was refused admittance: two circumstances, which, if true, and contrary to law, ought to have been made a ground of legal proceeding against Mr. Woodhouse, which, however, does not appear to have been the case.

The same authority goes on to state, that after the verbal answers of Mr. Shaw had been written down by Mr. Woodhouse, they were read over by the latter, and the former was required to sign them in that state. The next day an office copy of both questions and answers was furnished to the defendant, who was informed that he had not satisfactorily exculpated himself from the charges alleged, and that he was held to be "in contempt." Mr. Shaw, however, according to the testimony of his friend and defender, from whose authority we gather the view of the case here presented, declared that the answers contained in the written copy were *not* the answers which he made, when interrogated.

An affidavit was then made by Mr. Shaw, (a copy of which we have before us,) stating, in substance, all the preceding facts; adding, that instead of Mr. Woodhouse giving Mr. Shaw the written version of his verbal answers to read, that he might verify their accuracy, or correct them if necessary, he read them himself; that when he signed them, he saw only the few lines above his name; that he could see, from Mr. Woodhouse's manner of writing them down, that they contained many erasures and interlineations:—(All this should have been objected to at the time; but, as signing is a voluntary act, which no man can be forced to perform, the mere circumstance of making a signature, with these facts before the signing party, must show that he did not deem them of sufficient importance to deter him from the act of signing:)—that when he obtained an office copy of the whole, he found the language used by Mr. Woodhouse, in writing the answers, to convey, in several instances, a meaning totally different to that which his own answers, if faithfully taken down, would have given; and in others, that the answers contained assertions which he never made at all! As an illustration of the misrepresentation made, he states that Mr. Woodhouse makes him say, "he had no *intention* to COMMIT any violence whatever:" whereas his answer was, that "he *had not* COMMITTED any violence whatever." Again, it is alleged, that the deponent is made by Mr. Woodhouse to say, "that

he did not give any OTHER blow, slap, tap, or push:" whereas, he declares, that he never once used the word "other;" but stated positively and unequivocally, that "he did not, at any time, give any slap, tap, or push whatever."

These are grave and serious charges, and if *falsely* made, must consign the name of Mr. Shaw and his legal advisers, to no very distinguished honours; while, if *truly* made, and substantiated, Mr. Woodhouse will deserve to be, not only removed from his office, but spurned by all honest men. At this distance from the scene, we can only judge by the papers before us; and we have them all, we believe, with the comments of friends and adversaries on each. We must say, however, that prevalent as is the vice of falsehood and misrepresentation among the natives of India in contests among themselves, we can hardly conceive it possible, that a native chopdar would ever dare to prefer so serious a complaint as this against a civil servant of the Company (the difficulty, indeed, is to get natives to come forward with such complaints when really founded in truth): and still less, that two other witnesses could be found to corroborate it, if not strictly accurate to the very letter of their deposition. Such men would have nothing to hope, but every thing to fear from the issue: and we can imagine no motive strong enough to make them venture on such an accusation, unless the event described actually took place.

On the other hand, we confess ourselves equally staggered at the affidavit of Mr. Shaw, a civil servant it is true, and one who, no doubt, regards the natives as a race not to be dealt with as Europeans; but still a gentleman, living among gentlemen, and risking all his future reputation as a man of honour, if he should dare to swear to that which was false. Both statements, it will be admitted, cannot be true; but while there is no conceivable motive for false accusation on the one side, there are the strongest motives to prompt to positive denial on the other. Beyond this, we cannot venture to decide. Our own impression is, however, that some such incident as that described, having actually occurred—in what manner, or to what extent, we cannot presume to say—the Baristers seized the opportunity, not to defend a helpless Native from the assault of a powerful European, or to maintain the dignity of the Court in which they practised,—the course which humanity and a sense of duty, would equally have prompted; but to oppose the Judges, to annoy the Bench, and to obtain what they would consider a victory over those against whom, it is but too evident, that they entertained feelings of the most angry description. If this be the case, there is no language too severe by which to mark so base and contemptible a proceeding.

The subsequent occurrences rather strengthen than throw a doubt on this conjecture. On the 6th of August, the case was again brought before the Court, when the Chief Justice, Sir Edward West, was absent, and Sir Charles Chambers sat alone on the Bench. Mr. Norton then moved that Mr. Shaw be discharged, on the ground that the interrogatories were irregular, having been filed by a person who had no authority to do so. It was assumed by Mr. Norton that in all cases of this description, there must be a *private* prosecutor, in order that the party interrogated may know by whom the interrogatories are filed: whereas, here, the Court were prosecutors; which, he contended, they ought not to be, except in cases where the contempt was committed either in their

sight or hearing, when they become at once, prosecutors, judge, and jury, by ordering the offender to be committed to prison without any trial whatever. Mr. Justice Chambers maintained, in opposition to this, that the alleged assault committed by Mr. Shaw on the person of one of the officers of the court, stationed in a particular part of it expressly to preserve order and peace, was an act of contempt which came strictly within the class of cases to be prosecuted by order of the Court, and that it was an insult to their authority which could not be passed over. Mr. Norton admitted this to be the case, supposing the alleged charges to be true; but he contended, according to the instructions of Mr. Shaw, that they were altogether false, and without the least foundation in truth! He still laid great stress on the necessity of a *private* prosecutor, who, he considered, should have been the chopdar, he being the party aggrieved; forgetting, apparently, that the proceeding was not against Mr. Shaw, for a common assault, but for contempt of court, in offering an insult to one of its own officers while the Court was sitting. Mr. Justice Chambers stated that the Court itself was the prosecutor in the present instance, and proceeded by its own officer, the Clerk of the Crown. Mr. Norton persisted in his opinion that this could not be; and Mr. Justice Chambers is said to have declared that he would not allow this argument to be sustained. As this was the ruling of the Court, Mr. Norton had no further remarks to offer, and his motion for the discharge of Mr. Shaw was accordingly refused.

This was the state of the case on the 6th of August last. On the 11th of the same month, a report of these proceedings in Court was issued in the *Bombay Gazette*, containing the substance of the facts before recited, as to the arguments of the Judge and Counsel; but altogether so much at variance with truth, that Sir Charles Chambers immediately on seeing it, affirmed it to be "a gross misrepresentation, putting words into his mouth contrary to the principles of English law, and which no lawyer would venture to utter." This led to a demand, on the part of the Judge, for an apology from the Editor, which was refused; and application being made to Government, to enforce this demand, they insisted on its being complied with; while the Editor, equally persisting in his refusal, was ordered by the Government to quit Bombay and embark for Europe in three months, or he would be apprehended and shipped off as others had been before him!

This brings us to the consideration of another important question—the state of the Bombay Press. In the year 1820, when Mr. Elphinstone assumed the Governorship of Bombay in succession to Sir Evan Nepean, the Press of that Presidency was under a strict censorship. Lord Hastings had, however, acquired so much popularity, throughout India generally, as well as in all other parts of the world, for his magnanimity in removing these invidious fetters, that Mr. Elphinstone took the earliest opportunity of following his example, and one of the first acts of his new government was to declare the press of Bombay to be free. This was announced in the Bombay papers, repeated in those of Madras and Calcutta, and a due share of praise was given to Mr. Elphinstone, in all quarters, for this act of truly English statesmanship and liberality. The great mass of mankind are, however, more frequently premature in their eulogiums than in their censures; in the case of public men especially, they are quick to approve and slow to blame: so that they have much

more frequent occasion to retrace their steps in cases of the former, than in those of the latter description.

The magnanimity of Mr. Elphinstone, for which he consented to receive such extravagant admiration, consisted in this:—There were then existing at Bombay two newspapers; one of them, the *Courier*, the avowed organ of authority, supported entirely by its patronage in General Orders, public advertisements, &c., and, therefore, to be safely trusted without a censor; the other, the *Gazette*, the property, principally, of Mr. Francis Warden, formerly Chief Secretary to Government, and Censor of the Press *ex-officio*, and, consequently, as unlikely to touch on any topic that might be unpleasant to official ears. With such securities as these, Mr. Elphinstone was quite safe in pretending to remove all restrictions from the Press of Bombay: and the result has proved that safety; for from that hour to the present, neither of these journals have ever ventured to utter a syllable that could displease the Government, and both have continued as “dull by authority” as the most fastidious and terrified alarmist at the spread of free discussion could have wished.

This paper, the *Bombay Gazette*, has continued ever since that period to be the property, and under the control, of Mr. Warden, though now a Member of Council, and consequently a “part and parcel” of the Government itself. Such a situation as this, by giving to any one powerful member of a governing body, the command over an engine, the chief value of which is its fearless independence, and the consequent impartiality of its strictures on the acts of all men in office,—is sufficiently scandalous of itself. When, however, such influence is used not merely to prevent the *good* which a bold and honest press might do by speaking out, when censure of the acts of Government is required, but to create positive *evil*, by being permitted to erect itself, as a battery, against the higher authorities of the Law, to which all ought to look up with respect, as the great arbiter between the oppressor and the oppressed,—the scandal is greater still. That there is every reason to believe this to be the use to which Mr. Warden’s *Gazette* is applied, all our information from the spot goes to confirm; and, if it be really so, the Government of Bombay, or such individual members of it as lend themselves to such a system, ought to be held up to deserved contempt.

The hostility of the Bombay Government to the power and authority of the Court has been already explained. It was enough to provoke this, that Sir Edward West had declared his determination to defend the helpless natives against the oppressions of their more powerful masters. Mr. Elphinstone, notwithstanding his great popularity among Englishmen serving under him, is known to regard the natives with as little consideration as most men. Mr. Warden does not differ much from the Governor in this respect: and there is not one, perhaps, in the whole Council, whose zeal for the rights and interests of the natives exceeds the love which he bears to his own power and authority; though all are not equally indifferent to their happiness. As the official paper of this Government, the *Courier*, could not be chosen as an organ for attacking the Court, without making the Government an open and avowed party to such proceedings, the *Gazette* appears to have been selected for this purpose, as it could do the work with the same effect, without implicating the higher powers in responsibility. There is a degree of meanness and cowardice in this, which would be revolting to high-minded

men : but the same stratagem was resorted to at Calcutta. The Government Gazette of that Presidency was originally made the channel of hostile attacks on the friends of free discussion and liberal principles there, but this, assuming the appearance of a warfare under the Government sanction, that paper gradually withdrew from the contest ; and the John Bull was set up by the money and influence of Government officers, who thus had a masked battery from which to assail those whom they feared and hated ; at the same time, that they avoided that responsibility, from which no brave or honest man would ever shrink.

The Bombay Gazette, it appears, made it a constant practice, after the just judgment of Sir Edward West, to send forth garbled statements of what transpired in Court, to the prejudice of the Judges ; and this became at last so apparent, that formal complaints of it were made to Government, and the Editor was repeatedly requested to avoid the publication of such partial and garbled statements of the proceedings in Court, as were calculated to convey the most erroneous impressions respecting the justice or legality of its decisions.

Friends as we are to the utmost freedom of comment and discussion, whether on the conduct of Governors, Judges, or other public men, we do conceive that no greater offence can be committed, not merely against a Court, but against the best interests of truth and justice, than by the publication of "partial and garbled statements" of the proceedings of any public tribunal. Such an offence is without the shadow of an excuse : and we should have no more pity for one made to suffer for so doing, than for a swindler or a perjured witness condemned to the pillory for his crimes. Let the report of what is actually said and done be fairly given, and the comment may be as bold and fearless as desired : but, to misstate facts, and give an erroneous impression, by suppression or falsification, is an offence that merits the severest reprehension. We have a letter before us, from an authority on which we can rely, saying, "The report of our late proceedings in Court, have, as usual, been put into the *Gazette* in the most partial and incorrect manner. Indeed, this practice has now become quite systematic." Another letter says, "I need not remind you, that the *Gazette* is entirely influenced by one of our members of council, who is its proprietor : but had it ventured to publish one half the calumnies against the *Government*, which it has done against the *Court*, it would long since have been suppressed, and shared the fate of the *Calcutta Journal*."

We may, perhaps, be pardoned for taking this occasion to say, that the never-ceasing cry of the Calcutta Journal was this, "Let arbitrary power be put down, and let the law and its administrators be upheld, as the authority to which all should bow." It was never once even accused of partial or garbled reports : and though it censured freely whatever appeared to call for condemnation, this was always done by first stating the facts with accuracy, and then commenting on them with that openness, which every man responsible for his opinions is bound to observe in all his public writings. It was the abuses of arbitrary power on the part of the *Government*, however, that it condemned ; and not the supremacy of the *Law*, or the respect due to the Tribunals of Justice. Its perpetual motto was, "Let the Law be supreme : and let all men be equally subject to its dominion."

To return, however, to the Press of Bombay :—If the conduct of the

Government was base, in permitting an organ under the control of one of their own members, to practise this systematic misrepresentation and injustice: their subsequent sacrifice of the individual who apparently acted as their instrument in this labour, was still worse; and displays a degree of pusillanimity quite characteristic of a capricious despotism. Nor was the conduct of the Judges, in the last scene of this drama, at all less reprehensible. In short, the title of "*ALL IN THE WRONG*" seems never to have been better deserved, or more appropriate, than on the present occasion. Mr. Shaw was, beyond question, wrong; Mr. Norton his defender scarcely less so; the Editor who misrepresented the proceedings was undoubtedly wrong; but the Judges were equally so, in their mode of pursuing him; and the Government was, as it appears to us at least, worse than the whole put together. Of the three first, we have already expressed an opinion in detail: it remains now to speak of the Judges.

It is the incessant boast of Englishmen, who think, with Blackstone, their laws to be "the perfection of reason," that there is no wrong without a remedy; and by none is this phrase more constantly repeated, than by those who know it to be untrue, namely by attorneys, barristers, and judges. By this remedy is meant, not an arbitrary and violent assumption of power to avenge one's own wrong, but a legal remedy, to be had in due course of law. Supposing then, the conduct of the Editor of the Bombay Gazette to have been ever so bad, what was the course which British Judges should have pursued? It is necessary, we admit, that their authority should be supported, and the dignity of their court upheld. Any act, however, which opposes this, is a legal wrong; and for such, a legal remedy may be found; for however deficient the law really is in remedies for wrongs done to private individuals, it is rich enough in remedies for insults to public men; and of all men, Judges, as being of the class of law-makers, are perhaps the best protected. What then should have been the course pursued by them? If the statements which the editor published were libellous, the Court should have proceeded either by information or indictment against the offender, "in due course of law;" if what he had written or printed, amounted in itself to a contempt of court, they might have committed him to prison. Their duty was clear, but Sir C. Chambers at least, (the only party who appears to have been offended by the garbled report,) goes out of the straight path of duty to seek another mode of redress; he leaves the paths of law for those of arbitrary power; and he calls upon the Government to visit the editor with *their* displeasure in order to protect *him*. "How are the mighty fallen! how are the great cast down." What! a British Judge, sent expressly to India, for the purpose of protecting individuals from the tyranny of their Indian Governors, and to interpose the shield of the law between the powerful and their victims, a British Judge to ask that law to be set aside, and an act of the purest despotism exercised on his own behalf! We can scarcely imagine that a greater reproach could be cast on any Judge, than falsely to impute to him such a step as this; and yet it is undoubtedly true, that more Judges than one have resorted to this mode of seeking redress for supposed wrongs sustained by them in India. In Bengal, a former Chief Justice is known to have applied to a former Governor-General, requesting to have an Editor sent out of the country for stating some unpleasant truths: but the reply of the Governor-General was as became an English nobleman. He told the Judge

that he who was sent here to administer the law for the protection of others, ought to be the last man to set that law aside; and while he advised a legal proceeding, he refused to comply with the wishes of any man, by the exercise of a despotic power;—on hearing which, the Judge retired, covered with shame.

The example of the Governor-General should have been followed by Mr. Elphinstone and his colleagues. But they had not the same British notions on this subject. Sir Charles Chambers complained; and the Bombay Government, instead of desiring him to seek his remedy in that Court of which he was a member, writes a letter to the editor of the *Gazette*, “requiring him to make a public acknowledgment of the errors complained of, and an apology for the reflections directed against Sir Charles Chambers.” This editor, Mr. Fair, was, it appears, a near relative of one of the barristers, and must have been a protégé of Mr. Warden’s, and not obnoxious to the rest of the Government, or he would hardly have held his employment. Whether he counted on secret support in his refusal to make an apology, notwithstanding the public demand of it by the Government, and thought they were playing a double game, we cannot pretend to determine. But he refused to apologize, except in such a manner as was deemed inadmissible. Sir Charles Chambers, it would seem, continued firm in his demand; till at length the Government had not only the injustice, but we must say the meanness, to sacrifice, to an arbitrary and illegal demand of redress which should have been sought through other channels, the unhappy victim who had been apparently fighting their own battles; who must, at least, have had the countenance and protection of one, and no doubt of more, of the members of Government; and who, therefore, both in law and justice, was entitled at least to *their* support. This same Government, who had opposed the just decisions of Sir Edward West, yielded at once a ready assent to the unjust demand of Sir Charles Chambers, and ordered the unhappy editor, Mr. Fair, to quit his post, and be prepared to embark for Europe in three months, at his peril!

Here then, is an illustration of the uses to which a *privileged* press may be applied. Had there been no control exercised over the press of Bombay, but perfect freedom permitted to writers on both sides, it would have been impossible to succeed in giving false impressions by partial and garbled reports. Some honest writers would certainly have been found, and at all events truth would have been elicited by the collision of opposite statements and opinions. The Government, however, want a press to serve *their* purpose only; and the Judges, it would seem, would have a press to suit *theirs*, or they will have none. The result is, that an editor is most unjustly sacrificed, and things are not at all mended; for the same scenes may be, and no doubt will be, acted over again by other instruments, always to be found. The only cure for such evils as these, is the perfect freedom of that very engine which both parties dread, and therefore endeavour to crush and destroy.

Had we not already far exceeded the limits which our space prescribes to us, we should take the present occasion of adverting to the conduct of the Judges in Bengal, in condescending to submit to a regulation being passed for the press there, one of the prominent conditions of which is, that no remarks which could displease them, should ever be made on their conduct.—Gracious Heaven! a British Judge, sitting

in a Court open to all the world, whose chief glory it ought to be to submit to the most searching scrutiny, legalizing a regulation which prohibits all remarks on his own conduct! and then talking of the freedom enjoyed by the British inhabitants of India!! Such a degradation as this is hardly to be imagined; but it is, unhappily, too true; and the disgrace, still more unhappily, yet remains. Let us hope that the British Legislature will soon wipe so foul a stain away.

CROSSING THE RIVER.

THE sun looks bright o'er yonder hill,
 And sheathes the amber flood with gold,
 Which, through the warm sand lapsing still,
 Thus led his crowding waves of old.
 But never since he left the spring
 Which the far hoary mountains hide,
 Did chance a lovelier cohort bring,
 Than that which now sports near his tide.
 See, as along his margin trips
 The laughing maid, how unconfined
 Her hair, from which the fillet slips,
 Waves lightly in the wanton wind!
 And now with snowy foot she tries
 The temper of the silver wave,
 And pleased, the golden bottom eyes,
 Which says she safely may be brave.
 But still the breadth of waters awes;
 In truth, she cannot help but think
 That bolder hearts than hers would pause
 To hear the wind on yonder brink
 Moan through the sighing reeds and flags:
 But now her gay companions smile,
 Though every foot behind her lags,
 Though every heart beats high the while.
 At length they venture! on their cheek
 The lily quells the blushing rose;
 And as the ceaseless ripples break,
 The hushed and shivering terror grows.
 But near the faithful mastiff swims,
 With eye upon his mistress still;
 And round the wheeling sea-mew skims,
 And vents his clamours loud and shrill.
 At length the farther brink they near,
 And Cæsar's back is dry and free:
 With every step their lessening fear
 Gives way to jokes and smiling glee.
 Now on the verdant marge they stand,
 And look back o'er the flood with pride;
 But joy to feel the solid land,
 And go on laughing side by side.

ON THE MULTIPLICATION OF BOOKS.

THE present age, if it should be thought by posterity worthy of a distinguishing appellation, will be called the age of quackery and puffing. Men live by these things; and, we had almost said, by nothing else. But the quackery of literature surpasses all other quackery; it is barefaced, and nearly universal. Men of letters, as they are called, spring up like the dragon's teeth of old, and slaughter each other's reputation with equal blindness and fury. Truth, or taste, is their motto; but their aim is mere lucre, unennobled by one aspiration after fame. It is, however, as much the interest of mankind to encourage a desire of renown, as to repress and discountenance base selfishness:—let them weigh the matter. Fame, celebrity, reputation, are nothing but words; and words are cheap; they can be bestowed without depriving the donor of his "fatted calf," or his sparkling champagne; but are nevertheless, to the genuine author, that which gives flavour and delight to existence. Still men have a peculiar jealousy of writers who display a thirst for reputation; not reflecting that it is nothing more than a strong desire to be remembered for well-doing by the gratitude of their fellow-mortals. If the public persist in reckoning gratitude among the virtues, they should be ashamed of this jealousy, and encourage in themselves a readiness to discover and reward desert, in the way in which desert is best pleased to be rewarded. The same proceeding would act as a discouragement to quackery, and lessen the number of books; an event to be prayed for by every honest and sober man. It may seem a paradox; but books, as my Lord Bacon has observed, can only be lessened by writing other books, which, like Aaron's serpent, may devour the instruments of the magicians. We hope to escape the imputation of inordinate vanity, if we express a belief, that in our way, we may contribute to so desirable an end; for the art of exposing folly is not very recondite, and need not be uncommon, since its object is every where to be met with.

Literary men are necessarily imbued with a veneration for authorship; they think the surest way to remedy an evil, whether in the body politic, or in the animal economy, is to oppose it with a book; so that, according to them, books are to renew the golden age upon earth. Perfect Freedom seems to be the philosopher's stone of 'all benevolent men, and it is thought that book-making is the only alchemy by which that grand secret is to be discovered and made known. We have no doubt that many who diffuse this notion are sincere; but it must be acknowledged, they see very dimly into the nature of things. The vestal virgin who let the enemy into Rome, was stifled by the bucklers which she asked for her reward; and Freedom has often suffered in like manner by the unwise offerings of her friends. Books are in themselves equivocal things; they may be good, they may be bad; but their great multiplication is decidedly hostile to freedom. Reading engenders a fondness for solitude, keeps men apart, consumes their passions and resolves, as each man's grate consumes his fuel, without producing any extraordinary heat or illumination. If all the fires of London were in one vast furnace, the intenseness of the heat would melt the most stubborn metals, and produce

effects never to be created by millions of separate fires. Abuses and tyranny would, in like manner, melt away in the fierceness of congregated passions. Let politicians reflect on this. Let those who love the human race, and would become in this world *anathema* for their salvation, reflect on it. We, for our part, would as soon inoculate the people with the plague, as put our fashionable periodicals into their hands. They are the cup of Circe. They sink the dignity of human nature in the mire of criticism, and transform the harmless artisan and robust peasant into maudlin *litterateurs*:—a preposterous consummation! If the human race had signed with their tyrants a bond of eternal slavery, and thus given up all hope, they might then be encouraged to quench the consuming fire of despair, in the Lethe of literature. But, while there is hope, let not the serpent of pleasure wind into their souls: let mere amusement be banished; let their wrongs corrode their bosoms, goad their hearts, harass them awaking and in sleep, until they determine to be free. Books, in many countries, are a kind of succedaneum for freedom. Men seek in them for what they ought to find in the world, but are sometimes disappointed. How should it be otherwise? What are the mass of writers? Why have they written? Are they not venal sophists, whose sole views are selfishness? whose sole hope, an exceeding great reward? We are moved, but not without cause; for what honest man can look with composure on the indefatigable multiplication of nonsense, or sense perverted and mischievous?

Useless knowledge is worse than mere ignorance, inasmuch as it fills the mind without enriching it; generates self-conceit, fastidiousness, vanity, an aristocratical disdain of the lower orders: in short, every thing little and contemptible. I know not, said Themistocles, how to fiddle; but I know how to make a small city a great one. His knowledge was worth something, to himself and to his country. Our book-makers know nothing, but how to make books. The world, to them, is nothing but a huge piece of parchment, to be scribbled on, and bound up into volumes, until time shall destroy them and it together. A great man reads, in order to gauge the general stock of wisdom, and to know how to add to it; the book-maker, that he may filch something to transform, or disguise, or pass off for a novelty. And, in fact, knowledge has been, for the most part, like the sea, tossed and shaken by the storms of fashion and vicissitude, and receiving into its bosom rivers, whose waters were supplied, by imperceptible channels, from the very cistern they seemed to increase. Look at the new books, and the old books under new titles, of which the press of this country is daily delivered: what are they? helps towards thinking? expositions of errors? No! but things which stifle thought, and beget a thousand errors in opinion. It is said, that a man may repeat his own lie until he himself believes it; he may certainly repeat folly till he thinks it wisdom, and till all those about him are of his opinion. Wonderful is the power of reiteration. The walls of this metropolis, covered from year to year, with repetitions of the same puffs, and always successfully covered, are a proof of what may be done by returning again to the point.

Expelles furcâ, tamen usque recurrit.

The vigour of the public mind, like the feast of Phineas, is always snatched away by literary harpies, ever on the wing for prey, and

endued with a faculty of scenting it, more keen and sure than the blood-hound's. The effect is, that books, considered formerly as nothing less than wise men without their failings; or sacred fane, in which the archives of the dignity and wisdom of the human race were deposited for perpetuity; are now lowered in consideration, to a level with the amphitheatre or the boxing-ring, being reckoned commonly as nothing more than an additional form of amusement. Every scribbler about antiquity, talks of the insane passion for amusement which possessed the Athenian people in the decline of their Republic; and seems to think that nothing similar ever takes place in modern states. But the same passion, with the same symptoms, is in as active operation in England at this moment, as it was at Athens in the days of Demosthenes. What is the *first profession* of the general run of magazines, reviews, and newspapers? That they will be *entertaining*, that they will *amuse their readers*. They endeavour to keep their word, as far as saying nothing that can be useful is keeping it. But were letters invented for this purpose? Did Aristotle, did Plato, did Bacon, coin wisdom into syllables for this? What is that ambition which can content itself with sharing the praise of the mountebank and the fiddler; the praise of being an intellectual juggler, who can put ideas in strange positions for the amusement of the weak and silly? Yet such is the ambition of the "amusing" and "entertaining" book-maker.

In the primitive ages of the Roman Republic, when the robust minds of the citizens were imbued with wisdom and virtue, there was scarcely to be found a barren annalist to give a tongue to their deeds. But we find them apt for business, laborious in agriculture, retentive of the lessons of experience, and equal to the most arduous undertakings in peace and war. Knowledge, collected judiciously, cautiously, and with method, may, doubtless, render a man more equal to great affairs; we are not contending against knowledge, but against its sophistical professors. The saying of Cæsar: "Sylla was ignorant of letters; he was incapable of the Dictatorship;" did not signify that Sylla was not able to criticise the last new poem, or to dissert on the merits of every obscure scribbler who wielded his *calamus* on the Seven Hills: it meant that he was ignorant of those principles of conduct and government which, even in that age, were rarely to be met with, excepting in the writings of the Grecian sages. Cæsar's notion of learning may be gathered from his practice; he trusted it with caution, when it was opposed to the dictates of experience.

At present we are all literary—Reading is the business of life, and London is in some danger of being converted into one huge bookseller's shop. But few are any thing the wiser for what they read; nor is it intended by authors in general that they should. Meanwhile the habit of criticism and authorship introduces distrust and unfriendliness into society; for young men picking up, as a great author observes, a few principles absurdly, construct therewith a cobweb theory, which hangs together very well if it be not disturbed; but shuns with cautious delicacy the unceremonious presence of investigation. Hence the builder and the puller down, the author and the critic, detest each other; and by their jealousies and hatred, introduce a state of society something like what is produced by despotism. Ignorance subsists upon punctiliousness and affected deference for rank or connexions; it is considered indecorous to

lay open in society the nakedness of a man's mind, or to expose with severity the falsehood of his notions ; therefore you shall hear the weakest puerilities pass muster in conversation, if the utterer be otherwise a person of weight and consideration. Every man finding himself thus fortified in the unassailable tower erected about him by decorum, gives himself up, even in the midst of men, to the indolence of solitude, and feeds his mind with vain forms and frivolous respects, instead of reaping in the field of real honour the natural nourishment of noble minds. But men revenge themselves by secret contempt, for the unwilling compliments they pay each other through custom ; and there is much more real solitude and isolation in modern society than can be easily believed ; there being scarcely one soul, with talents above the vulgar level, that communicates its views to its associates, that ventures to lay itself bare to the inspection of others. Men live together with the circumspectness of spies. Yet we here and there meet an eye, against whose searching no covering avails, which detects weakness lurking beneath the garb of moderation, and the serpentine stream of avarice or ambition making its way through the thickets of humility and bounded wishes. Men persuade themselves that this state of things is to be bettered by literature, which, they think, makes directly for virtue and freedom. But the weak-mindedness of literary men is strikingly apparent in the matter of their faith ; which follows almost always in the wake of vulgar prejudices. This has been thought to arise from the predominance, in their minds, of the faculty of imagination ; but this is itself an error which deserves the epithet of *vulgar*. Imagination, to any great degree, is very rarely the portion of literary men, who, for the most part, are persons of learning, and what are called accomplishments ; not energetic, inventive, original minds, which the possession of imagination would make them. There is nothing more turbulent, unmanageable, and averse to vulgar forms, than this faculty ; it is the everlasting monsoon that breaks up the sea of enthusiasm ; and if prejudices are ever to be swept away, it is enthusiasm that must engulf them. It is, therefore, impolitic in those who would better the condition of mankind, to discard the aid of the imagination, without which, their theories will be more visionary than those very poetical dreams which they despise. It is in vain to consider man abstracted from his passions, or to hope for a political millenium from the influence of naked reason. Whoever would do good, must enlist the passions on the side of reason and justice ; and that can never be done effectually, permanently, and with vigour, unless they are carried to the goal by the force of the imagination.

All classes of writers seem, however, to be combined together to bewilder the faculties of the present generation :—memoirs of people who are not worth remembering ; letters, real and forged, which communicate nothing ; novels, whose incidents are not new ; and poems, which are any thing but poetical. Add to these, reviews, magazines, without number ; newspapers that detail *fights* and cases of *crim. con.*, and reject political information ; and close the list, after enumerating a hundred classes more, with the statutes at large, increasing like a descending avalanche, to crush the head of posterity,—and you will have some faint conception of the character of book-making, as it flourishes in this most industrious era.

THOUGHTS ON THE NEW TRANSLATIONS OF THE SCRIPTURES
INTO THE LANGUAGES OF THE EAST.¹

THE celebrated Reiske, in speaking of the versions of the holy scriptures used by the Eastern Christians, has somewhere observed, that the style in which they are written is not calculated to conciliate the respect of the learned, who refuse all credit to a work, if not written in a pure, and even elegant style. Since the numerous translations of the Bible into the languages of the East, by the praiseworthy rivalry of Bible Societies and English Missionaries, many objections have been made to several of them. M. Rémusat, in a review (inserted in the *Moniteur* for 1812) of the Chinese translation of the Gospel of St. Matthew, published by the English Missionaries in Bengal, has noticed, with his usual ability and powers of criticism, several important mistakes of the translators; and pointed out, at the same time, many of the difficulties inseparable from such labours. The Abbé Dubois, a French Missionary, who had become familiarized, during a residence of thirty years in India, with many of the dialects of the country, and with the opinions, manners, and prejudices of the natives, has pronounced a severe judgment upon several of the versions in these idioms. His opinion is recorded in one of the letters in the work published by him under the title of 'Letters on the State of Christianity in India,' &c. The Abbé, however, has gone much further, and hesitates not to advance that the putting the Scriptures into the hands of the Hindoos in their own language, without previously preparing them for it by a well-grounded and regular instruction, far from facilitating their conversion to Christianity, opposes an almost invincible obstacle to it. This assertion is quite distinct from my subject; and I shall therefore put it entirely aside, and only observe that in all that relates, both to the means employed for the conversion of the Hindoos, and the obstacles opposed, by their habits and prejudices, to the efforts of the missionaries, M. Dubois seems to reason too much by the rules of human prudence; and that, when the time marked in the decree of heaven has come, the gods of India, the doctrines of the Brahmins, and the superstitions of the Hindoos will present no more resistance than the gods of the Capitol, the prejudices of Judaism, or the wisdom of Zeno or of Plato. The traveller, Burckhardt,² has also expressed an unfavourable opinion of some of the new versions; but no one has entered so profoundly into the examination of any of the eastern versions as Dr. Henderson, the Scottish Missionary, in his work, entitled 'An Appeal to the Members of the British and Foreign Bible Society, on the Subject of the Turkish New Testament, printed at Paris in 1819.' 8vo. London, 1824. It is not my intention here to examine how far the criticisms of the Abbé Dubois, or of Dr. Henderson, are well founded or not. For the first, I have not the necessary information; and if I think

¹ Translated from an article in the *Journal des Savans*, by the Baron Silvestre de Sacy.

² There was a Mr. Burckhardt, a Missionary and Orientalist, who visited the East, particularly Egypt and Syria, after Mr. Burckhardt the traveller, with whom the writer appears, from the similarity of name, to have confounded him.—ED.

the Abbé's remarks somewhat exaggerated, this may only be a prejudice, from motives independent of the subject. As to the criticisms of Dr. Henderson, there are many of them to which I would willingly subscribe, without, however, attaching nearly so much importance to them as the author. What I now propose, is to examine *à priori*, and independently of all particular criticism, what system should be adopted in translating the sacred scriptures, and what duties the respect we owe to them imposes on translators. Having had the honour to be sometimes asked for my advice respecting translations intended for publication, and which had been already approved of by men whose ability and praiseworthy exertions I respect, without always sharing their opinions, I have thought I perceived that a predilection for *literal translation* was carried much too far, and that sufficient latitude was not allowed to translators. It is chiefly to this topic that my observations apply.

The first of all conditions that we have a right to demand of a translation is, that it be intelligible; i. e. that it present to the mind of the reader a clear and determinate meaning. I do not mean by this to say, that it should present no obscurity to a reader who takes it up without having previously acquired a sufficient knowledge of the subject. A treatise on the higher mathematics, although translated with equal clearness and correctness, would be to no purpose, and would for ever remain incomprehensible to him who possessed not a profound knowledge of the science. It is the same with respect to doctrines, opinions, and sometimes even to facts. Thus, for example, without a knowledge of the law which commanded the Jews to use, during the passover, unleavened bread, and to throw away all the old leaven, it would be impossible to comprehend the meaning of those words of St. Paul to the Corinthians (1 Cor. ch. v. 6, &c.): *ἐκκαθάρατε ἑν τὴν παλαιὰν ζύμην, ἵνα ἦτε νέον φέριμα, καθὼς ἐστὲ ἄζυμοι*. We should be wrong in such a case to reproach a translation with an obscurity which is common to it with the text, and which is only surmounted by those who spoke the original language, by the help of other knowledge, or by a commentary. But, in removing this species of difficulty, inseparable from all possible versions, I hesitate not to say, that every translation should be as easily understood as the original; nay, I will go further, and, although I may be accused of maintaining a paradox, I assert, that, in many instances, the translation should be free from the obscurities of the original. I certainly do not mean to say that a translator is bound to express himself more clearly than the original author; what I advance is merely this, that when the original presents equivocal or doubtful expressions, or any uncertainty or obscurity different from what I have mentioned, it ought not to be permitted to appear in the translation. Thus, if there is a various reading, of whatever importance it may be, the translator must make a choice, and express that which he has selected. And how is it possible for him to do otherwise? Would he write in his translation the contradictory readings (1 Cor. xv.), *πάντες μὲν οὐ κοιμηθσόμεθα, πάντες δὲ ἀλλαγησόμεθα*, and *πάντες μὲν κοιμηθσόμεθα, ὃ πάντες δὲ ἀλλαγησόμεθα*? What I say of various readings, may also be said of passages susceptible of various interpretations. When we read at the beginning of St. John's Gospel, *τὸ φῶς ἐν τῇ σκοτίᾳ φαίνει, καὶ ἡ σκότις αὐτὸ οὐ κατέλαβεν*, which may signify *the light shined in darkness, and the darkness comprehended it not; or, the darkness had no power over it; the translator must fix on either*

one or the other of these interpretations; and when even the language in which he writes, allows of the equivocal expression of the original, far from congratulating himself upon it, he ought rather, I think, to be on his guard against it. The doubtful meaning may be only a difference of punctuation, as in the following passage of St. John's Gospel (chap. xiv. 2.): *In my Father's house are many mansions*, εἰ δὲ μὴ, εἶπον αὐτῷ, πορεύμεθα ἑτοιμάσαι τόπον ὑμῖν; that is, if read without interrogation—*if it were not so, I would have told you: I go to prepare a place for you*; and, if read with the interrogation, which I think much preferable, *if it were not so, would I have said to you: I go to prepare a place for you?* But the meaning is still the same.

It follows, quite evidently, that, to translate any writer of antiquity, and above all the sacred scriptures, something more is necessary than a knowledge of the original language, and of that into which the translation is made; and also, that the respect due to the word of God should not prevent us from applying to this species of labour the ordinary rules of composition, and what reason prescribes to every man who would communicate in writing with his fellow-man.

In fact, if we reflect upon it, we must acknowledge, that the translator, in submitting, in the abovementioned cases, and within the limits we have drawn, the divine oracles to the judgment of his reason, merely does that which every reader of the originals must do; and if the perusal bestowed on them is not a mere mechanical exercise, to which the understanding remains a perfect stranger, whenever an obscure passage is met with, susceptible of various interpretations, the different meanings must be compared, and a decision made in favour of either the one or the other, according to the rules of criticism. The only difference between the mere reader and the translator is, that the first may defer or suspend his decision, by which the passage becomes, if I may so say, in litigation, and null, for the time, as to its influence on the understanding and the heart. The translator, on the other hand, must determine, and fix on the meaning which appears to him the most probable; and, avoiding recourse to vague and doubtful expressions to conceal his embarrassment, he should avail himself of every necessary liberty for conveying to his readers the meaning he has adopted.

Though these principles appear self-evident to me, yet, I must confess, there are translators who seem to have admitted rules perfectly opposite, and who, when the original does not present a clear and satisfactory meaning, think it is sufficient to bestow on each word of the original, an equivalent of some sort or other, without troubling themselves about an intelligible result. To avoid any application which might hurt modern translators, I shall only instance the Greek version of the Psalms. But, I ask, is this to respect the divine word, to present it in a shape revolting to reason? Is it not very probable that the translators may have mistaken the true meaning of the terms taken singly? To call such a version literal, must be a strange abuse of terms.

I shall, perhaps, be told, that nobody now-a-days thinks of translating the scriptures in such a style; and, strictly speaking, I believe this to be true. Some of the critics, however, whose principles have led me into the examination of this subject, wish that in translating, nothing should be added to the text to make the sense more clear. Now, I fear not to

maintain, that in acting thus, we shall often render obscure in the translation, what is very clear in the original, because the difference of language allows in some the use of the ellipsis or pleonasm, which could not be introduced into others without altering the sense. I shall only give one or two instances. In the parable of the barren fig-tree (Luke, ch. xiii.), the gardener asks permission to let it alone for another year, during which he would bestow extraordinary pains upon it; and then adds: *καὶ μὲν ποιήσῃ καρπὸν· εἰ δὲ μήγε, εἰς τὸ μέλλον ἐκκόψεις αὐτήν*—*if it bear fruit; if not, after that thou shalt cut it down.* This passage, translated into Hebrew or Arabic, will allow of the ellipsis, which agrees with the genius of these languages. In French, the ellipsis must be supplied, and the translation would then be, “if it bear fruit, *you will preserve it;*” or in any other way which completes the sense. St. Paul, depicting the doctrine of certain impostors who affected great severity of manners, says of them, (1 Tim. ch. iv. 3.): *ψευδολόγων—καλούντων γαμεῖν, ἀπέχεσθαι βραμπεῶν ἃ ὁ Θεὸς ἔκτισεν κ. τ. λ., seducing spirits—forbidding to marry, to abstain from meats which God hath created, &c.* I ask, who, in such a case, alters the text? the translator who supplies the ellipsis, or he who, by an ignorant scruple, contents himself with a literal version?

If we wish to find a similar instance of pleonasm, the first Epistle of St. John will furnish one. Speaking of those who refuse to acknowledge the divinity of our Saviour, he says (ch. ii. 22.): *ὁ ἀρνούμενος ἔτι Ἰησοῦς οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ Χριστός;* must we here, from respect to the text, employ a negation which alters the meaning? There is another species of pleonasm which, indeed, does not injure the sense; but, in the original, may even be elegant, and extremely vicious in the translation. Must the translator preserve it, under pain of being accused of profaning the holy scriptures? Should we say with the Evangelist John (ch. i. 20.): *And he confessed and denied not; but confessed, I am not the Christ, καὶ ὁμολόγησε, καὶ οὐκ ἡρνήσατο· καὶ ὁμολόγησεν, ὅτι οὐκ εἰμὶ ἐγὼ ὁ Χριστός;* and, let me remark by the way, may we not be allowed to say in French, *and he confessed, saying, I am not the Christ?* In short, may we not dispense with rendering literally the following pleonasms: *ἀγωνίζον τὸν καλὸν ἀγῶνα τῆς πίστεως—ὁμολόγησας τὴν καλὴν ὁμολογίαν—ἐνώπιον . . . Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ μαρτυρήσαντος . . . τὴν καλὴν ὁμολογίαν*, and many others of the same kind?

This leads me to speak of what relates to style, which, although of no consequence to the meaning, is not without its importance as respects the general effect that a translation of the scriptures should produce on the reader.

Translators have sometimes been reproached with employing a style too vulgar and negligent, divested of all grace and ornament; and we are told, that if a translation in such a style may be read by men already convinced of the truths of religion, and of the inspiration of the scriptures, it only serves to inspire unenlightened minds—whom we are desirous of attracting to the light of the gospel—with a feeling of disgust and contempt.

Sometimes, by a quite opposite mode of judging, translators are accused of parodying the simplicity of the sacred scriptures, and of seeking, by a criminal compliance with human prejudices, to vary the form of expression, in cases where the original is always the same: in using two words to express what with more correctness and energy the text de-

notes by only one: in substituting, for the construction of the original, another, which, in the translation, is either more elegant or clear: in softening down an image proper to the language of the original, and familiar to the people who speak it, but obscure and revolting to those for whom the translation is intended.

I agree, and these accusations diametrically opposite prove, that the subject is a very delicate one, to which a great knowledge both of the language of the original and of the translation, united with great prudence, should be brought; but above all, we must endeavour to form a correct idea of what we are accustomed to call the *simplicity* of the holy scriptures. If we mean by simplicity certain inaccuracies of diction not to be found in the classic writers, which can only apply to the New Testament, and to some books of the Old never written in Hebrew, or of which the original Hebrew has been long lost—such language is an abuse of terms. The Greek of the Hellenistic Jews, which some learned men have considered as the Macedonian Greek, may be characterized as a corruption of pure Greek, having the forms of a degenerate and altered dialect, either by the introduction of foreign idioms and expressions, or because the words are sometimes turned from their primitive and legitimate use, and receive new acceptations: but, in all this, there is certainly nothing that can be called simplicity of style; and St. Paul, in using this language, is assuredly not prevented from being as sublime, humanly speaking, as Plato; and St. John, while relating the discourses of his divine master, after the supper, thrills, touches, and persuades us, in a very different manner from Xenophon, when disclosing the last thoughts of Socrates. Perhaps it is owing to the versions of scripture transmitted to us from antiquity—the style of which is almost always vulgar and careless—that we are accustomed to think such a style characteristic of the holy scriptures.

If, on the contrary, by simplicity of style be meant a becoming, natural, and easy style, free from hyperbole and exaggeration, always suited to the subject—where the author is at no pains to communicate to others the impression made upon himself—making the reader be witness as it were to the thing related, which moves without attempting it, and convinces without any effort. In all this I perceive at once the style of the scriptures; I perceive the reason, why, in spite of the most careless and faulty versions, the sacred oracles still maintain their influence over the heart and mind. But, what is this simplicity of style, but the highest degree of excellence, including every other, and which can only be despised by a false and depraved taste? Far from us, therefore, be the thought, when we speak of the simplicity of the holy scriptures, of any imperfection, vulgarity, or triteness; and let us acknowledge, for example, that the simplicity of the Book of Ruth is not less agreeable to all the rules of taste, to all the true principles of the art of writing, than the sublimity of Isaiah, the vehemence of Ezekiel, or the tender and touching strains of Jeremiah, when weeping over the ruins of Zion.

Now, what are the consequences we should draw from this for the instruction of translators? Undoubtedly that they should conform to their original, in writing purely and unaffectedly; with dignity, but without inflation; and with a chaste and severe elegance: that all vulgarity, all trifling expressions, all carelessness which would assimilate their language to that of the lower classes of society—so far from being

a merit,^g is a profanation and caricature: that they are not allowed to substitute for the figures of the ancient originals others derived from a modern and different state of society; and that they should abstain from bestowing on the ideas of St. Paul the oratorical figures of Massillon; or the soft colouring and laboured ornament of modern times, on the History of Joseph, of Ruth, or of Esther. The principles now established would suffice, it appears to me, for the guidance of a translator, or those called upon to judge of a translation, were all translations intended only for readers already familiar with the ideas peculiar to Christianity, and whose language, in consequence, was enriched with the terms necessary for expressing its dogmas, mysteries, and rites, and the inculcation of its morality. But if, as is frequently the case now-a-days, the translations are intended for men entirely strangers to the light of the gospel, to excite their curiosity, and to lead them to the knowledge of themselves, the translator, as well as the catechist, will have only the choice of two modes: either he will introduce into his translation the words of a foreign language, which to his readers would be so many sounds void of all meaning, or (which is perhaps the better way, being that adopted by the first preachers of the gospel,) he will borrow, from the language of those for whom he writes, terms having already received acceptation, but different from the new one he assigns to them; and then he will run the risk of conveying ideas to his readers perfectly different from what he intended, and of establishing, between his perception of the meaning and theirs, a merely seeming relation, devoid of all reality. The situation of the catechist is not so dangerous. He may call to his aid every proper means for the developement of the new ideas in the old language; whilst the translator, limited to his duties, cannot substitute a commentary for the mere version. Here, it must be confessed, and as I have already said, is a difficulty that cannot be got rid of; a consequence that must be undergone if the principle is adopted. It is impossible seriously to reflect on this great difficulty, without asking if it is proper to employ translations of the scriptures as the first means for converting barbarous nations; but I have already said that it is not my intention to enter upon the examination of this question, which is not connected with my subject, and which, perhaps, can be decided neither by a direct affirmation nor negation.

I shall conclude these remarks with an observation equally applicable to translators, to preachers, and to catechists, but which I shall only now consider in relation to the first. Let the translator regard it as his most sacred duty, not to alter, from considerations of worldly policy, the truths of which he is the interpreter:—let him say, without disguise, to the idolater, that the worship of idols is absurd: to the slave of passions, how degraded he is, condemned as well by reason as religion: to the superstitious, that the truth is one, and that every thing else deserves only contempt or detestation. Let him tell, in short, the proud adorer of reason, that, fallen from its original dignity, reason needs the aid of another light, which he is to seek and to find, and, having found it, to abandon himself to its direction, and to glory in his submission and obedience.

SILVESTRE DE SACY.

MIDNIGHT.

MY lamp was low, my books lay strewed around ;
 The ticking clock gave forth a dreary sound
 To utter stillness : Sleep had waved her hand
 With wizard power along the drowsy land.
 My brain had toiled through long laborious hours
 To choose from learning's ever pleasing bowers
 One spot to call my own, whereon to lay,
 In pride of heart, whatever in my way
 O'er nature's common I might chance to see—
 Or wisdom's gems, or flowers of minstrelsy !
 The moonbeam crept along the dusky floor
 With silent feet, as from the sandy shore
 The silver waters sink when tempests sleep,
 And leave lone quiet brooding o'er the deep :
 Or like the foot of love when, gliding light,
 It treads on danger, panting 'mid the night,
 To watch from window dim some signal, known
 To passion's keen discerning glance alone.
 I sat disturbed, when lo ! approaching slow,
 A form whose head was touched with age's snow,
 Before me stood, and in his hand he bare
 A sceptre glittering like the morning star.
 His eye was keen but peaceful, brown his cheek,
 His aspect godlike, but his bearing meek ;
 Peace breathed around his face a power serene
 Where'er he moved, to harmonize the scene.
 I knew the power, Philosophy ! twas he ;
 None else on earth knew equal majesty.
 But ah ! his offspring, Memory ! by thee,
 Now entered, soul-enchanting Poesy !
 Her robes of light, long waving on the ground,
 Diffused reviving heavenly scents around ;
 Her face—Idalia's, free from all her guile,
 And chaste as Dian's—wore a winning smile.
 She knew her sire, and reverently stood,
 With down-cast eye, in meditative mood ;
 Till he, observing many a furtive glance
 Which at his daughter's lovely countenance
 I stole, with smiles straight put my hand in hers,
 Saying, " Be thou amongst her worshippers !
 Her shrine is mine with tenfold beauty crowned,
 Where all my choicest precepts may be found
 Instinct with life, and clothed with forms divine !
 Where she and Fame immortal wreaths entwine,
 For such as with a single heart adore
 The beauteous mother of the metric lore ! "

BION.

ATTEMPTED COMMERCIAL INTERCOURSE WITH COCHIN-CHINA.

THE kingdom of Cochin-China has long appeared to present to those natives of Europe whom commercial pursuits have attracted to the Eastern world, a desirable and ample field for mercantile speculation; and numerous attempts have been made in the course of the two last centuries, by the English and by other nations, to establish a beneficial and permanent intercourse with its inhabitants: Of the various overtures which have been made on the part of the English, a brief enumeration has been given in an early number of the *Oriental Herald*;¹ from which it will be seen, that the whole of these had proved unsuccessful, prior to the recent mission of Mr. Crawford, in 1822, under the authority of the Bengal Government. The martial rulers of Cochin-China, continually engaged, like those of other warlike nations of the East, in schemes of plunder and aggrandisement, had seldom inclination, and still less frequently leisure, to attend to the internal affairs and domestic prosperity of the country which was fated to languish under their command; and even on those few and distant occasions in which these comparatively trifling concerns were brought under their observation, their rapacity seemed only to have changed its object, and the property of the peaceable merchant was doomed, equally with that of the armed enemy, to bear the burden of oppression. Heavy payments were exacted from him, under the name of duties, to which that of plunder would have been far more applicable; and the rapacity of the servants of the government, no less on the alert than that of their masters, rendered still more galling the fetters with which commerce was loaded. The faithless and greedy selfishness of the natives presented, also, continual and harassing obstacles to the success of the foreign trader, and compelled him eventually to desert those shores on which he had been so in hospitably received. Under these unpropitious circumstances the government of Cochin-China has been at length prevailed on to lend a more favourable ear to a fresh negotiation commenced by the British authorities in India, and which has therefore been conducted to a successful issue. Various ports of Cochin-China are now open to the British trader, on terms which have been promulgated by authority, and he must be consequently interested in ascertaining the nature and extent of its trade, and the manners and character of its inhabitants. In this inquiry we are glad to have an opportunity of assisting him by referring largely to a 'Voyage to Cochin-China, by John White, Lieutenant in the United States Navy,' which has recently issued from the London press, as a reprint from a Boston edition, and contains much information of the highest value, as well to the geographer and the inquirer into the character and habits of mankind, as to the navigator and the merchant.

On the second of January 1819, the brig *Franklin*, sailed under the command of Lieutenant White, from Salem in Massachusetts, U. S. bound on a commercial speculation for Cochin-China, and arrived on the 7th of June, off Cape St. James. This promontory is the commencement of a chain of mountains, which extend along the coast to the north as far as the Gulf of Tonquin, and being the first high land seen

¹ Vol. i. p. 330.

in coming from the south, is an excellent mark for the entrance of Donnai river, on the north side of which it is situated. Here in a small semicircular bay, which takes its name from the village of Vung-Tau, the vessel anchored, and the navigators were honoured on the following morning by a visit from the military Mandarin, commanding on the station,—a withered, gray-headed old man, possessing, however, a great deal of vivacity, tinctured with a leaven of savage childishness, which in spite of his affectation of great state and ceremony, would constantly break out, and afford infinite amusement. He had several attendants, one of whom carried a fan, another the areka nut, betel leaf, chunam, and tobacco, (of which large quantities are used by the Cochin-Chinese), and a third reared over his head a huge umbrella, with which he followed the old man to all parts of the ship, where his curiosity or caprice led him, and without which, even when invited into the cabin, he would not descend. The risibility of the voyagers was not a little excited at seeing him strut about the deck, peeping into the cook's coppers, embracing the sailors on the forecastle, dancing, grinning, and playing many other antic tricks, followed in the most ceremonious manner by this train, and by that of the other chiefs who accompanied him. The scene which succeeded was not however so pleasing to them. His curiosity being gratified, a violent fit of friendship followed, intended as a prelude to one of begging, which was urged by him and his attendants to so great an extent, that scarcely a single article appeared to have escaped their notice. The curtains, glass-ware, wearing apparel, arms, ammunition, spy-glasses, and cabin-furniture, were successively the objects of their cupidity; but, as these demands could not of course be complied with, a moderate present was made, with the desire of conciliating his good will. This was accepted with a very ill grace; and on finding that nothing more was intended to be given, he ordered his boat alongside, signifying at the same time, that if they persisted in going up the river, their heads would be the forfeit. This hint reduced them to the necessity of treating with him, and peace was at length restored by an additional present to himself and to each of his followers and attendants, and still more effectually by the production of a large quantity of spirits.

The rapid circulation of the bottle completed the restoration of harmony, and the utmost hilarity prevailed when they reached the village of Canjeo, where Lieutenant White accompanied them on shore. The nauseous and disgusting appearance of the place, and the equally filthy and miserable condition of the mixed assembly of men, women, children, swine, and diseased dogs, which greeted their arrival, are subjects too disagreeable to be dilated on. At the house of the chief, the voyager was received with great ceremony, and regaled in the most liberal manner, in return for the banquet which he had furnished on board the Franklin; the old chief himself tearing the food into pieces with his fingers, and thrusting it into the mouths of his visitors, to whose lips he held, between every thrust, a large bowl of tea made very sweet; and persevered in this friendly occupation to the hazard of suffocating them, till Lieutenant White, utterly unable to bear it longer, started up and laid his hand on his dirk. After attempting in vain to remove from their palates the unpleasant effects of pork and black rice, administered in this original manner, by tasting a few sweetmeats, which it was impossible to swallow, from their having been fried in grease,

the spirits were again produced, and it was thought necessary to proceed to business immediately, lest the Mandarin should become incapable of attending to it. To the request of a pilot to ascend the river, he replied by drawing his hand across his own throat, and then across Lieutenant W.'s, intimating that they should both lose their heads if that request were complied with. The same answer was returned to an application for leave to go up to Saigon in the Franklin's boat, or in one of their own boats; but he finally declared that he would send to Saigon to ask permission for the strange vessel to ascend to the city, and that an answer would be returned in two days; giving at the same time some orders to an officer in attendance, who immediately retired apparently for the purpose of despatching a messenger to Saigon with his communication.

Notwithstanding the apparent candour exhibited on this occasion, it was soon discovered that the promises of the Mandarin had not been performed, and five days were wasted in the useless attempt to conciliate these sturdy beggars, who omitted in the mean while no opportunity of taking every advantage, or of stealing whatever lay in their way. Their deceitful conduct and unceasing rapacity became during this period so exceedingly disgusting, that it was held to be the best policy to produce the rum-bottle on all their visits, in the hope that the sooner they were intoxicated the sooner would the vessel be freed from their presence. From this constrained liberality, by which the stores were much diminished, and the stock of presents which had been laid in considerably reduced, not the slightest advantage was derived; and when on the last day of their stay, the voyagers were desired to withdraw the charges from their guns, and several attempts were made, on what were afterwards discovered to be delusive grounds, to allure the whole of the crew from the vessel, the suspicions which were excited by this mysterious behaviour hastened the departure of the Franklin, which subsequently bore up to the northward along the coast, with the intention of proceeding to Huè, the royal residence, to apply for passports. On reaching the Bay of Turon they learned, however, through the medium of a written conversation carried on in Latin with a mandarin who came on board, that the King was absent from Huè engaged in extending his conquests in Tonquin, and that the time of his return was very uncertain. They also understood that two French ships were shortly expected, laden chiefly with fire-arms, for which they were to receive sugar and raw silk, and that there was not enough of these articles in all the northern provinces to load one of them; a statement which was afterwards found to be true. Under these discouraging circumstances they determined upon proceeding to Manilla, in the hope of finding some person acquainted with the language of Cochin-China, through the medium of whom they might obtain permission to ascend the river to Saigon. In this hope they were again disappointed, as on their arrival at Manilla, distant only two hundred leagues from Cochin-China, not more than three persons could be found, after the most diligent inquiry, who knew any thing of that country, and not one of whom could speak the language or give any really useful information concerning it.

About a fortnight after the arrival of the Franklin at Cavité, the port of Manilla, she was joined there by the ship *Marmion* of Boston, which had arrived on a similar speculation at the mouth of the Don-nai river a few days after her departure. The commander of the *Marmion* had,

after various vexatious difficulties, been permitted to go up to Saigon in one of the craft belonging to Canjeo, but was unable to prosecute any commercial speculations in consequence of the ignorance of the Cochin-Chinese in regard to the value of doubloons, which composed the principal part of his stock. Finding the impossibility of obtaining a cargo without Spanish dollars, he determined on proceeding to Manila to procure them; and it was arranged in an interview which took place shortly after the arrival of the Marmion at that city, that the vessels should return to the Don-nai river in company, which would be highly advantageous for mutual protection while penetrating into the heart of a country so little known, and of the inhabitants of which both vessels had such ample reasons for entertaining an unfavourable opinion. It was also considered that while co-operating in all their proceedings, their demands for permission to go up to Saigon would have more weight, and the attempts at imposition might be less successful.

In consequence of this determination, the Franklin and Marmion departed together from Cavité in the beginning of September, and arrived a second time in Vung-Tau Bay on the 25th. On the following day they anchored off Canjeo, where the same covetous propensities which had formerly harassed them were again exhibited. One hundred dollars were demanded from each vessel, to pay the messenger whom the mandarin promised to despatch to Saigon for the permission to proceed up the river, and for pilots to guide the vessels in their navigation. This demand was at once refused; and it was subsequently arranged that the messenger should be sent, and the remuneration regulated by the answer which should be received. It was however discovered, three days afterwards, that this promise had not been fulfilled, and the navigators were so incensed at this fresh instance of duplicity that they threatened to man the Franklin's launch and proceed up the river, declaring that they would neither pay the money nor depart from the coast until they had fully represented to his master the conduct of the mandarin. This threat proved at length successful, and after some hesitation it was finally settled that two persons might be despatched from the vessels, on paying the expenses of the boat which was to convey them; and two of the gentlemen who had previously visited Saigon having been selected for this service, on their return with the desired permission, which was granted with the most apparently frank cordiality by the authorities at the city, the vessels gladly weighed anchor and proceeded up the Don-nai.

Along the whole course of this noble river, less than eight fathoms of water was never found in the middle, and lying alongside the bank, with the yards interlocked with the trees, seldom so little as three fathoms, and more frequently seven, eight, or nine. The general depth in the stream was from eight to fifteen fathoms, and the bottom soft ooze throughout. Yet, with this great advantage to navigation, the progress of the vessels was very slow, as the rainy season was not yet past, and the river poured its yellow stream to the ocean with accelerated velocity, paralyzing the operations of the flood-tide, whose greatest effort could only produce a temporary cessation of the current, for about three hours in the twenty-four. Little progress could, therefore, be made without the aid of a fresh and favourable breeze; and although the distance from Cape St. James to the city of Saigon, is, with the meanderings of the river, only fifty-nine miles and a half, upwards of six days were con-

sumed in reaching it. Here they were at first lodged in the house of a Luçonian, who had been settled at Saigon for many years, having married the daughter of a mandarin, and under whose roof they enjoyed the full benefits of the filthy and disgusting domestic economy of the Cochinchinese, which quickly induced them to change their habitation. Nor were the dogs, the vermin, the noisome stenches, and the still more abominable cookery, the only nuisances to which they were exposed; for much inconvenience was experienced from the continual annoyance of the old women by whom mercantile business is transacted, and who immediately surrounded them in shoals, soliciting employment as merchandize brokers, and offering their assistance in purchasing cargoes.

In availing themselves of the permission which was granted to them, of waiting on the acting Governor (the Viceroy being then absent in attendance on the King), the first object was to establish the mode of presentation, it having been intimated to them that the ceremony of the *ko-tou* would be exacted, against which their American feelings revolted. After a little discussion this debasement was relinquished in their favour, and it was arranged that the Governor would be satisfied with three bows, after the European fashion, to which, on their presentation, he returned a slow and profound inclination of the head. On this occasion they were received with great pomp and ceremony; and the presents which had been prepared were accepted with evident pleasure. Having attentively viewed each article separately, he expressed great satisfaction, and welcomed his visitors in a very gracious manner, making many inquiries of their health, the length of their voyage, the distance of their country from Onam (Cochin-China), the object of their visit, &c.; and promised them every facility in the prosecution of their views. It was in vain, however, that they attempted to introduce the subject of *sagouètes* (presents), and port-charges for anchorage, tonnage, &c. (the rate of which they wished to have established), all recurrence to these points being artfully waived till the next interview. As it was therefore impossible to proceed to business, Lieut. W. and his companions retired, after partaking of some refreshment.

On their return on board, they were informed that the following day had been appointed for the ceremony of measuring the ships; for a ceremony, they were told, it invariably had been, and could not be dispensed with; and it was expected that a feast should be prepared for the throng of officers who would visit them on this occasion. Preparations were accordingly made to regale them; but the stock of European spirits was now so much reduced, that it was found necessary to mix the remainder with some of the whisky of the country. On the following morning the boats were sent to escort this "gang of spongers" on board, and a fleet of the country boats was soon descried, filled with persons of various ranks; and in a few minutes they were alongside the Franklin.

Immediately after the first introduction, which was conducted with some ceremony, demands were made for liquors, which were immediately supplied, and they were then urged to proceed to business. It was not, however, till after a long consultation, that they commenced their operations, by marking on the deck a line perpendicular to each end of the keel; one-third of the distance from the mark nearest the stern to that forward was then set off for the place of admeasurement, where a straight pole or strip of wood was placed horizontally across the ship, over the rail

or gun-wale, from which plummets were suspended, in order to find a line perpendicular to the wales, or extreme diameter of the ship in that part which was marked on the pole. On this measurement, the tonnage-duty is payable by the *tonnick* or *covid*, a measure of sixteen and six-tenth inches, at the rate of one hundred and sixty *quans*, or eighty Spanish dollars per *covid*. On the amount so found is an imposition of three per cent, to pay the officers for the trouble and expense of measuring. Another exaction of one per cent. is made in favour of the soldiers, or attendants, for the trouble and expense of looking on; and to crown this climax of extortions, the Government allow but eighteen mace, (called by the *Onamese tien*,) for a Spanish dollar, when paid them for anchorage, &c. whereas in the bazars, and in all other commercial operations, the dollar is always worth two *quans* of ten mace each.

The duties on the Franklin, of two hundred and fifty-two tons burden, amounted, with the fees, according to this measurement, to nearly one thousand six hundred and twenty-seven Spanish dollars, and forty-five cents. Other exactions, such as *sagoudes*, or presents, &c. swelling the whole amount to more than two thousand seven hundred dollars, were demanded on the Franklin alone; and in vain did Lieutenant White apply to the acting Governor for a reduction of this very heavy impost. It was the established custom of the country, from which none could be exempted: and when, on a subsequent occasion, he produced a letter from M. Vannier, the King's Admiral, in which it was stated that these duties had been reduced, in the preceding year, one-third, by royal order, his case was not at all amended by this new argument. It was in the power of the King, undoubtedly, they said, to impose or to remove duties, and they were bound to fulfil his pleasure; such a decree might exist, but it had never been promulgated to them, and they must, therefore, adhere to the established rule. So oppressive, indeed, are these anchorage dues on all traffic, that many of the native vessels are so contracted, with the view of evading them as much as possible, at the part where the measurement is taken, that they assume in some degree the appearance of a fiddle.—Unsuccessful in his attempts to obtain a reduction of the sum to be paid, Lieutenant W. resolved to evade at least the additional imposition of reckoning the dollars at a less rate than the market price, by paying the duties in the current coin; and upwards of a week was consumed in counting and stringing about two tons and a half of money, which amounted to barely one-fourth of the dues on both vessels. On taking this to the Custom-house, much of it was rejected as bad, and much also was stolen; and so various and harassing were the manœuvres adopted to tire him of this novel mode of proceeding, that he was finally compelled to submit to the extortion, and to pay the dollars at the rate of eighteen specks each; for which he could readily have procured twenty. Of their mode of conducting traffic, the following specimen will probably be deemed amply sufficient:—

Scarcely (says Lieut. White) had this party taken leave, before we were visited by a bevy of women, who, we found, were merchants, or rather merchandise brokers; they, after asking and receiving a glass of brandy each, began to open their business, offering sugar, silk, cotton, and other articles for sale, but produced no samples. We were astonished to find that the article of sugar, which they knew was the primary one with us, or at least what had been most inquired for, had risen from eighty to one hundred per cent. since our arrival; but that other articles had not advanced in the same ratio by any means. Finding this to

be the case, we were more particular in our inquiries for silk, cotton, gamboge, and other articles, the reputed productions of the country, of which we told them to bring samples, after being told their respective prices. After a long interview, during which we were fully satisfied of the shuffling chicanery and rapacity of the merchants, they departed, promising to see us the next day. They were punctual to their appointment, but did not bring any specimens of their goods. Our astonishment may, however, be conceived when they informed us that the commodities of which we had inquired yesterday, had advanced about fifty per cent. in price. It would be tedious to the reader and painful to myself, to recapitulate the constant villany and turpitude which we experienced from these people during our residence in the country. Their total want of faith, constant eagerness to deceive and over-reach us, and their pertinacity in trying to gain by shuffling and manœuvring, what might have been better and easier gained by openness and fair dealing; the tedious forms and ceremonies in transacting all kinds of business, carried into the most trifling transactions; the uncertainty of the eventual ratification of any bargain (the least hope of wearing the patience of the purchaser out, and inducing him to offer a little more, being sufficient to annul any verbal stipulation); and there being no appeal, unless there is a written contract, which is never made till every art has been used, and every engine of extortion put in motion and exhausted to gain more; all these vexations, combined with the rapacious, faithless, despotic, and anti-commercial character of the government, will, as long as these causes exist, render Cochin-China the least desirable country for mercantile adventurers.

The various and contradictory statements which were constantly made by these brokers and others concerning the quantity of sugar and other productions of the country actually stored at Saigon, induced Lieutenant White to visit the whole of the warehouses to satisfy himself by personal investigation. In those of the Chinese commercial agents there were no articles suited for the European market, with the exception of some gamboge, peltry, and a little red wood for dying; and of those destined for China the quantities on hand were very small. The final result of these researches was the discovery that there were but about eight hundred piculs of sugar in Saigon; about ten tons of raw silk, which was held at a higher price than it was worth in Europe; from thirty to fifty tons of red dye-wood, also enormously dear; and some dirty cotton, in small parcels, which the owners evinced no anxiety or willingness to sell at any rate. The whole trade of Cochin-China might, indeed, be termed in 1819 a mere nothing. All the sugar which could be procured, not only in the division of Don-nai, but as far north as Nhatrang city, comprehending an extent of about seventy leagues of coast, amounted to little more than two thousand piculs, and did not furnish half cargoes to the Franklin and the Marmion. There were but three Chinese junks in Saigon the same year, whose united cargoes did not amount in value to one hundred thousand dollars. At Turon and Huè, were two French ships, which, after lying five months, procured only half cargoes of sugar and some raw silk, the principal part of the annual produce of the northern provinces. The trade with Siam is of little value, the imports from thence being some iron in pigs, and mat bags; sometimes a few spices and a little pepper, with other trifling articles. In return they take sugar, Clâ Huè (the coarse tea of the country), &c. The appearance of activity in the coasting trade is stated to be also fallacious, the cargoes of the country craft being always of small value, with which they are never filled, as they are compelled to take a certain proportion of their burden, free of freight, on the King's account, which generally consists of rice and other provisions for his troops, wood and other materials for construction, military stores for his different garrisons, &c.

During the period of their stay at Saigon several attempts were made to plunder the vessels by what appeared to be Ladrões; these, however, proved constantly unsuccessful, from the vigilant and unremitting watch that was maintained on board. Nor was the most extreme caution and vigilance less requisite in attending to the conduct of the linguists and inferior government officers, who more than once endeavoured to entrap the voyagers into a breach of the laws, which would have justified the seizure of the ships, the custom-house boats being posted ready to take advantage of the least irregularity. It may indeed be doubted, from the whole tenor of the conduct pursued by these people, whether pretexts, true or false, would have been wanting to seize a single ship; but the united force of the two appears to have preserved them from the fate which was so narrowly escaped by an English vessel at Hué-foo in 1778. "I shall, I think, be readily believed," says Lieutenant White, "when I state that few tears were shed by us on our departure from a country where we had encountered so much trouble and vexation;" and where the quantity of merchandise obtained had been so insufficient that the vessels were under the necessity of completing their cargoes at Java. At this latter island, however, the Chinese picul (of one hundred and thirty three pounds and one third English) of sugar cost on board about eight dollars and a half, while that taken on board at Saigon cost with all the burdens of the Donnai, only seven dollars and 22 cents per picul.

In comparing the above account of the commerce of Cochín-China with the Report of Mr. Crawford,³ the reader will perceive several discrepancies which our space will not permit us to notice. We shall, however, briefly touch on one or two points which are more particularly deserving of attention. It is stated in the Report of Mr. Crawford that in 1818, "the late King established a new tariff for the foreign commerce;" but it will have been remarked from the narrative of Lieutenant White, that no attention whatever was paid in the succeeding year by the governor of Saigon to this royal ordinance. In a succeeding paragraph of the Report an assertion is made which must be regarded with considerable doubt. "These moderate and liberal arrangements," says Mr Crawford, "leave little to be desired in the way of mere regulation; but it is of little more consequence to the interests of foreign trade, that in Cochín-China neither the sovereign nor his officers are traders themselves, that there are no royal monopolies, and no claim of right of pre-emption, the exercise of all of which is infinitely more mischievous even than the heaviest duties." To this statement the observation of Lieutenant White is directly opposed. "Equi-distant (he says) from the extremities of the city (Saigon), near the bank of the river is a long range of buildings of handsome construction; these are the magazines of rice, which is a regal monopoly, and the exportation of it prohibited on pain of decapitation; each vessel departing from the country being allowed a certain quantity for provisions, in proportion to the number of her crew, and the anticipated length of her passage. A large Siamese junk was lying hauled up in a creek on the Banga side of the river, the captain and officers of which had been executed a short time previous to our arrival, and the crew was then in prison, for a violation of this edict." "Forty piculs of rice were allowed for the sea-stock of both vessels, one half of which we were obliged to take from the King's

³ See *Oriental Herald*, vol. i. p. 329.

magazines, at three quans per picul; the residue we were at liberty to purchase in the bazars, which we did at two quans per picul, and of a very fine quality and new; that from the King's warehouses was old and full of vermin. Remonstrances had no effect. We might, they observed, take it in that way, or take none at all. It was quite optional with us." These facts appear to decide the question of monopoly; and with respect to that of pre-emption the following extract, with which we shall conclude this article, appears also conclusive. "It had been rumoured for some time past, that the anticipated crop of sugar of the ensuing season was already disposed of; as the King had transmitted orders to Saigon to have not only all the sugar of that season secured for him, (for which he allowed the owners but eight quans per picul,) but to plant double the number of canes for the next year, to enable him to fulfil some contracts, which the small crops of the present year had prevented him from doing. To ascertain the truth of this report, we waited on the viceroy, and demanded if it were true? He not only confirmed it verbally, but pointed to some officers who were at the levee; and informed us that those were the persons who had been sent by the King to see his orders put in execution, and they had just returned from surveying the grounds to be prepared for that purpose."

THE DREAMS OF YOUTH.

OH! sweet were the dreams of the morning of youth,
 When delusion's gay hues wore the semblance of truth;
 And with visions of happiness Fancy was rife,
 When I gazed with delight on the landscape of life;
 The warm Sun of Pleasure shone bright from on high,
 And pure were the breezes, and cloudless the sky,
 And gay were the flowers that o'erhung the clear rill,
 And verdant the groves on the slope of the hill:
 Hope smiled like an angel, and Fame's dazzling star
 Gleamed clear in the distance, and lured from afar.

Yes! such was the scene my youth fondly surveyed,—
 But how changed was the prospect as o'er it I strayed!
 It seemed that my presence, destructive of joy,
 Had power, like the *Upas*, to blight and destroy:
 The flowers fell to earth, on my nearer advance,
 The trees drooped their leaves, as if scathed by my glance;
 Each thing that had life seemed to sicken and die,
 As if mine were the beam of the Basilisk's eye.
 —Yet *one* tender flow'ret of delicate hue,
 As I nearer approached it, still lovelier grew;
 But when, rashly impatient, to seize it I tried,
 It shrunk from my grasp, faded, withered, and died!—

Hope's visage is darkened—delusion is gone,
 I stand in a desert—cold—friendless—alone.

India.

W.

ORIGINAL LETTERS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,—Your ready insertion of my communication¹ has encouraged me to offer you the accompanying letters, which I lately derived from the same source as the letter of Hume.

Among the literary treasures in the British Museum, is a volume of MSS. (*Ayscough*, 4465) chiefly in the hand-writing of John Toland, containing, so far as I could judge, on a cursory view, the first sketches of parts of several of his learned works. Among these papers are three original letters to Toland, my copies of which are at your service.

The first letter is from the Rev. William Stephens, of whom there are the following notices, in *Mem. of Thomas Hollis*, ii. 682, as quoted in the *Monthly Repository*, (1811) vi. 656. He was entered at Oxford in 1663, aged 14, was Lecturer of Carfax, in that city; and, in 1686, became Rector of Sutton, in Surrey. Mr. Stephens was distinguished for very free political sentiments; as sufficiently appears in 'A Sermon preached before the Honourable the House of Commons, Jan. 30, 1700, being an Anniversary Sermon for the day.' To this sermon "the honourable auditory," as the author says, "expressed their dislike," because the preacher "asserted that all power was originally derived from the people, and excused the murder of King Charles the First. Whereupon the House was so far from returning him thanks, that they resolved That, for the future, no person be recommended to preach before this House, who is under the dignity of a Dean of the Church, or hath not taken his degree of Doctor of Divinity."² Thus, as this preacher was only a B.D., "the wisdom of Parliament" appears to have determined that no such uncourtly offence would be given by any preacher who had passed the probation required to become a Dean or a Doctor.

This obnoxious sermon is now before me, in the 'Pillars of Priestcraft,' (1768) ii. 227. The editor of that work, Mr. Baron, attributes to "the masterly hand of Mr. Trenchard, the author's friend," the eloquent conclusion of this sermon, in which occasion is taken to "lament the unhappy fate of those princes who are born in purple, and bred in luxury; encompassed with flatterers, and so intoxicated with the gaudy ornaments of power, as to forget the end for which they were elevated, and made gods upon earth. They little consider," continues this uncourtly observer of courts, "that this greatness is supported by the inheritance of the gentleman, the hazard of the merchant, and the sweat of the labourer; who readily contribute, out of their small stock, to support a government they themselves have set up: who are contented to part with their natural liberty to those who formerly, it may be, were their equals, for their common good and protection; which is the only end of government." The whole sermon is, indeed, as far distinguished from the common stuff dedicated by expectant churchmen to the memory of the blessed Martyr, as the Rectory of Sutton is distant from the Archbishopric of Canterbury.

A contemporary of the preacher, Mr. Longford, is quoted by *Oldmixon*, as saying, "I don't dislike the 30th of January, nor the deed that was

¹ *Oriental Herald*, vol. ii. 558*.

² *Chron. Hist.* 1747, i. 299.

done that day ; I like both the day and the deed." Our preacher, however, forbears to applaud the royal execution,—that act of, perhaps, irregular justice on a great delinquent, which courtiers fondly call "the murder of King Charles the First." He contents himself with regarding "the misfortunes of that sovereign prince which are this day called to our remembrance," as affording "matter of caution," and presently makes the charitable supposition that "the want of necessary concern for public good" in "the subordinate ministry, did assist in bringing on that tragical scene."

Mr. Lysons, on Surrey (*Environs*, i. 495), says, that the preacher suggested "the impropriety of continuing the observance of the day." Such a suggestion would scarcely have discredited his good sense. He, however, has not made it ; but contents himself with saying, "To insist on the dismal effects of this day's tragedy, (with which you have been annually acquainted all your lives) would be superfluous labour ; and therefore I shall endeavour to offer some cautions which may probably prevent the like mischiefs for the future." He might, indeed, have done all which Mr. Lysons erroneously supposes, and had a modern authority for the suggestion, in a descendant of Charles, who declared in Parliament that he would never attend the church service of that day, because he believed that his ancestor suffered most justly. Such, at least, was the language attributed, forty years ago, to the *radical* Duke of Richmond, who is sufficiently distinguished among dukes, by his advocacy of universal suffrage, and his objections to a *royal veto*, controlling the will of a really popular representation. I refer, as you will readily perceive, to the justly celebrated 'Letter to Colonel Sharman.'

To return to Mr. Stephens.—In 1707, according to Lysons, he published a political pamphlet, for which he was pursued by ministerial vengeance, being "fined 100 marks," and sentenced to "stand twice in the pillory." This part of the sentence, after a public exposure, appears to have been remitted, perhaps from deference to the supposed indelible character of a priest. How long he survived the date of his letter to Toland, I am unable to discover.

The *second* letter was written by Mr. John Chamberlayne, son of the author of that frequently printed book, 'The Present State of England.' Mr. C. has a short article in the *Biographia Britannica*, from which it appears that he was an industrious scholar, and published numerous translations of valuable works. "He was master," says his biographer, "of the Greek, Latin, French, High and Low Dutch, Portuguese and Italian. After a useful and well-spent life, he died in 1724."

The writer of the *last* letter appears to have been too obscure to have any memorial. He was probably a laborious, and certainly a scantily requited literary labourer, who taught Hebrew and what other Oriental languages were then cultivated, in the University of Cambridge. There are several passages in his letter which I am incapable of explaining ; and as the phraseology is occasionally incorrect, I suspect that the writer was not an Englishman. To these letters I add a few explanatory notes.

Of Toland's life the circumstances are sufficiently recorded. He has been generally, though perhaps not justly, classed among *deistical writers*. I am, indeed, unwilling, as a Christian, to consign to *deism*, one who has done no small service to our religion, while exposing the *pious frauds*, by which some early Fathers of the Church weakly and

unworthily endeavoured to recommend it. His first publication (in 1696) 'Christianity not mysterious,' may be adopted by any Christian, who would not, to use Tillotson's language in Toland's motto, "declare against reason, and thereby acknowledge that reason is against him." From Locke's *Familiar Letters* it appears that Toland and his book were presented at Dublin, in 1697, "by a grand jury, of which," says Mr. Molyneux, "not one, I am persuaded, ever read one leaf in *Christianity not mysterious*." Mr. M. further says,

The Parliament fell on his book, voted it to be burnt by the common hangman, and ordered the author to be taken into custody of the Serjeant at Arms, and to be prosecuted by the Attorney-General.

Archdeacon Blackburn, in his *Memoirs of Thomas Hollis* (i. 236), thus describes this author:—"Toland was a man of great genius and learning, a staunch assertor of liberty, and wrote notably the life of that arch assertor of liberty, John Milton. In a 'strait age of religion, he was guilty of some unguardednesses; and in a party age of principles, of some heats: which, with a scantiness of circumstances, and no economy, drew on him, in the after-part of his life, many difficulties."

I have rambled farther than I expected when I began this introductory letter; but I have designed either to offer to your readers a little acceptable information, or, at least, to assist their recollection. *Indocti discant et ament meminisse periti*.

OTIOSUS.

LETTER I.

MR. TOLAND, my good Friend,

WHAT'S become of my book?¹ I am apt to think that 'tis not the time to print it 'till the Parliament think upon strengthening the Protestant interest, and perhaps upon this thought you have not printed it, and perhaps too 'tis not worth printing, because nobody will give any thing for it. Yet if you print it, take care that I may have two dozen copies to give to my acquaintance. I should be glad to hear some good news of it, because I have promised Bette a silk lining for her coat, if the Premises will allow it.

I am, dear Sir, your affectionate Servant,

Sutton in Surry, May 27, 1717.

WILL. STEPHENS.

To be left at the Rainbow Coffee-house, near Charing Cross in Westminster, for Mr. John Toland.

LETTER II.

SIR,

Petty France, 21 June, 1718.

I SAW my Lord Chancellor,² yesterday, who, among other papers, gave me your proposals of a History of the Druids,³ which he told me he did not understand, but which he suspected to be levelled against Christian Priests, &c.

¹ Among various publications by Mr. Stephens, in Dr. Watt's *Bibliotheca Britannica*, the latest is entitled 'Commemoration of the Irish Massacre, 1717;' perhaps the book here mentioned. The author had published Sermons on that subject in 1713 and 1714; and one, in 1716, entitled, 'A Second Deliverance from Popery and Slavery.'

² Thos. Lord Parker, Earl of Macclesfield, who had been very lately promoted from the Chief-Justiceship of the King's Bench. On this occasion "the Master and Fellows of Trinity College in Cambridge congratulated the Lord Parker, on his advancement to this dignity, observing that those two great lawyers, the Lord Bacon and Sir Edward Coke, as well as his Lordship, had been students of this college."

The recollection of Bacon proved but an ill omen to the new Chancellor. Lord Parker, though president of the Royal Society, had no pretensions to be named with the great philosopher, yet he fell, like him, into professional disgrace. In 1725, on the prosecution of the Commons, Lord Macclesfield was tried by the Peers, and "sentenced to pay a fine of 30,000*l.* for selling the places of Masters in Chancery

His Lordship also seemed offended at your title, *Nazarenus*,⁴ as if intended with contempt, like Julian's *Galileus*. You must therefore have been misinformed by him who told you that the said noble Lord approved your last book, for he himself said he had not seen it. If there be any poison lurking under it, which I own I am not sagacious enough to discover, let my *Religious Philosopher*⁵ be the antidote; 'twas writ for the conviction of Atheists and Infidels, and though you should be neither, I hope it will not be a disagreeable present from your most humble Servant,

J. C.

LETTER III.

SIR,—I shall be glad to hear that you are in good health, as I am now, for having learned at last, out of your Nazarenus, how to send a letter to you, and to tell you that having perused most of your excellent Tracts, I admire not only your rare learning, but also your heroic spirit, in defending the divine Truth against the *anebræous* world, enchanted by prejudice and popish witchcraft.⁶

to insolvent people who embezzled the suitors' money." See Salmon's *Chronol. Hist.* (1747) ii. 83, 158.

Mr. Hayley, in a note to his 'Essay on History,' speaks of "dedications in general" as "too commonly a disgrace to letters," and refers to "the fate of some remarkable dedicators." He instances the misfortune of "Dr. Pearce, late Bishop of Rochester," who "dedicated his edition of Tully *De Oratore* to Lord Macclesfield, and as unluckily celebrated his patron as a model of public virtue, not many years before he was impeached in Parliament, and fined 30,000*l.* for the iniquity of his conduct in the office of Chancellor." See 'Poems and Plays,' (1785) ii. 251.

I observe, however, that the excellent Dr. Pearce, twenty years after Lord Macclesfield's disgrace, still cherished the memory of his patron, as if "to his virtues very kind," under a grateful recollection of early benefits. Dedicating Tully *De Officiis* in 1745, to the Chancellor's son, he speaks of the father as "nunquam nisi honoris causa nominandus;" and describes the son, preferring the pursuits of science and literature in a private station, as if "hac una calamitate satis edoctus;" evidently referring to the prosecution of the father.

³ 'An History of the British Druids, with a critical Essay on the antient Celtic Customs, Literature, &c.; to which is added an Account of some curious British Antiquities.' This was not published before the author's death in 1722. It forms part of his posthumous works, edited by his friend, Des Maizeaux; and has been lately republished.

⁴ In 1718 appeared 'Nazarenus, or Jewish Gentile, or Mahometan Christianity; containing the History of the ancient Gospel of Barnabas, and the modern Gospel of the Mahometans, attributed to the same Apostle; this last Gospel being now first made known among Christians,' &c.

Toland's Editor (*Life*, lxxi.) describes him as maintaining, in this work, "that the Jews, though associating with the converted gentiles, and acknowledging them for brethren, were still to observe their own law throughout all generations." This was also the opinion of Dr. Priestley, as appears by his papers 'Of the perpetuity of the Jewish Ritual' in the *Theological Repository*, vols. v. and vi. and in his *works*, xii. 442. Thus Origen, who died in 251, describes the *christianized* Jews of that early age "Judæi qui in Jesum Christum crediderunt non desceverant a patriis legibus; vivunt enim juxta eas." *Contra Celsum*. See *Old Whig*, No. 23, (1739) i. 201.

⁵ 'The Religious Philosopher; or, the Right Use of Contemplating the Works of the Creator, &c.; translated from the original Dutch of Dr. Nieuwentijt, in 3 vols. 1718.' See *Biog. Brit.* iii. 413. The author died this year (1718), aged 63. There was a French Translation at Paris in 1740, entitled 'L'Existence de Dieu démontrée par les Merveilles de la Nature.' See *Nouv. Diet. Hist.* (1789), vi. 493.

⁶ The letter-writer evidently designs to express a lamented disaffection to the study of Hebrew. His "Popish witchcraft" may refer to the slight put on the original language of the scriptures by the Council of Trent, while maintaining the divine authority of the Latin Vulgate. In their *decretum de Canonicis Scripturis*, after naming all the books of the bible, there is the following denunciation: "Si quis autem libros ipsos integros cum omnibus suis partibus, prout in ecclesia Catholica legi consueverunt, et in veteri vulgata Latina editione habentur, pro sacris et canonicis non susceperit—anathema sit." See *Concil. Trident. Canones et Decreta* (1781), p. 8. It may amuse some of your readers to quote from the

Your hypothesis is truly orthodox, being established upon certain and infallible principles, the certainties whereof beget confidence *ad rogamus uaque*, for 'tis founded upon sound reason and the H. Scripture rightly understood, according to the holy tongue and philology sacred to the East, where, as the first family, so the first Church was planted, which therefore has the prerogative before that of the West built on the sandy ground of ignorance in the disagreeing Fathers, and false translations. The difference of the primitive Fathers one from another, nay sometimes from themselves, has been shewn, as formerly by learned men, so of late by Dr. Whitby, in his modest Disquisitions,⁷ and that the vulgar versions of the holy Scriptures, containing the divine Oracles, are full of absurdities, gross errors, and blasphemies, has been sufficiently proved in an Essay concerning the necessity of a new Translation of the Bible into English.⁸ To promote and to facilitate this so useful and so necessary work, I undertook here the Hebrew Lectureship, upon persuasion of the blessed Dr. Spencer, Master of Bennet College and Dean of Ely,⁹ who did promise me to be my good master, and helpe me to thirty pounds more, beside the ten pound the Reverend Heads of the honourable University would give, and no more, because I was not recommended to them, as my Predecessor was by the Archbishop Sancroft, and therefore had yearly twenty pound as long as he lived, although he taught only the Hebrew dialect, whereas I teach all the other dialects of the holy tongue completely and critically, the excellency whereof recommends itself. But an imperfect and bungling teacher of the holy Tongue, explaining the text according to its false translation, by *anobæous* Divines made authentic, is liked the more by such who think the holy Scriptures to be erroneous and heretical (as they really are, unless corrected and taken in the *Hellenistic* sense) and consequently the inspired authors thereof to be mistaken and heretics, standing in need therefore of Mr. Paets'¹⁰ Apology pleading for them; nay some expressly charge Christ himself with rank *Socinianism*, be-

preface to this edition the following rancorous abuse of the justly celebrated *Courayer*, the historian of the Council of Trent: "Qui in ipso ecclesie sinu immane tolerantissimi portentum parere ac fovere non reformidavit!—historicus sine fide, theologus sine religione, apostolus sine missione."

⁷ *Disquisitiones Modestæ*, a Latin work, published in 1718, to controvert 'Bishop Bull's Defence of the Nicene Faith.' The *Disquisitiones* were defended by the author, in 1720, in 'A Reply to Dr. Waterland's Objections against Dr. Whitby's Disquisitiones Modestæ.'

This very learned theologian died in 1726, aged 88. His free and serious inquiries in religion led him, at length, to become a *Unitarian*, one of that description who discover no scriptural authority for a Trinity, but believe in the pre-existence of Christ. Though prepared for the press, he did not live to see published, 'The Last Thoughts of Dr. Whitby, containing his correction of several passages in his Commentary on the New Testament.' Yet, with no small injustice to the author's memory, his Commentary has been frequently republished without the least reference to these corrections.

⁸ The letter-writer here, most probably refers to 'An Essay toward the Amendment of the last English Translation of the Bible. The First Part on the Pentateuch. By Robert Gell, D.D. Minister of the Parish of St. Mary, Aldermay, London, 1659.' Dr. Gell "had been Chaplain to Archbishop Abbot." See Lewis's 'History of the English Translations,' (1739) p. 332.

⁹ Author of that very learned work 'De legibus Hebræorum ritualibus, et earum rationibus,' first printed at Cambridge in 1685. The author's design was to prove, what has been much controverted, "that all the rites and ceremonies of Jewish religion, were instituted in opposition to the practices of the idolatrous nations round about them." He also published 'A Discourse concerning Prophecies,' and another 'concerning Vulgar Prophecies.' See Masters's 'History of Corpus Christi (Bene't) College,' (1753) p. 163—170; *Brit. Biog.* vii. 37—40. The patronage of such a competent judge of merit, especially in the department of Biblical learning, as Dr. Spencer, was truly honourable to this obscure teacher of Hebrew.

¹⁰ Adrian Paets of Rotterdam, who died in 1685, is mentioned in the Life of Bayle, as "a very learned and considerable person," and that philosopher's generous patron. This is probably the person designed; but I know not to what work the letter-writer refers. A French Biographer assigns to Paets several letters in a collection published at Amsterdam in 1704, entitled 'Præstantium ac Eruditorum Epistolæ.' See *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* (1789), vii. 6.

cause he disowned to be good, none being good but God alone, *Matt.* xix. 17,¹¹ and because he owned himself to be only the Son of God, not God himself, as his enemies falsely accuse and still abuse him, *John* x. 33, 36. But my generous master dyed¹² before he could do for me the least thing of his promise, even the ten-pound salary dwindled into nothing, so that both my liberty and my health suffered much by poverty, having neither salary nor a sufficient number of scholars, and therefore being in a starving condition, I presumed to acquaint the superior clergy with the low estate, both of the *Oriental* learning, and of my own, that one of the most reverend Prelacy would be pleased to recommend the Holy Tongue, and sacred philology to the Honourable University. But these HOLY FATHERS roundly told me that they could not do it.¹³ Now, if so eminent Divines and learned Bishops cannot or will not promote Episcopal learning, who can, and who will, do it? Pray, Sir, be so kind and solve this hard question, which is a perfect riddle to me, that I may, if possible, remove the fatal cause thereof. I hope my innocent *Programma* hath not given them any offence; however, I wish it were printed, that some ingenuous friend may tell me in public what he disdains to do in private. Let me know, as soon as you can, whether I may send the *Programma*, wherein I invite young Divines to the study of Oriental learning, that you may see whether it be fit for the Press, and upon what terms it may be printed in one sheet, without the least charge to yourself. This favour will infinitely oblige

Your very humble servant, and sincere admirer,

MARTIN EAGLE,
a true Ebionite.¹⁴

Cambridge, at Mrs. Austin's in Silver-street,
June 20, 1720.

¹¹ That eminently accomplished Critic in the MSS. of the N. T. *Griesbach*, has here corrected the received Text from a reading "supported by the best authorities," which omits the word *God*, and gives this sense, to adopt the translation of the *Improved Version*, "Why askest thou me concerning good? One only is good." See this reading adopted in 'Nov. Test. Græc. Cura Leu-deni et Griesbachii. *Glasgow*, 1817.'

¹² In 1693, aged 63.

¹³ The spiritual Head of the Church of England at this time was Archbishop Wake, from whom inattention to such a subject as Biblical learning could scarcely have been apprehended.

¹⁴ Among the different conjectures on the origin of the name *Ebionite*, some have derived it from the poverty of the sect. It is, probably applied in that sense by the letter-writer.

ON WHITLAND ABBEY.

DEEP in a vale on Britain's southern shore,
The wild winds beat o'er ruins old and hoar,
Where once the simple monk his matins said,
Or loud mass chanted for the confined dead.
The close Scriptorium, where the learned cowl
Held commune with the past, the startling howl
Of foxes now molests, what time the light
Of Hesper gilds the dewy front of night.
The marble pavement where the abbot strode
In rich Dalmatic, now the serpent brood
Make variegated with their streaky skins,
Early as dawn to gild the East begins.
On some rude angle of the crumbling wall
Seated, my mind has laboured to recall
Its glorious days, when, seeming to defy
The force of time, it reared its head on high.
But few scant records tell its olden state,
And dust and worms conspire their certain fate,
So that ere many winters trembling pass,
No line shall tell what *Whitland Abbey* was.

ARTICLE OF M. SISMONDI, ON THE COLONIZATION OF INDIA.

A WRITER, who is considered throughout Europe as one of the first political economists of the age, has recently published 'An Essay on the British Power in India,' distinguished by that knowledge of facts and clear strain of reasoning which characterize him. Works of this kind do not generally, however, excite in England a degree of attention by any means answerable to the importance of the subject. The British press is without doubt free; but it is pre-occupied: a nation that is so powerful, that takes so active a part in its government, has a thousand conflicting interests, which, mingling with passions more or less lively, are presented to its view in a form more or less dramatic, according to the degree of attachment or curiosity felt by those who lay them before the public. If an abuse of power, an act of injustice committed in London, or some neighbouring country, be in question, the passions of the public are roused, their hearts inflamed, all the vigour of their minds and faculties are developed. It is not in that quarter, therefore, that usurpation, or an invasion of the rights of the people, can hold out against the force and vigilance of the public opinion. But it is not true that the British empire is equally protected in all its parts by this vigorous sentiment, the aim of which is to redress wrongs and to avenge injuries. Even in England there are provinces which do not participate in the most striking advantages of the British constitution. For example, Wales has not the same judges as England; and the Welsh representatives have made in Parliament and before the nation, the most bitter complaints of the state of dependency and incapacity of the judges of that principality. In Scotland, likewise, the juries are very differently organized to what they are in England; and the members of Parliament for Scotland have shown that these juries, which are nominated by the Government, almost without challenging, afford no security where the subject is either plaintiff or defendant. England has, for a moment, listened to these complaints: it has felt astonished to see its ministers, who, on all occasions, laud the British constitution, oppose themselves with all their might to every attempt at extending the influence of that constitution to those portions of the empire which have never yet enjoyed it. But public attention has been quickly directed to another quarter; the Welsh and Scotch have been forgotten, and all things have remained as they were. By its misfortunes and turbulence Ireland awakens observation more frequently: the English people have pity on its condition, and their wishes are fraternal, benevolent, and generous; but their resolutions on distant things, are neither sufficiently firm nor constant, to gain the ascendancy over those of the ministry, and to this day Ireland remains one of the worst governed countries in Europe.

The policy of England, as it respects the other nations of Europe, is, in the eyes of the British people, of inferior importance to their internal

¹ Translated, with some unimportant omissions, from the last Number of the *Revue Encyclopédique*.

The works which gave rise to this Essay of M. Sismondi, for it is not a Review, were—'An Inquiry into the Expediency of applying the principles of Colonial Policy to the Government of India;' &c. London, J. M. Richardson, 1822: and the Two excellent 'Letters to Sir Charles Forbes,' which our sense of their merit and importance induced us to reprint in this publication, vol. ii. p. 518—552.

administration; but of much more consequence than its conduct towards its Indian possessions. The religious zeal of the friends of the negroes has drawn the attention of the English to the subject of West Indian slavery. In spite of the resistance of mean and selfish passions, very considerable good has been done in favour of this portion of human nature, by the national will influencing that of the Government. Still greater good, however, will yet be effected; for although the state of society in the West Indies be even now revolting, it is certainly tending progressively towards improvement, and its advancement is wholly owing to the influence of the British free press.

But how far are the East Indies from commanding equal attention? That immense empire comprehends the richest and most populous portions of Asia: its inhabitants, subjects and tributaries, amount to eighty millions; and as it has in its favour the superiority of the English over the Orientals in politics and the art of war, it is probably destined to be extended over the remainder of Asia. Nevertheless, a law compromising the interests of Bristol or Manchester would cause more excitement in the public mind, than one overthrowing totally the whole empire of India. Nor is this to be wondered at; India is separated from England by the whole diameter of the earth; news coming from thence are most commonly six months on their way; communications between the inhabitants of the two countries are expensive and rare; it requires long and painful study to be able to form an idea of the organization of a country so totally different from all previous experience; and this study is rendered still more difficult by a number of words, drawn from the unknown languages of India, which our organs pronounce but badly, and our memory refuses to record. A great many Englishmen go to India most certainly; but hardly one out of ten escapes the pernicious influence of the climate; hardly does one out of ten return to his country with a fortune purchased at the expense of his health and energy, which give way to languor and exhaustion. These Indian veterans form, however, the only public well enough acquainted with the affairs of India to take any lively interest in them. And, as a close, the East India Company,—which stands between the nation and its subjects, which has prohibited Colonization to the English, which for ages interdicted all commerce, which is the cause why Great Britain reaps no adequate advantages from its Asiatic possessions,—has succeeded, as it desired, in nearly quenching in the English people all interest in the affairs of India.

Still public opinion in England acts, in spite of these disadvantages, in a beneficial manner upon India. It is a light-house, the last rays of which penetrate with difficulty the darkness that lies at a distance so immense; but wherever they reach, dangerous rocks are discovered. The social system of Hindoostan is little less mischievous than that of the West Indies; but it is in progress. The good which has been done in India, has been won from power by public opinion; a still greater good is and will be demanded of it. The national will respecting India is as yet confused and weak; but it will become enlightened, it will gain strength, and whatever it shall determine must be done. India does not, thanks to the East India Company, enrich Great Britain; this is a certain fact, well established by M. Say, and all those who have deeply studied the affairs of the Company. This calculation alone could not fail, in the long run, to work the destruction of the Company, and the complete union

of the country it governs, to the British empire. But this point of view, when it is compared with the duty of the Government, remains altogether secondary. To govern a country is not in reality a commercial enterprise, a mere matter of profit and loss, to be calculated by pounds, shillings, and pence: it is to perform an august function, to fulfil a sacred duty. In whatever way power may have fallen into the hands of a ruler, his mission is still the same; it is his business to exercise that power in the manner most advantageous to the people; not less for its moral than its physical advantage; and to aim at perfection of character, as much as at riches or tranquillity. The East India Company is accountable to Great Britain, and Great Britain to humanity, for from seventy to eighty millions of beings wearing the human figure, which it can, and therefore ought, to make men. The duty of Great Britain towards India will not be fulfilled until it shall have rendered these men as virtuous, as happy, and as free, as those which it is its pride to have formed, by its institutions, in its own island.

To remove the Indians from their profound degradation, and to raise them so high, will cost the English nation time, and a great deal of it, too. It will not be reproached on this account, if that time be usefully employed; but improvement, and a desire for improvement, are necessary; while all the desires of the East India Company are to remain stationary. For the most part this also is the wish of the Government, although there have been glorious exceptions, particularly during the recent administration of the Marquis of Hastings. It is for the English people to exert itself more powerfully than either, for the benefit and improvement of humanity.

The British subjects in India are divided between two faiths; the great mass of the ancient inhabitants follow that of Brahma; the descendants of the Mogol conquerors, that of Mohammed; the other religions are professed merely by foreigners. Experience has amply shown that both those religions which are professed by the natives, are unfavourable to the development of moral sentiments, to the progress of knowledge, to the love of country and of liberty.

Previous to experience, we might have built the best hopes on Islamism; a religion founded on the belief of one spiritual, omnipotent, merciful God, and which considers charity as the first duty of believers; but despotism and the priesthood have completely corrupted the religion of Mohammed. Wherever it is professed, nothing but a fierce fanaticism is to be found; and the hatred of all progression, improvement, and study; and ceremonies, substituted for duties. The religion of Brahma is still more fatal to the human race; it has so constantly put observances in the place of virtue, that its professors never so much as think of keeping up any connexion between religion and morality. A great number of its rites are atrocious, many are obscene, and its constant effect is to annihilate all sentiments of humanity in the heart; but it is, above all, founded on the division of the people into castes, upon the invincible aversion established between them; on the idea which it keeps up, that to rise to a superior condition, would be to offend the Divinity. The religion of Brahma has chained down the human race; it has rivetted the fetters which fix every one in his place, and which tend to prevent for ever the progress of civilization.

The English people are, with respect to the Indians, that which the

absolute governments of Europe pretend to be, with respect to their own subjects, when they arrogate the right to decide what is fit and what is not, for the mind of man; when they speak of the people, as if, instead of being part of them, they themselves were angels. The English are certainly superior to the Hindoos: they know better than that inferior race, what is suitable to the latter. The rulers in India may aspire to be the tutors, the instructors of their subjects; while *ours* in Europe, chosen from amongst ourselves, ought to be content with being our representatives. Notwithstanding, the English have become sensible that the sovereign power with which they have invested themselves, does not extend over the religious opinions of their subjects. They have respected and protected the national religion; it was their duty as governors, and they have fulfilled it. But this duty was not contrary to their duty as men and Christians, to hold up the light to their subjects, to raise them gently towards a purer religion, to preserve them, by public authority, from immoral actions, opposed to the progress of civilization, and which the civil law has every where the right to repress.

The English are at present animated by a religious zeal, an ardour for making proselytes, unexampled either in their own history, or that of any other nation. The consequence of this is, that their language of devotion is rarely free from what is called *cant*, and gives rise frequently to suspicion. Still this turn of the public mind is completely overcome, because the East India Company considers it to be its interest to arrest the progress of civilization, and the developement of the mind of its subjects. When Mr. Wilberforce proposed to Parliament, in 1813, to introduce, "as the source of every other improvement, a community of sentiments on the great interests of morality and religion," Mr. Marsh, who took upon himself to oppose him, and to show the danger of introducing Christianity into India, insisted particularly on the "advantage of the institution of castes, to repress the restlessness of ambition, and impatience of subjection."² Mr. Charles Grant, who, in conjunction with his brother, Mr. Robert Grant, has shown himself one of the most able and constant apologists of the East India Company, is not less explicit in expressing his desire for preserving the religion of the Hindoos, and by its means to preserve that part of the system which checks most effectually the progress of civilization and knowledge. "The institution of castes," says he, "constitutes a source of security to the permanence of our East Indian government, hitherto unparalleled in the history of the world; and there is no great probability that mankind will ever again be edified by a similar phenomenon; it is rather a pity that we should be in any particular hurry to adopt measures which might prematurely destroy it. Here the maxim, so often in the mouths of politicians, 'Divide and govern,' pervades, in a practical shape, and stands consecrated by the hand of Time itself."³

Such is the theory of men in power, and their practice is conformable to it. They continue to permit, if they do not favour, the sacrifice of widows on the funeral pile, with circumstances of horror which have lately occupied public attention. Every year five or six hundred women fall victims to an odious rite, in British India; though in all coun-

² Colonial Policy, p. 125.

³ Consequence of laying open the Indian Trade, &c.

tries the legislature have the right of proceeding against such a practice as murder. A glorious reform has, however, begun among the Hindoos; a Brahmin, Ram Mohun Roy, whom all those who know India agree in representing as one of the most enlightened and virtuous of men, has exerted himself to the utmost to lead his countrymen to the worship of one God, and to the union of morality with religion. His friends are few, but they constantly increase. He communicates to the Hindoos whatever progress the art of thinking has made amongst Europeans; among them he deserves, much more than the missionaries, the appellation of the Apostle of Christianity. He had undertaken a periodical publication, in his native language, not from any thought of gain,—from the desire of which he is freed by his vast fortune,—but in order to scatter the seeds of civilization. In this noble undertaking he was encouraged by the last Governor-General, the Marquis of Hastings; but in April 1823, Mr. Adam, the new Governor-General, in concert with Judge Macnaghten, suppressed all liberty of the press, and compelled the illustrious Ram Mohun Roy to give up his Journal.⁴

As the East India Company and the British Government are desirous that the Hindoos should remain stationary in a moral and religious point of view, so likewise is it their wish that their political condition should remain unchanged. It is their desire to preserve the same proportion between the agricultural and the other industrious classes, the same system of taxation and culture, the same general poverty connected with the same dependence. And as in an army of 160,000 Hindoos, they never suffer a native to be raised above the rank of serjeant; so in the administration, from so many millions of men, not one Indian is ever intrusted with the smallest power, civil or political; they look with distrust on every man who raises himself above the working classes: they think he endangers their power. According to the author of 'Colonial Policy,' Bengal alone contains about thirty millions of acres of cultivated land; it is likewise inhabited by thirty millions of men, while an equal portion of land maintains no more than seventeen millions in the British Islands; but between the tropics, the productions of the earth are vastly more abundant than in our cold regions. Of this population twenty-four millions are employed in agriculture, four or five in manufactures; the remainder consists of shop-keepers, and servants, and of a class of native merchants and bankers, who are enormously rich. However, as no census has ever been taken in Bengal, these numbers can be reckoned only as conjectures. It is by conjecture also, that Mr. Colebrooke estimates the annual produce of the agriculture and industry of Bengal at thirty-two millions. The revenue which the Company derives from Bengal is three millions and a half.⁵ This is the produce of the land-tax, established from time immemorial in India, which the Company endeavours by all possible means to confound with its commercial

⁴ First Letter to Sir Charles Forbes.

⁵ The 3,500,000*l.*, mentioned by Sismondi, will be readily understood by our Indian readers; but for those ignorant of Indian finance, it should be stated that this refers only to the direct impost from the soil levied from the province of Bengal Proper; the gross revenues of India at large being not less than twenty crores of rupees; or twenty millions sterling. See Papers relating to the Finances of India, during the Administration of the Marquis of Hastings, published by order of the Court of Proprietors, in September last; p. 276.—*F.D.*

profits, to conceal the results of its injudicious speculations. In India as in the rest of Asia, the sovereign is the only proprietor of land; all those peasants who cultivate the soil, and are called ryots, holding their lands at a *quit-rent*. To collect this rent, or the prince's portion, certain collectors, called zemindars, have been employed from the earliest periods. The zemindar retains a tenth of this rent for himself, and pays the remainder into the royal treasury. Under the Musulman princes, the zemindars were also magistrates of their districts, and answerable for their tranquillity; at present they are reduced to mere collectors. But the ryot, or little farmer, is protected against their exactions: in each province a maximum, called *nerikkh*, is fixed, beyond which the rent of land cannot be raised. While he pays his rent, his small patrimony cannot be taken from him, and he transmits it in perpetuity to his descendants. The extent of these inheritances varies, from six to twenty-four English acres.⁶ In this system there is no individual proprietor of lands, not one man who finds in the soil a guarantee of his independence. The ryot is kept in obedience and fear by the annual rent which he must pay; the zemindar, by his office of tax-collector. But, as no one feels himself sufficiently at home in his inheritance to resist oppressive power, so likewise is there none that improves his patrimony with judgment. Agriculture is carried on according to one invariable process, and the land which produces to the sovereign but a sad revenue, allows a bare subsistence to the people.

I am of opinion that the system of great farms, in a country only imperfectly cultivated, would deteriorate the condition of the cultivator, and reduce him perhaps to slavery. If the *permanent settlement* (of Lord Cornwallis) had had the effect which was anticipated, India would have been organized, not like England, but like Hungary, Poland, or Russia; countries which would be considerably bettered if their peasants were raised to the rank of ryots, and their nobles lowered to the condition of a zemindar. Neither large farms, nor great landed proprietors are wanting in those countries; but, although the rich noble may and sometimes does operate, upon a great scale and with superior intelligence, more important ameliorations, it is from the peasant that rural prosperity must arise; for it is he alone, who, if his property be in perfect safety, will constantly employ his management and industry to improve his little patrimony.

But in the territorial system pursued by the East India Company, double duties are imposed on the sovereign, as sovereign and as the only landed proprietor. At the expense of the sovereign should be performed all those great operations which create or increase the value of the soil; to it the peasant must look for roads, canals for navigation and irrigation, bridges, sluices, dykes, draining of marshes, which appear to the English themselves of so much importance for the prosperity of their own country, that, in the hope of obtaining them from the rich proprietor, they renounce equality of partition in inheritances in England, and give so decided a preference to large farms. If the Company does not execute these labours, no one can do it in its stead, for it has reserved to itself the total net revenue; to the ryot it leaves nothing but what he expends in the culture of the soil; to the zemindar it allows (which is

⁶ Colonial Policy, p. 132, &c.

almost as miserable a pittance as what goes to the ryot) nothing but what he must lay out in collecting the revenue. The duty and interest of the Company ought to induce it to make such advances as would return back to it with usury. The Musulman sovereigns of Hindoostan, in spite of their barbarism, their despotism, and the frequent revolutions which precipitated them from the throne, understood perfectly well this duty which their station imposed upon them; and each of those princes whose names are still celebrated in India, has connected his glory with some one of these great works. The East India Company alone neglects this duty, which among the Asiatics belongs to the prince, among Europeans to the landed proprietor, but which, in India, belongs peculiarly to the Company, under both those titles. Solely occupied in draining from the country under its rule a tribute which it may convey into England, it will not suffer the most trifling portion of the public revenue to be employed for the good of the people who pay it. On the 28th of August, 1801, the Directors signified to the Governor-General, that one lack of rupees, about 12,000*l.* sterling, was the utmost they would allow to be expended, for the construction of public edifices, or for the purchase of lands, whether for the public service, or for that of the magistracy. This injunction was repeated in April, 1805; and the author of 'Colonial Policy' affirms that, in spite of the superiority of the English in the arts, and in riches, there is not a government in Asia whose public works are not superior to those of the Company.

India has been subjected to a regulation which forms the most singular contrast with the government of the English nation over its other conquests, partly to maintain the right of the Company over all its Indian possessions, and partly to prevent those tendencies towards progressive civilization, which a mixture of Englishmen might communicate to the Hindoos. A vast commerce both by sea and land has in all ages drained off the surplus produce of India; it would have been impossible to close this immense empire against foreign nations, and in reality there are found established there an infinite number of Armenians, Parsees, Chinese, and other Asiatic people; Portuguese also are found there in great numbers, as well as individuals of other European nations, from the wrecks of those colonies which have been swallowed up by the English conquests. *But an Englishman has no RIGHT to live in British India, he is only TOLERATED there; no Englishman can buy lands there in his own name, because the Company has determined not to suffer the Colonization of India.* No British subject can remain there without a license of the Company, which may be withdrawn at will; and the person holding it transported to England without reason assigned, or trial, or appeal, on the simple order of the Governor-General.⁷

This strange power, as contrary to British liberty, as to the dignity and honour of the nation, was conferred on the Company, when as yet it had only factories in India, and was meant to protect the monopoly which had been granted to it. At that time it was perhaps a necessary guarantee for this impolitic monopoly; but the same power was continued to it in 1813, when the monopoly had been withdrawn. Commerce calls many Englishmen into India, a country over which they are sovereigns; they risk all their fortune in that country in immense

⁷ Letter to Sir Charles Forbes, p. 13.

speculations; but their condition there is worse than that of the Hindoos and Mohammedans, who are their subjects; worse even than that of the Armenians, Parsees, Chinese, Jews, or half-castes, whom nevertheless they oppress. In the three capitals, Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, which alone possess a million of inhabitants, English tribunals and English forms of proceeding have been established; but neither courts nor forms ensure to the British-born subject who resides there, his constitutional liberty; there is not an inhabitant of those cities, who might not be forced into a resignation of his rights, which would be termed voluntary, by threats of deportation and ruin. It was, in reality, by this threat, that all the British residents in India were recently compelled to submit their writings to previous censorship, when they were about to publish, although the liberty of the press had been established by law.

This inferior position, in respect to their subjects and strangers, in which the Company has placed every British citizen, this necessity of dishonouring themselves, if they will remain in India, is perhaps the most audacious insult which any political, not to say commercial body, has ever yet dared to offer its own nation. Certainly, were India not so distant, so unknown, so foreign to the common interests of the English people, public indignation would have avenged the nation for such an outrage. England, which at present possesses a more numerous body than it ever did before of active and intelligent men without any fixed course of life, a superfluity of capital which is unemployed, and which flows into the public funds of all nations in the world, submits, through inattention, to AN INCALCULABLE INJURY, when it suffers itself to be excluded, by its own agents, from a country which it has conquered with its own blood and treasures. But India suffers still more from this absurd system; there is a most revolting hypocrisy in the arguments they have dared to bring forward, in order to make it be believed that nothing but the welfare of the natives has been kept in view in excluding the English, who otherwise would have become their rivals. Colonization, which is nothing more than the advancement of the conquered people in civilization, was the imperious duty of the Government towards its Indian subjects; it is only by benefiting humanity that its sovereignty becomes legitimate.

The first of the three works whose titles stand at the head of this article,^a is especially intended to show the great importance of the Colonization of India, as well to England as to the country itself. The author appears to be thoroughly acquainted with India: he has certainly passed a great portion of his life in that country, and possibly is still there; which, most probably is the cause of his remaining anonymous; for if he were known, the consequence of his publication would infallibly be transportation and ruin. The two pamphlets which follow, are remarkable for their order, force and perspicuity. They record an act of despotism of the temporary Governor-General, Mr. John Adam, who, in April 1823, prohibited the printing and publication of any periodical work in India, without previous license, revocable at pleasure; and transported, without trial or inquiry, two Editors of an English Journal, which he totally ruined, for having published truths that were displeasing to the Government. In the first place, the author explains with the greatest precision the laws regarding the press, and the practice actually pursued, as well in the subject pro-

^a In the original, the Books enumerated were those mentioned in note 1.

vinces, which are governed by Musulman laws, as in the three capitals, Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, where the laws of England prevail. He proves that the innovation of 1823 is completely illegal; and, according to his own recapitulation, which we cannot do better than borrow from his pamphlet:—

First, That if the good of the great body of the governed be truly desired, it is quite indispensable they should be protected against the severity of the Government, and the misconduct of European and Native servants.

Secondly, That as no INSTITUTIONS of any sort, independent of the Government, exist in India, the only possible substitute is, the Press, which enables men freely and *anonymously*, but under severe *legal* responsibility, to intercommunicate their thoughts, and to exercise an *indirect* control and check on the measures of Government, and the conduct of its servants.

Thirdly, That none *ought* to have a greater interest in the operations of the Press, than, 1st, *The Indian Governments*, who cannot possibly govern their immense regions without some such auxiliary to their direct superintendence. 2dly, *The Court of Directors*, who cannot otherwise know both sides of every story, or what is really going on abroad. 3dly, *The Proprietary Body*, who desire to review the acts of *all* their servants fully, at home and abroad.

Fourthly, That if this expression of public opinion through the Press be limited to England, it must necessarily be without EFFICACY, or even PERMANENT SAFETY to the common interests of the people of India and England.

Fifthly, That in India alone, it can be exercised with *complete* EFFECT and *perfect* SAFETY.

We hope that facts so striking, and reasonings so perspicuous, as those of this author, developed at the same time with so much moderation and wisdom, will not be without their effect upon the British public, which must always re-act upon its government, when any good is to be obtained; and *the present question concerns the welfare of the most numerous people ever united under one Government*. For ourselves, who can aspire to no influence, we find that such novel political experiments, and facts of such magnitude, excite a lively interest, and are worthy of profound attention. And, while we deplore the evils which weigh down so great and beautiful a portion of the globe, we feel some reasons to rejoice since it has found such generous defenders; we may even, in comparing the present with the preceding governments, entertain some slight hopes, seeing that, through their means, or in spite of them, a moiety of the human race will at last be raised to morality, to knowledge, to that liberty which a few already possess, and which a beneficent Providence has reserved to be the inheritance of all its children.

J. C. L. DE SISMONDI.

STANZAS, OCCASIONED BY THE EXECUTION OF
GENERAL RIEGO.

UNGRATEFUL Spain, Riego's gone!
Could blood like his be spilt in vain?
— Was it for nought thy gallant son,
The last of Spaniards, died for Spain?
Go, hail, before yon iron throne,
The royal traitor's abject reign;—
Forget, forgive, a realm undone,—
The stranger's sword; the vassal's chain!

Stanzas on the Execution of General Riego.

But, no ! wronged land, it cannot be—
 Thou wert not made the clime for slaves ;
 Thou yet hast sons, who feel for thee,
 Whom the yoke binds, but not depraves :
 The stranger's eye from far may see
 There sleeps a storm on Spanish waves ;—
 The lordly race will yet be free,
 Or proudly rest in freemen's graves.

What though along their lovely land
 The venal Gaul his steed has driven,
 To bind again, with ruthless hand,
 Her chains, for one bright moment riven,—
 Her gray Sierras still command
 Full many a scene to glory given,
 Where Freedom's flag will yet be fanned
 By all the winds of smiling Heaven.

Riego's gone—and Spain once more
 Obeys a sceptred reptile's nod,
 Who claims (the Bourbon's lineal lore)
 The right to wrong the world of God,
 A meaner miscreant ne'er before
 On this vast globe, to scourge it, trod :
 Alas, that *such* have power to pour
 The blood that stains a despot's rod !

As die the brave, Riego died ;
 With Freedom's Martyrs lives his name ;
 But, oh ! that, stretched his ranks beside,
 His corse had graced the field of fame !—
 Yet Russell's nerve the scaffold tried,
 And Wallace met the tree of shame ;—
 Round each dark spot, where Freedom sighed,
 Such memories twine a sword of flame.

Riego's sword is broke—but not
 Lost is his glory, near or far :
 His name shall yet be unforgot
 In future fields of happier war.
 In the free peasant's peaceful cot
 His fame shall wake the sweet guitar :
 While Bourbon's name his gore shall blot,
 His own shall shine—his country's star.

And thou, his land !—thy Pyrenees,
 Were they not piled to fence the free ?
 Free as the cloud that o'er thee flees,
 Thy laws, thy rights, thy sons should be :—
 Rise in thy might—arise, and seize
 The birthright long withheld from thee,
 And sound, in every Spanish breeze,
 The dirge of buried slavery !

Crediton.

SUGGESTION OF BISHOP BERKELEY ON THE ADMISSION OF
CATHOLICS TO PROTESTANT UNIVERSITIES.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,—When I had occasion, in your first volume (p. 624), to describe the enlarged views of human improvement in distant lands, entertained by Bishop Berkeley, I ought not to have overlooked his proposal for a reform at home, by extending the advantages of the University of Dublin, to students of the elder church of Ireland. The following article in the *Querist*, first published in 1735, and now found in the ‘Miscellany by the Bishop of Cloyne,’ (p. 140.), may excite no unreasonable suspicion that the vaunted Protestant ascendancy over a Catholic population, had appeared ninety years ago, to the enlightened mind of Berkeley, as rather a subject for apology than for exultation.

“No. 191. Whether in imitation of the Jesuits at Paris, who admit Protestants to study in their colleges, it may not be right for us also to admit Roman Catholics into our colleges, without obliging them to attend chapel-duties, or catechisms, or divinity lectures? And whether this might not keep money in the kingdom, and prevent the prejudices of a foreign education?”

It would gratify curiosity to know, whether this liberal suggestion, which, I trust, it may not require another ninety years to realize, were one of the articles, which drew forth the following commendation from Warburton, in a letter to Hurd, in 1750.

“Bishop Berkeley has published a thing called *Queries*, very well worth attending to by the Irish nation. He is, indeed, a great man; and the only visionary I ever knew that was.”

It has, I dare say, occurred to you, Mr. Editor, and will occur to many of your readers, how the liberality of Berkeley’s proposal has been strikingly illustrated by the contrast of British legislators, as in the last session of Parliament, cautiously, and with some vexatious qualifications, acceding to the request of Irish Catholics, not to share in the advantages of a national education, contrived by their Catholic ancestors; but to find a grave in a modern *Protestant*, but an ancient *Catholic* churchyard, notwithstanding the pious scruples of that orthodox and not ill-requited polemic, Archbishop Magee.

QUOD VERUM.

‘ILLEGAL PROCEEDINGS OF THE MAGISTRACY AT BOMBAY.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,

Bombay, July 24, 1824.

IN forwarding the accompanying extract from the *Bombay Courier* of the 20th July, 1822, I scarcely need make any comment upon the disgraceful conduct of the Magistrates who permitted two felons to escape justice under such flagrant circumstances; when, by all the laws of the land, it is well known that the crime of felony in any case is not bailable.

I had intended to have made some observations in the *Courier* upon this illegal affair, but happening just now to have seen and partially read the three first Numbers of THE ORIENTAL HERALD, in which you have made many strictures upon the dispensation of justice in India, I thought

it but right to put you in possession of the original document, well knowing that your talents would do more justice to the case than yours, obediently, could have done.

JUDEX.

P. S.—This case appears very similar to that mentioned by Junius in his letter, No. 68, to Lord Mansfield, respecting his having bailed John Eyre; with this only exception, that he was detected with the stolen goods upon his person, and these two felons were admitted to bail by the Magistrate, although there were abundant proofs of their identity.

Extract from the Bombay Courier.

"There was nothing remarkable in any of these cases, excepting the last, which was a burglary of a very daring kind, committed by a gang of thieves in the house of a Sowkar, or native banker, at Mahim. The gang were admitted into the house by the servant of the Sowkar. The latter was beaten by two of the thieves, and held down to the ground, with a knife at his throat, while the others deliberately lighted a torch, broke open his chest, and took out joys, jewels, and cash, to the amount of above 12,000 rupees. The servant and two of the thieves have escaped, they had been brought up and committed by the Court of Petty Sessions for the burglary; but having been admitted to go out on recognizance, they decamped, and have not since been heard of. The charge was very clearly brought home to the other principal thieves, by the evidence of the prosecutor, as to the identity of their persons, confirmed by other very strong and direct evidence of their guilt."

NOTE OF THE EDITOR.

There appears to us to be little necessity for comment on such a case as this. The bare recital of the facts, taken as they are, too, from the official paper of the Bombay Government, is quite sufficient to show that the crime committed was felony, which no magistrate or justice of the peace has any legal authority to bail at all; and that in the present instance, therefore, the officers admitting the criminals to go at large on their recognizances, were, in the eye of the law, accessories to their escape from justice, and ought to have been proceeded against as such accordingly.

On a reference to the Letter of JUNIUS addressed to Lord Mansfield, on the subject of his bailing John Eyre, our Correspondent will perceive, that there is some difference in the cases.—The Judges of his Majesty's Courts at Westminster have powers, in certain cases, to admit *alleged* criminals to bail, during the vacations. The case of John Eyre was not, however, one which came within that class of cases, he being "taken in the fact, with the stolen goods upon him, and making no defence." The position of JUNIUS is, that "a felon so taken is not bailable by the laws of England"—not even by the Judges of the King's Bench: and his accusation against Lord Chief Justice Mansfield, therefore, is, that in bailing John Eyre, "he did that which by law he was not warranted to do." This was wrongly interpreted by Lord Mansfield's advocates, as implying that a Lord Chief Justice had no "greater authority to bail for criminal offences than a Justice of the Peace;" which JUNIUS never meant. He knew well that Justices of the Peace have no power to bail felonies in any case whatever; though in many cases, his Majesty's Judges have: but, he contends that the case of John Eyre was not one of these; and, therefore, the Chief Justice had exceeded his lawful powers. This Letter of Junius is one of the most masterly of the whole collection, both as to its matter and style. The following brief quotations from the authorities cited by him, will show what ought to have been the course pursued towards the Magistrates of Bombay, who thus exceeded the bounds of their duty.

"There is no doubt but that the bailing of a person *who is not bailable by law*, is punishable, either at common law as a negligent escape, or as an offence against the several statutes relative to bail."—*Hawkins' Pleas of the Crown*, ii. 89.

"If bail be granted, *otherwise than the law alloweth*, the party that alloweth the same shall be fined, imprisoned, render damages, or forfeit his place, as the case shall require."—*Selden, by N. Bacon*, 182.

"Appell de mahem, &c. Ideo ne fuit lesse a baille, nient plus que in appell de robbery ou murder; quod nota, et que in robry et murder le partie n'est baillable."—*Bro. Mainprise*, 67.

"Bail is *quando stat indifferenter*, and *not* when the offence is open and manifest."—*Coke*, 2 Inst. 189.

SONNETS AND OTHER POEMS, BY D. L. RICHARDSON.¹

ALTHOUGH it does not fall within our province to review all the poetical productions of the English Press, yet we have expressed our intention to notice whatever works of the class may relate more peculiarly to the East. The volume now before us has claims to our attention on that account; and as such will be briefly adverted to.

The author has chosen for his motto the following couplet of Cowper:

Happy to rove among poetic flowers,
Though poor in skill to rear them.

The modesty which thus appears on the very opening of the volume ought to disarm the severity of criticism, even where a previous disposition to exercise it had existed. In our own case, however, we approach such productions as the present with a desire rather to discover beauties than to detect faults, and are more pleased at the efforts made, however humble, after fame and distinction, than dissatisfied because the end arrived at is not attained to the end desired by the aspirant himself.

Mr. Richardson is a young officer in the East India Company's army, on whose mental as well as physical powers, the deleterious climate of Bengal appears to have produced this striking effect: it seems to have made him "weary of the world and all its pleasures,"—to cause him to be enamoured of sorrow—to pay homage to grief—to think tears more powerful in their charms than smiles—to court Solitude and Contemplation, as the goddesses of his idolatry, and to woo the muse of Melancholy in the saddest tones.

That the most powerful emotions of the human heart are those arising from suffering, we do not deny; neither can we dispute that grief is often sublime, or that the pathos of despair will move the roughest bosoms. But, on the other hand, as sympathy is the great source of admiration and delight; and as, fortunately for human happiness, the joyous and the gay are more numerous than the sad and the desponding; the poet who sweeps his lyre in tears cannot touch the hearts of so large a class as he who mingles pleasure with his strains—

And, tho' he sings of love alone,
Yet tells of its delights the while.

Whatever merit, therefore, the Poems of Mr. Richardson may possess, as far as language, versification, and even feeling, are concerned, it is impossible that they should be popular, except among the class of the sorrowful, "who weep with those that weep, and seek, in tears, a solace for their grief." To such, we doubt not, they will be more acceptable than an offering of the brightest hues that mirth and joy could bring them; but to the multitude they cannot be congenial.

We have spoken thus far of the general tone and character of the Poems before us. We have shown our approbation, however, of the execution of many of the pieces which compose the volume, by giving them insertion in the pages of our publication; and in our present Number will be found others, bearing the signature D. L. R. from the same pen. Many of the separate poems evince, indeed, considerable powers, and to us they

¹ Sonnets and other Poems, by D. L. Richardson. Post 8vo. pp. 160. London, Underwood, 1825.

appear excellent in proportion as they depart from the general path of gloom in which the Poet evidently prefers to wander.

It should be added, in justice to the Author, that there is a spirit of benevolence and philanthropy, an ardent love of freedom and justice, and a corresponding hatred of oppression in all its forms, that breathes throughout his productions; and as the service of the East India Company, whether civil or military, is not the school in which these feelings receive the highest encouragement, we are compelled to conclude that they must have been always sincere and powerful, to have thus preserved their freshness and vigour to the end.

ON THE IMPROVED ROCKETS OF CAPT. PARLBY OF THE BENGAL ARTILLERY.

WE have received, from a correspondent, an account of the experiments lately made in India on the rockets of Captain Parlby, with a request that we would insert them at length in the *Oriental Herald*. Had the details been sent to us at an earlier period in the month, we might have found room for some portion of them at least; but we regret to say, that this is now impossible. Capt. Parlby, who is the East India Company's Model-master, at the Artillery station at Dum Dum near Calcutta, is also the editor of a work called the '*British-Indian Military Repository*,' in which the question respecting the merits and demerits of his rockets has been fully discussed, as well as in the newspapers of India: for, inflammable as rockets may really be, they are not among the number of the inflammable things prohibited to be spoken of by the editors there, and the amplest discussion has therefore taken place, without the Government being overturned by a sudden explosion—or any individual banished from the country, for daring "to hold a torch to this powder magazine."

To repeat all that has been printed on this subject in India, would be as tiresome to all our readers there as it would be uninteresting to a large class of our readers here. But, as some doubts have already appeared as to the success of Capt. Parlby's labours, and as we revere the maxim of hearing both sides of a question, we shall endeavour to condense in as short a space as possible the substance of the papers communicated to us by our correspondent, the result of which will probably be more effectual than a longer detail, which might not be so generally read.

A set of experiments with these rockets being ordered to be tried at Dum Dum, the Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief attended to witness them in person. The trial was intended to exhibit the comparative value of Col. Congreve's and Capt. Parlby's rockets: and accordingly there were two points of discharge and two targets. From the first was discharged Col. Congreve's rockets, under the superintendence of Capt. Graham, of the East India Company's Rocket Corps. From the second was discharged Capt. Parlby's rockets, under the superintendence of himself.

In the first experiment twenty-nine rockets were discharged by each at a target-distance of six hundred yards, and at different degrees of

elevation. The result was, according to the report before us, that "Capt. Parlbj's rockets had a manifest superiority over Sir William Congreve's." The latter, it seems, went in an erring and uncertain line, from the inequality of the propelling force acting on different parts of its surface, while Capt. Parlbj's went in a straight direction, from his having given to his rockets a rotatory motion during their passage through the air, which equalizes all the tendencies to aberration, and keeps the tube in a uniform direction. The report adds, that "the volley of nine in this first discharge, was a complete failure on the part of Col. Congreve's rockets; six out of the nine burst within one hundred yards of the car, another fell about half way, and the two remaining ones went at a considerable distance to the right and left of the target. Of the Parlbj rockets discharged in this volley (the report adds) only one burst, two struck the target; and the remaining six preserved the line and passed over it within a few feet on the top."

In the second discharge at a target-distance of one thousand yards, it is said, that "the volley of Congreve's was better than in the last; but still inferior to Parlbj's: the four heavy ones of the former erred extremely, while three of the latter went with beautiful precision." Eight of Capt. Parlbj's, however, lost their sticks, while Col. Congreve's were much better fastened.

In the third discharge at a target-distance of fourteen hundred yards. Congreve's ranged with great correctness, but Capt. Parlbj's, it is said, were disadvantageously fired, not well aimed, and fell short, the tubes being defective.

In the fourth discharge at a distance of eighteen hundred yards, and with heavy rockets, fifty-six pounders, the Congreve were decidedly superior to the Parlbj, the tube of which was again too small.

The report concludes with asserting that the Congreve rockets were never better fired: though had Sir William himself been there, he might have thought otherwise;—and it adds, that though Capt. Parlbj superintended the discharge of his own, he did not pay so much attention as he might have done: the probable reason assigned is, his superior anxiety to hurry through the experiment as fast as possible, as the sun was getting hot, and likely to be uncomfortable to the high personages who had condescended to come so far to witness the trial! This singular excuse will not obtain universal credit: for though Capt. Parlbj is no doubt a well-bred man, and has too much respect for his superiors, "to let the breath of heaven play on their cheeks too roughly," yet it is not easy to imagine an officer and an inventor so extremely polite as to neglect, out of pure good breeding, an experiment in which the question was to be decided, whether Sir William Congreve or himself, was the greatest and best among the rocket-makers of the earth.

Be this as it may, the report from which we gather the preceding facts, states, that "on the whole, the *general feeling* certainly was, that Capt. Parlbj had surpassed Sir William Congreve." We have no doubt, however, but that had Sir William been one of the party, he would have had some one to report, that a portion at least of the *general feeling* was in HIS favour also.

If Capt. Parlbj's rockets are really superior to those of Col. Congreve, (and we see no good reason why they should not be) we sincerely hope that they will be sent to England, and compared by a set of expe-

riments at Woolwich, to determine the point fairly, and lead to their adoption, if found better than those now used, in the British army.

They are said to be one third cheaper, and to admit of the cases, which are the chief expense, being used a second time: which secures economical practice. It is added, that rockets from England receive injury by age, and by the heat and moisture of the climate on their passage as well as in store: while rockets made in India, and just before they are required for use, would be in the highest perfection. They form an excellent weapon for Indian warfare, as they can be transported over tracts where artillery could not pass: and would rout an enemy concealed in a jungle, better than cannon balls.

These are advantages of the most important kind; and, as every new instrument of destruction is sure to meet with a patronage proportioned to the extent and certainty of its destroying powers, however much inventions for staying the waste of human life and adding to the stock of human happiness may be neglected or despised, we doubt not but Capt. Parlbby will receive from his honourable masters, the full measure of his reward.

PARAPHRASE OF PART OF AN ODE FROM HAFIZ.

WITHOUT the Maid on whom we doat,
The sweetest rose in vernal bloom
Unnoticed sheds its rich perfume:
Without the nightingale's sweet note,
Vain are the garden's walks and bowers;
Nay, Spring itself, that time of gladness,
Might come unheeded, or in sadness,
If wine were banished by its flowers.

The gently-waving cypress tree
That seems to woo the Summer wind,
Those fragrant flowers, which, unconfined,
Invite the roaming honey-bee,
Are lifeless all, and dull to view,
Unless a Girl (whose tulip-cheek
Blushes the love she cannot speak)
Casts o'er the scene Joy's fairy hue.

Yet even then, if those bright eyes,
Where sportive loves for ever reign,
Should turn away in coy disdain,
Alas! how quickly pleasure flies;
For oh! the rose, the mantling wine,
The loveliest tints that Nature blends,
Are dark, unless sweet Woman lends
The lustre of her look divine.

Patna.

BERNARD WYCLIFFE.

ON THE EDUCATION OF YOUTH FOR CIVIL OFFICES IN INDIA.

No. V.

Quod quando, et quomodo, et per quos agendum sit.
CIC. EPIST. AD FAM.

MR. BURKE justly attributes most of the horrors which resulted from the misgovernment of India, to the injudicious distribution of the Company's patronage, and the introduction of improper persons into their service:—"I was, in a manner, stupified by the desperate boldness of a few obscure young men, who, having obtained, by ways which they could not comprehend, a power of which they saw neither the purposes nor the limits, tossed about, subverted, and tore to pieces, as if it were in the gambols of a boyish unluckiness and malice, the most established rights and most revered institutions of ages and nations."

As the misuse of patronage is a copious source of evil, and the means of perpetuating error, there are too many evident reasons why but few of the civil, and none of the military appointments, should be any longer left at the disposal of the Directors. If they are allowed to preserve their commercial privileges, to them, as a part of the plan, leave the gift of all commercial situations. Call offices by their proper names; and after having thus distinguished revenue, judicial, and political officers from the factors of a trading company, let these last remain under the patronage and orders of those intrusted by the Company with the management of their commerce. If to consign the whole patronage of India to Mr. Fox's Commissioners, was said to be the transformation of Lilliputians into Brobdignagians, how much more properly may it be said of continuing such patronage in the hands of the Court of Directors! It must be incalculably increased in value since that day; yet, surely, the persons who now compose the Direction, cannot be compared in rank, importance, and ability, with those who were to form Mr. Fox's Commission.

Suppose the patronage of appointments for a year to be valued¹ at 500,000*l.*, will the public be pleased to say upon what ground they permit twenty-four private individuals to apply annually to their own use what is infinitely more precious than its nominal amount in money? The patronage of India, it is true, can no longer be sold; but it procures influence, which may be exercised in a thousand ways more profitable than the produce of a mere sale. This influence the Directors exercise retired from public notice. A minister of the Crown is always watched, the object of jealousy to all, and the game which is started and pursued through every session of Parliament. His abuse of patronage, like his errors of policy, is at all times liable to exposure: but who, except the Proprietors of India Stock, knows any thing about the Court of Directors? Four times a year, or a little oftener, they appear in public, *within the bar*, to keep the Proprietors at bay; but even the country squire, whose reading is confined to a newspaper, is never so far worn out by the advertisements, as to turn to an India House Debate. He

¹ In this supposed valuation are included writerships, cadetships, assistant surgeons, seminary and home patronage.

may chance, however, to want a writership or a cadetship, and then, for the first time in his life, begins to think what and who the East India Directors are. He will find a set of excellent men, possessed of enormous patronage, with which it is their first wish to serve their friends. If the squire is lucky enough to be one of these, he gets the promise of a writership for his son, provided that he is not under sixteen nor above twenty years of age, and is not a disgraced person. The boy is sure to get it, if an inordinate passion for shooting or hunting, or some other natural propensities of youth, do not subject him to expulsion from Hertford College. The squire then says that the Directors are capital fellows—so they are, taken separately; but, like the good dishes of a dinner, they make a bad mess mashed up together. But, as they are no longer responsible to the country for the administration of India, why are they to possess the patronage? That responsibility attaches now upon Ministers, who must answer for the manner in which they have acted, although they cannot command freedom of action. They are in the situation of men set to run a race in sacks, so many are the encumbrances with which their administration is clogged by Acts of Parliament. Hence arises a suspicion among many, that the letter of the law is avoided; they think, either that the Board of Control are indifferent about their authority and do not interfere, or that the power of the Court of Directors is merely nominal; they cannot believe the mixed system to be any thing more than a theory, which loses its balance in practice, and determines, according to circumstances, to one side or the other. Thus Mr. Tierney (who was afterwards President of the Board of Control) writes to the East India Company in 1787:² “Let the Board of Control stand forward, and openly take *all*, the *whole power*, and the *whole responsibility*; and we know what we have to trust to: but a *secret*, undefined system, be it exercised by whom it may, will ever beget *suspicion*, and then follow jealousies, bickerings, and want of confidence, evils which are dangerous to the well-being of every society, but which to a commercial one, must ultimately bring destruction.” As Mr. Tierney had previously admitted the necessity of having a government control over the Company and Directors, and yet describes the power which was left to the latter, as a mixture of nominal authority and actual impotence, it is clear that he only condemned Mr. Pitt’s plan as not having gone far enough, and yet so far as it had gone, as being in opposition to his former professions. Mr. Tierney appears *then* to have desired the abolition of the Court of Directors.

It may be said, that the Court of Directors will, in fact, be abolished, if they are deprived of their patronage; and yet, that they ought not to be abolished, because they have made a good use of their power, as is proved by the good government of India. Suppose India to be well governed, can the Court claim credit for the state of that country, which before they were controlled they had nearly ruined and lost; whose government of it was described “as not only full of abuse, but one of the most corrupt and destructive tyrannies that probably ever existed in the world.” “A government,” in the words of Mr. Burke, “by which every legal regular authority in matters of revenue, of political administration,

² ‘The Real Situation of the East India Company,’ &c. By Geo. Tierney, Esq. 1787.

of criminal law, of civil law, in many of the most essential parts of military discipline, was laid level with the ground; and which was become an oppressive, irregular, capricious, unsteady, rapacious and peculating despotism, with a direct disavowal of obedience to any authority at home; and without any fixed maxim, principle, or rule of proceeding to guide them in India." Surely we may infer, from comparing the present with the past administration of India, that whatever improvements have been introduced, the praise which they deserve is due to the King's Government, not to the Directors.

But the present state of India demands for its management other qualifications in civil servants than those which have been hitherto considered sufficient for the condition of that country. The British power in India can no longer continue to extend itself by conquest. It is already weakened by extension, and must be strengthened by gaining the affection of the natives, and fixing the attachment of the half-caste population. We know that it is much easier to acquire a large fortune, than to make a good use of it. For the Indian Governments it has been an incomparably easier task to possess themselves of territory, than to make the most of its resources and improve its inhabitants. Their dominion has been spread by means of usurious loans more than by the sword; and kingdoms have fallen into their hands by the operation of circumstances more like the foreclosing of a mortgage than the achievements of warlike enterprize. An advance of money to a distressed Native Prince has usually been followed by the military occupation of his country, in the name of the Company. Such a system of conquest is perfectly characteristic of the conquerors, and affords but little promise of enlarged and liberal policy in settling the conquered countries.

But it is not the object of these papers to urge the inexpediency of continuing the political administration of India in this country on its present footing, except so far as it is connected with patronage, and is thus incidental to our main argument. From what has been said, we may be allowed to make the following deductions:—

The right of interfering with the Company's charter, against which a great clamour will be raised, whenever their patronage is diminished, cannot be questioned. The reasonableness of vesting such a right in the Legislature is equally consistent with our Constitution and the common nature of things, and the exercise of it is borne out not only by precedent but immemorial usage. The plea for such an interference is strong, and, apparently, irresistible, arising out of the vast acquisitions which the Company have made since 1814, and the consequent increase of their civil and military establishments. We cannot doubt, that Mr. Pitt looked forward to the growth of a necessity for destroying the political existence of the Company, because, embarrassed as he was by popular outcry and his own previous admissions, he yet unremittently persevered in extending and strengthening the authority of the Board of Control, and, by a sort of negative process, restricting till he almost abolished the power of the Court of Directors. But the consequence has been that the vigour of the Home Administration of India has depended on the personal character of the President of the Board of Control. The Directors, restricted as they are, can do little more than clog the machine of Indian government; and, if energy be wanting in the King's Indian Minister, much may be done to impede, but nothing to advance the prosperity of

our Eastern Empire. Such an alternative should not be left to the accident of one man's character, while the degree in which its influence operates cannot be seen. To the public, the acts of the Board of Control are concealed under the name of the Court of Directors. Strength should be added somewhere. Few, upon past experience, or any sound principle of policy, would wish it to be given to the Court. If it be given to the King's Ministers, it would be conferred in the shape of removing present checks upon their authority, and permitting them openly to exercise patronage of a fixed amount. We have wished to show the impropriety of leaving all Indian patronage in the hands of the Directors; because, they are rendered incapable of a just discrimination in its distribution by unavoidable engagements entered into with their Constituents. We also maintain, that there are symptoms of great errors in the system of Indian Internal Administration, and that the exposure and correction, or even the discovery of such errors, cannot be expected from men bred and educated in the admiration of that system. Whence we deduce that a new set of men, differently educated but properly qualified, is wanting to give life and afford the chance of improvement to the Indian Governments, and that such men are not to be procured except by removing the patronage of appointment from the Directors to some other quarter. We have endeavoured to make it evident, that such a measure is not a new but an old proposal sanctioned by high names and honest opinions for these last five and forty years. If then we have succeeded, in any degree, in showing the necessity of changing the disposers of Indian patronage, we need not stop to prove that patronage is liable to abuse in whatever hands it may be placed; but may safely affirm, that to whomsoever the care of distributing it is intrusted, Civil Appointments to India should be made in truth prizes to be contended for and won, and not conferred as a property on boys unfit to leave school, who are afterwards kept at school, and may lose it by the tricks of a schoolboy.

It is not necessary for us to consider who should supply the place of the Directors in the disposal of Indian Appointments. On this subject Lord Grenville has said, "The writers and cadets are now named by private patronage, nor would I ever consent to vest this influence in the King's Ministers. Not merely because it is itself jointly too large to be so given without necessity, but much more because all possible security for the due exercise of patronage in India depends on the disconnexion of the great body of public servants there, from the domestic parties in our state. But is it therefore necessary that these appointments should be made by the East India Company? Or, does not the very same principle apply, though doubtless in a less degree, as an objection against their exercise of such a trust?" In whatever hands the government of India shall now be placed, it is just, it is necessary, to provide some new course of impartial, and, what is not less important, of mixed selection, for keeping up your civil and military service in that country. Nor can the task be difficult: innumerable are the modes in which it might be accomplished. The most obvious course would be, to chuse the young men who are destined for the civil service, by free competition and public examination from our great schools and colleges: to name the cadets not by the choice of any man, but by some fixed course of succession from the sons of officers who have fallen in the public service. In this manner would the patronage of India, instead of contributing to political

influence or to private gratification, serve as a reward of merit, as an encouragement of valour, learning, and religion, and as an honourable discharge of public gratitude; and the persons destined hereafter to administer the government of millions, would be those only who, even in their earliest youth, had afforded some promise of superior talent, diligence, and virtue."

That this were a practical view of the case we most ardently wish, but dare not hope. If there were public virtue enough to try a plan so disinterested, although that force of good feeling which had power to make the attempt, might, for a time, ensure success, yet the inseparable qualities of a representative government would too surely in the end corrupt and destroy the system. But supposing that political parties will have the same propensities and make the same struggles for power in future as at present, and therefore that the patronage of Indian appointments will always be vested somewhere, it might be limited and directed in the following manner. Every candidate for a writership should be a graduate of one of the Universities, and furnished with a certificate of qualification, which will hereafter be explained, by certain professors, who will shortly be mentioned. But the mere fact of being qualified should not entitle a young man to an appointment: he would be eligible, but not necessarily elected. Although the nomination, which must still constitute the patronage of appointment, could not be given to any but one of these qualified persons. With whatever implied understanding, a young man might begin his appropriate studies for the Indian Civil Service, no nomination could be given him till he had obtained his degree, and a certificate of having satisfied the professors, by whom he would necessarily be examined.

There would be public virtue enough, I think, to confer a certain proportion of writerships on those who eminently distinguish themselves. Through the whole of those who obtain nominations, the order of rank should be settled by the gradation of merit. Such is the rule which classes the Company's Engineer Cadets. It cannot be said that men would never qualify themselves upon an uncertainty of securing an appointment, because many daily qualify themselves for the church and the bar without any prospect of success. The former, indeed, often bind themselves for life to a profession, which at the time offers no means of subsistence, while it excludes them from almost all other open pursuit of gain.

If so strong a stimulus were given to the emulation of candidates for Indian appointments, it would be needless to heighten the test of qualification. Throw open the field of competition, and the struggles of the competitors will constitute the difficulty of the contest. It would not be easy to decide, whether the Universities, by affording a worthy theatre for the display of excellence, would confer or derive greater advantage from the new distinctions incorporated with their present scholastic discipline.

By making a nomination in point of time subsequent to the attainment of certain qualifications, one of the strongest objections to the present system would be entirely removed. By the existing practice of nominating a great absurdity is committed. The appointment is called conditional, but is in fact given before the conditions are fulfilled. That it is assumed to be positively given, no body can fairly deny who has

read the East India House debates on the various disturbances at Haileybury College. All appear to consider, that the ³ Haileybury Student loses by expulsion what he is already possessed of, not that he fails to attain the object of expected exertions. How should it be otherwise? Every body, secure of such a piece of patronage as a writership, considers the person for whom, while yet perhaps in the cradle, he destines the appointment, permanently provided for. Suppose him the son or grandson of a Director. Partiality for the excellencies will probably blind the Director to the failings inherited by his descendant; or at least forbid him to foresee that those or any failings will bring the youth under sentence of expulsion from Hertford College. At last, however, he is expelled, and the sire or grandsire becomes a judge of its propriety. Hence the hot debates at the India House on every case of expulsion; hence, as Mr. Malthus has justly said, the difficulty of preserving discipline among the students. They have their eyes constantly fixed on the higher power to which the College Authorities are subject. This difficulty is inherent in the very constitution of the establishment: for if, by a modification of its rules, the appointment were nominally made altogether dependent on qualification, and not, as now, on mere good behaviour, (for the test does not amount to an obstacle) can any one believe, while the Company possess an exclusive collegiate institution, under their own control, "that an appointment will be considered in spirit and truth a prize to be contended for, and not as a property already possessed?" Will the Directors ever forego the privilege of appointing unqualified persons related to them by blood, dependent upon them for subsistence, or, what to some few minds may be stronger than all other motives, having claims upon their gratitude? Is not this privilege the main-spring of the support which the Court have given the College? and is it not discoverable in the tardiness with which they slackened the reins of their own control over the establishment, and the reluctance with which they increased the power of the College Authorities? Those Directors, who see a little farther than their colleagues, consider Haileybury as an outwork of security for their civil patronage, and all attacks upon it as an attempt to arrive at that hoarded treasure, the hope of their families, and the very soul of their influence. The close connexion of our subject with the question of patronage is here clearly seen: it would have been dishonest to conceal it. We should but expose our ignorance of human nature to expect, that while the patronage remains at the disposal of the Directors, it can become the reward of exertion, and the encouragement of rising talent. By them it can never be bestowed simply with the desire of introducing fit persons into their service. Twenty-four men, from their middle rank and station in life so easily accessible, each with his relatives, friends, and dependents looking up to him for help and advancement, can never have a free nomination for such a purpose. A Minister may be so fortunate, but a Director is shut out from the hope.

But if the attainment of certain qualifications be made the condition of nomination, distinguished abilities, whatever may be the selfishness of patrons, will occasionally force themselves forward, and put neglect to shame. Above all, the senseless clamour, which is now constantly

³ But I need refer no farther back than to the proceedings of the General Court held on the 22d of December last.

excited against the punishment of refractory students, will be silenced for ever. For, let the implied understanding between patron and client be ever so notorious, yet, as no actual nomination can take place till the conditions are fulfilled, any antecedent failure on the part of the individual incurring loss of appointment may be subjected to such a consequence, without affording the slightest ground of complaint. However great the mortification to either party, their voices can only be raised to expose themselves. The charges of cruelty and oppression could not then be brought against masters and professors, and they could no longer be described as "Executioners," and enemies of the youths placed under their guardianship. But as it is not possible, that a nomination should be made purely conditional, while the Directors, or whoever may become the disposers of Indian patronage, possess a college of their own; this may be assigned as one, among other reasons, for only providing the means of gaining appropriate knowledge and qualifications for the Indian civil service. Whatever the advantages derivable from such knowledge and qualifications, let them be sought for—not enforced. We are thus brought to the consideration of the third head; under which, the changes proposed to be made in the education of writers have been classed. We shall reserve this part of the subject for another communication.

B. M. V.

TO ENTHUSIASM.

MOTHER of Hope! be present to my path,—
 Whether I labour up the heights of life,
 Or turn me off into some quiet nook
 To dream in solitude. Thy presence more,
 Perchance, is felt on hills and woody walks,
 By dripping fountains, ruins old and gray,
 Where, like a cloistered queen in modest weeds,
 Antiquity dwells, mute, among the stones.
 Nor dost thou want upon the samphire cliffs
 A little shrine, where 'mid the toppling crags
 The gatherers of the herb hang high and giddy;—
 Nor by the weed-fringed sea, on summer morn,
 When, like a lover to his constant fair,
 The young tide o'er the golden sand-ridge rushes,
 Drives back the rivers, hides the sullen rocks,
 And frets with haste, until the farthest goal
 He reaches full, where pause his weary waves.
 Blithe on his sparkling breast, the swimmer bounds
 In the sun's glittering wake, while white-winged gulls
 Dive for the silver eel, or other fry
 That haunt the cold bed of the morning streams.

Thy youthful choir love scenes like these to view,
 Where on their minds, as rain on tender grass,
 Descends thy influence. The love of thee,
 Like rivers under ground, runs on awhile

Unseen ; but, drawing to itself the springs
 Of energy and passion, bursts at once
 Th' incumbent soil, and rushes forth mature.
 Thou soul of life, what are we without thee !
 I trace thy footsteps wheresoe'er I walk :
 Even in the crowded city, where the Turk
 Jostles the bearded Jew, and bears my thoughts
 Beyond the Caspian, to the wandering tribes
 That skirt the Amoor or the Chinese wall ;
 Or back to Memphis, Tyre, or Palestine,
 Where strange opinions grew. The multitude—
 A sea of passions!—flow along the streets,
 Stiff as half-frozen waves before the storm ;
 But here and there disclosing to my eye
 A face lit up by thy perennial fire.

Excess of thee hath choked my utterance,
 And made me dumb through plenty, as the vase,
 With narrow neck, though filled to brimming o'er,
 If turned, is by the crowding fluid stopped,
 Or hindered sadly in its pouring forth.
 Yet are thy offspring glorious, and bestow
 Colour on life that makes it beautiful—
 Proud Self-command, rich Joy, soul-cheering Hope !
 The first befriends us always ; in success
 Steeping his wings, Joy visits now and then ;
 But, as the anxious shepherd, by the light
 Of sunset, from behind some mountain shot,
 Far in the clouds gilding the eagle's wing,
 Concludes the morrow will be golden fair,
 So Hope, on high wing soaring, from the gleam
 Of past events gathers the augury
 Of an unclouded dawn of better days,—
 And is companion of adversity.

Thy light, Great Power, upon the gloomy path
 Of the dark Bard of Eden glimmered oft,
 Guiding his steps through chaos, or above
 The high " diurnal sphere : " so turn thy rays
 On my endeavours, though of lower pitch :
 Be with me through the watches of the night,
 When Meditation looks, as from a tower,
 On earth's dusk shadows, or, with upward glance,
 The mythologic map and twinkling stars
 Of heaven contemplates. Oft I feel thy sway
 At ebb of twilight, as through window dim
 I watch Day's skirts slow trailing down the sky
 Behind the woods, till darkness robes the earth ;
 While the reflected fire plays on the pane :
 And those lone hours, perchance, are happier far
 Than monied crone or courtier ever knew.

HISTORICAL VIEW OF THE CHANGES MADE BY THE LEGISLATURE
IN THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S CHARTER.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,—In my last I offered my ideas as to the general law respecting Charters of Incorporation; and promised my endeavours “to explain the particular constitution of the East India Company, and to show that the legislature had, upon several occasions, interfered with the main provisions of their charters *pending the term* for which they were granted.”

It is essential to my purpose, that I should call your attention to an early period of the history of this most extraordinary corporation. In so doing, I must, in some degree, trust to my recollection of documents which formerly came under my particular observation; for I am a man of other days, and though from the situation which I once filled, I saw too much both before and behind the curtain, not to have taken up strong and lasting impressions, I am too remote from the scene of action to consult at pleasure those authorities, to which I had once unlimited access.

It is now considerably more than two hundred years, since the enterprising spirit of our merchants led to a great trade with the East Indies, by a variety of means, both direct and indirect. The importance of reducing this traffic to order and system, so as to render it productive to the revenue of the parent state, and secure it from those irregularities which might involve us with the European powers, who were then our potent and successful rivals in the East, did not escape that sagacious princess, Queen Elizabeth, who embodied the East India merchants of that day, by her letters patent. This ordinance contained nearly the outline of what formed the constitution of the East India Company, from that period to the year 1824, when a Board of Control was erected, with almost uncontrollable power. Now, as each succeeding charter, whether royal or parliamentary, has contained a provision, that all existing rights and privileges should remain to the Company, excepting such as were thereby taken away, it is of great importance that, as we proceed, we should notice the prominent clauses of those charters, in order to ascertain what privileges yet remain to the East India Company, which, dormant as they have lain through many revolving years, may still be called forth, whenever they shall be thought necessary for the wise and upright administration of the affairs of that great Society.

The first charter for erecting an East India Company, was granted in 1600. It consisted of a Governor, a Deputy-governor, twenty-four Committee-men, and a General Assembly. To the latter were confided powers of great extent, and responsibility, most of them remain at this hour, and to their non-exercise is, perhaps, fairly attributable almost all those evils which are said now to attach to the Company; and for which the Proprietors, perhaps at no very remote period, may be held seriously accountable! The two main features of this charter, were its *exclusive*

trade, and the vast space over which it might be exercised. The Company thus erected, comprized the most distinguished London merchants of their time, more than two hundred of whom, had petitioned for this immunity. Their right of trade was "into the countries and parts of Asia, Africa, and America, or any of them beyond the Cape of Bona Esperanza, to the Streights of Magellan, where any traffick of merchandise may be used, and to and from every of them." When this prodigious extent of enterprize is contemplated, with the legal fact, of the East India Company being a *perpetual corporation* for the purposes of trade; we cease to wonder at the overflowing capitalists of this day, entertaining the mighty scheme of buying up the *trading* rights of the East India Company, by which they are said to lose, and leaving either to the Directors or to the state, as parliament shall determine, the government of that eastern empire, which calls Britain, Lord! That such an association would be the real workers of the gold and silver mines of South America, and the importers of the wealth of Asia, in exchange for British manufactures, does not admit of much doubt. This charter of Elizabeth, like most of the legal instruments of the day, was short and comprehensive, limited its duration to fifteen years, with a provision, that in case it "should not be hereafter profitable to the Crown and realm, it should after the end of two years' notice, be resumable: but if profitable to the Crown and realm, the Queen promises at the end of fifteen years, to grant them a new charter for fifteen years longer."

Nine years after, the Company were again incorporated by a new charter, in the 7th James I. (1609.) This charter is a mere repetition and confirmation of the former, with some few additions; those additions were however of great importance. The Company is constituted a corporation *with perpetual succession*; and the *exclusive right* to trade within the limits before described, is given to them for ever, subject to its being resumed on three years' notice, "if its continuance should not be profitable to the crown and the realm."

It is observable that this charter was granted, when the former had still six years to run, exclusive of the two years' notice; but whether from political or pecuniary motives, does not appear on the face of it. It is likely to have proceeded partly from the latter, as the granting of charters and patents by the Crown, had become a mode of raising money, and a source of so much court corruption, as at length to have called for the interference of Parliament, who towards the latter end of this monarch's reign materially abridged the prerogative of the Crown as to grants of this nature. It is also presumable, that it was in some degree purchased, as it contains a provision for the better securing the trade of the Company "from the invasion of *Interlopers*," a description of persons, very distinct from the tolerated residents of the present day, but who had by this time become formidable to the Company, as we shall have occasion hereafter to notice.

Upwards of half a century rolled on before the Company again thought it necessary to apply to the Crown, either to renew their former charter, or to grant them further powers. In 1661, Charles the Second granted a new charter to the Company. It is not my purpose, however, on the present occasion, to enter into a particular history of the East India Company, though I must occasionally allude to some of its more striking

circumstances. It is pretty well known that, during the fifty-two years which had elapsed since the last charter, much activity, for good or for evil, had been exercised by the English in the East Indies. The Company itself had perhaps, like other constituted authorities, reposed on the pillow of its charter, and left the field of their exclusive trade open to the inroads of their everlasting plague—the *Interlopers*, who with that spirit which ever distinguishes individual enterprize, had by this time established rival factories, prevailed on several of the native princes and chiefs to regard them as the *true East India Company*, and even incited them to warlike aggressions against the patentees of Oriental commerce. We find therefore in this charter of Charles the Second, some provisions, which seem to establish, as it were, a new epoch in the history of these associated merchants, and to impart to them a new character. It begins with the now-usual denunciations against these terrible *Interlopers*; recites the disorders and inconveniences which have been committed by certain of the king's subjects, and by divers foreigners, to the great prejudice of the Company, and the interruption of their trade; and therefore grants, ratifies, and confirms all former charters, grants, powers, and privileges, including that most important one, their *exclusive trade*, for the preservation of which, the Company are authorized to appoint their own governors and officers, to the command of such *forts* as have been built where their factories are established. Their Governors and Council, are invested with criminal and civil jurisdiction, to be administered according to the laws of England. They are empowered to make peace or war with princes and people within the limits of their trade, (not being christians), and to recompense themselves for wrongs and damages sustained at their settlements, with free license to export warlike stores for that purpose.

They are also empowered to fortify and govern the Island of Saint Helena.

Then follows their darling provision, "*That the said Company may seize upon all Englishmen, and other persons in the East Indies, sailing in any Indian or English vessel, or inhabiting those parts, without the Company's license, or that shall disobey their orders, and send them to England.*"

Presidents and Council may punish the Company's servants according to their discretion; who, in case of appeal, shall be sent home for judgment.

The Company not to trade in the dominions of any christian princes without their consent.

And lastly, providing, that if this charter be not profitable to the Crown and realm, it may be resumed after three years' notice.

The next Charter is one of 1669, by which King Charles the Second cedes the Island of Bombay to the Company, to be held in socage at 10*l.* per annum.

An instrument of 1674 re-grants Saint Helena to the Company, which had been taken from them by the Dutch, and re-taken by the King's ships, with some indulgencies beyond those in their original Charter of 1661.

From 1661, it should seem that the Company continued in the legal possession, if not in the enjoyment, of their exclusive trade, up to the

year 1674, without further authority from the Crown; though it is evident, that their Chartered repose, was still of a very disturbed nature. It is stated as an inducement to the next grant, that "in and before the year 1677 great clamours had been raised on account of the Company's exclusive privileges of trade, and many opinions were propagated through the realm, that their Charters were become forfeited and void, by Misuser and Abuser," &c. After setting forth the grounds of these allegations, and opinions, the Royal Authority as before, and perhaps from a similar feeling, settles the matter very shortly, by confirming all former grants, and adding thereto, one more badge and ensign of sovereign authority: viz. a right to coin money in the name of the East India Company.

Within the short space of six years, namely in 1683, another Charter became necessary to enable the Company to contend with the *Interlopers*, who it appears resided, settled, and traded in India at their pleasure, without license from either King or Company. The Company are therefore again empowered, to seize their ships and goods, and to bring them to *condign punishment*. They are again invested with military authority over the forts that are now built, or which may hereafter be built, with power to make and declare peace and war with the *Heathen Nations*. They may appoint governors, and other officers, muster forces, and execute martial law in India. In short, this Charter conveys to the Company all the attributes of sovereignty: "The King nevertheless reserving his sovereign right over the said forts, and the power of making peace and war, when he shall think fit to interpose his Royal Authority." A power to erect Courts of Judicature is also given. Still there seems to have been no resting place for the sole of the East India Company's foot! The preamble and the terms of the succeeding Charter, bearing date but three years after, too plainly tell its intermediate history. It recites, that the *Interlopers* in India had become very numerous, and had created disturbances, and by setting themselves up as the *true Company* incited the Mogul people to make war on the Company in Bengal, to their great detriment. It recites also, that a ship of war had been sent out, conveying a proclamation ordering all his Majesty's subjects in India, to repair to the Company's Forts and Factories, and to submit to their jurisdiction, and ordering that all *Interlopers* should be seized. His Majesty then confirms all former grants; and after noticing that he had been given to understand, that several of the native princes and governors in India, taking advantage of the dissensions, distractions and rebellions among the English, occasioned by the licentious trading of *Interlopers*, had of late violated many of the privileges of the East India Company; surprized their servants, ships, and goods; besieged their factories, invaded their liberties, and by many other ways, without just cause, abused their chiefs, and factors; to the dishonour of the English Nation. For all which the Company intends to demand satisfaction in a peaceable way; and if not obtained that way, to use force of arms, wherein they will have to use their ships in a warlike manner. Whereupon, the King grants to the Company full power to raise a navy, to appoint Admirals, Vice-Admirals, and all other officers, with authority to seize *all Interlopers*, to compel them to submit, and to take their ships and goods, and also with authority to make war

on such Indian Princes, as may hurt the Company. It also authorizes Martial Law on board the ships of war, with power to his Majesty to revoke the same at his pleasure.

It will be seen, from the evils which this Charter was granted to remedy, at how great a degree of strength and power the *Interlopers* had arrived; they not only possessed rival factories, and numerous ships, but had even advanced themselves to a state of alliance with some of the Native Sovereigns of India. It could have been no ordinary emergency, that induced the State to allow a Company of Merchants, to fit out ships of war, of such size and consequence as to require commissions of Admiral and Vice-Admiral, and the introduction of Martial Law on board their fleets!

Such a series of trials, and expensive undertakings, might well make a serious impression on the funds of this Joint Stock Company; accordingly we find that in 1693, the first and great provision of the Charter granted by William and Mary is, for adding the sum of 744,000*l.* to their capital.

But as this period opens a new view of our Indian Interests; erects a New East India Company; and witnesses the obsequies of the old one, I will consider this letter, if you please, as concluding a great epoch with the conclusion of the first century of the Company's existence. I will in my next endeavour to lead the consideration of your readers through the succeeding century, and up to the present period. Possessed of these data, they will be better enabled to judge of the wisdom of such measures, as the Legislature may shortly think it necessary to propose, or the Proprietors in their General Court feel it their duty to call for. In the interim

I have the honour to remain,

Your obedient servant,

A CALM OBSERVER.

NOTE OF THE EDITOR.

We cannot suffer this letter to pass through our hands for the press, without again expressing our gratification at the possession of such a Correspondent; and our desire to secure a continuation of his communications. The present letter reached us only on the 25th, which is ten days later in the month than the usual period for closing all the articles intended for the first division of the work; the period between the 15th and 25th being necessary for the succeeding portion; but we have displaced some shorter pieces to make room for this, rather than defer it to a future Number.

RETIREMENT.—A SONNET.

THOSE are not lonely that avoid the crowd,
 And hide their heads in solitude ; they live
 A life of proud enjoyment, which to give
 To nought but wisdom have the fates allowed ;
 The mariner who many seas has ploughed,
 And breathed the air of num'rous distant shores,
 Feels not more pleasure at the dash of oars
 That bring adventures new, than one endowed
 With mental daring does in solitude,
 Where oft he seems to bear Fame's golden wings
 Flapping the dust o'er learning's traces strewed,
 Or parleying with the Muse that frequent brings
 News from the choir with beauty's hue imbued,
 That on Olympus' snowy summit sings.

INVITATION—TO A LADY.

HASTE, and weave the blushing wreath,
 Ere the rose and myrtle die ;
 These are flowers whose odours breathe
 Fragrance sweet as rapture's sigh ;
 Time—the loveliest things consuming,
 Courts thee, while the leaves are blooming
 Fresh and fair—the wreath to twine,
 Lady ! for that brow of thine.

Flowers will fade—and Love must know
 Moments when it feels decay ;
 Yet the storms that round it blow
 Cannot rend its stem away.
 O'er Love's rose, in sorrow bending,
 Tears from beauty's eye descending
 Softer than a summer shower,
 Shall revive its drooping flower.

SONNET.—TO A CHILD.

THOU darling Child ! When I behold the smile
 Over thy rosy features brightly play,
 (Its light unrivalled by the morning ray,
 Thy fair and open brow upraised the while
 With an appealing glance so void of guile,
 (Untaught the trusting bosom to betray,)
 Thy sinless graces win my soul away
 From dreams and thoughts that darken and defile !
 Scion of Beauty ! If a Stranger's eye
 Thus dwell upon thee,—if his bosom's pain,
 Charmed by thine holy smile, forget to smart,—
 Oh ! how unutterably sweet *her* joy—
 Oh ! how indissolubly firm the chain
 Whose links of love entwine a *Mother's heart* !

D. L. R.

SUMMARY OF THE LATEST INTELLIGENCE FROM INDIA, AND
OTHER COUNTRIES OF THE EAST.

BENGAL.

THE latest letters that have reached England from Bengal, since our last, are those brought by the ship *Westmoreland*, which arrived at Liverpool a week or two ago. These extend to the 20th of August,¹ only a few days later than the extracts from Bengal papers given in those of *Bombay*, which are dated about the middle of September. From the papers of either Presidency, however, but little can be expected, and that little is not to be relied on for its fidelity; as the Bengal Editors have been actually directed by the Government at Calcutta, "to abstain from giving publicity to any of the events connected with the operations on the eastern frontier." The same interdiction does not extend to private letters, or if it did, it would not be obeyed. We are accordingly induced to look to these for more full as well as more accurate details of the actual state of affairs in India, than it would now be possible to collect from the public papers of that country.

From all the letters we have yet seen, we collect, as the most prominent fact, for it is repeated by every pen, that never was there a governor-general that ever went to India, so unpopular among all classes, civil, military, mercantile, and marine, as Lord Amherst; and the difficulties and embarrassments into which he has plunged the state since he has been at its head, appear to justify the universal opinion entertained of his utter incompetency to fulfil the duties of his exalted station.

It is only by contrasting the actual condition of a country at one particular period with its actual condition at another, that we can form a just estimate of the good or evil policy by which it has been brought to the one or the other. It was on this principle that the Marquis of Hastings, in giving a summary of his own administration, found it necessary to begin with a description of the state of India at the period of his predecessor, Lord Minto, resigning his power. And on the same principle, to understand the extent of the mischief which Mr. John Adam and Lord Amherst have conjointly occasioned in the very short period of their conjoint authority, it is necessary to state what was the condition in which the country was left when Lord Hastings resigned his office.

It was this:—Nepaul had been brought to friendly terms after a successful campaign—The Pindarries had been annihilated—The confederacy of native powers broken up—Supplies had been sent from India to England, exceeding those of the preceding twenty years, by treble the amount in each year: and for the five most productive years of Lord Hastings's administration, quintupling the former example—The yearly Indian revenue at the close of 1821-2, exhibited an increase of more than five millions sterling, and for the year 1822-3, would be undoubtedly six millions—The clear Indian surplus of receipts above expenditure might be taken at four millions sterling—The Company had been relieved from loans at high interest, and the credit of its securities was raised beyond all former precedent—Every native state, from the Indus to the Burram-

If later arrive, they will be mentioned in a supplement.

pooter, and from the Himalya to Cape Comorin, was either in acknowledged or actual subjection to the British power, and universal tranquillity prevailed throughout every part of India.

This was the state of things brought about when the Freedom of the Press was in full operation under the Marquis of Hastings's rule; and if this freedom of discussion, when almost every subject of public interest was treated of by the most able writers in India, most of them functionaries of government, developing their views in communications addressed to the several conductors of the public papers, did not *promote* the accomplishments of these brilliant results (which is the utmost that its enemies can allege), it, at least, could not have *retarded* it, since India never before attained to such a pitch of wealth, power, and tranquillity, as under the very administration in which the press was most active and most free.

The facts of these brilliant results do not depend on the testimony of Lord Hastings alone. They were adverted to, and dwelt upon as matter of high and just congratulation in the addresses presented to his Lordship, by the public functionaries of India, on his quitting the country; and they are fully borne out by the official papers since published, more particularly those relating to finance, from the records of the India House, as well as by the common assent of all men acquainted with the state of India at that particular period. The last 'Territorial Financial Letter from Bengal,' dated the 31st of December, 1822, and printed in the Finance Papers alluded to (p. 276), contains the following remarkable paragraphs.

The aggregate receipts of the three Presidencies amounted to 19,02,04,160 rupees; the charges to rupees 17,31,71,544. The surplus Indian revenue has consequently reached the sum of rupees 1,76,32,616.

Favourable as this result is, *beyond the example of any former period*, your Honourable Court will observe, that from the receipts stated in the accounts, a considerable sum is excluded, which properly belongs to the resources of the period under review.

But for these circumstances ² the Indian surplus would hence considerably exceed two crores of rupees.³

We trust your Honourable Court will derive a high gratification from the contemplation of a state of things, *favourable beyond your most sanguine expectations*, and calculated to afford the most solid ground for anticipating a still more important amelioration.

Although we have met the demands of the commercial branch *in their fullest extent*, and have remitted to England, within the past year, treasure to the extent of rupees 1,66,06,176, the cash balances in our Indian treasuries on the 30th of April last, amounted to rupees 9,99,39,196,⁴ affording a large surplus to be disposed of in such manner as may appear most conducive to the interests of the Honourable Company.⁵

Considering the great, if not the only object kept in view, in the management of our possessions in India, to be draining from it as large a portion of surplus revenue or tribute as possible—and except it be the providing for relatives and dependants by appointments to office there, we believe no higher end is aimed at in our Indian policy, whether by Minis-

² Enumerated in detail in the letters, but omitted here.

³ Or two millions sterling.

⁴ Nearly ten millions sterling.

⁵ Papers relating to the Finances of India during the administration of the Marquis of Hastings, published by order of the Court of Proprietors of India Stock, p. 276.

ters of Directors—this result must prove the system or measures by which Lord Hastings brought the country to such a state of tranquillity, and the treasury to such a state of abundance, to have been the very best that could have been pursued, as far as the interests of his immediate employers were concerned. Let us now see, to what Mr. John Adam and my Lord Amherst have brought this same undisturbed country and productive estate—"By their fruits ye shall know them."

To those acquainted with Indian Finance, it is well known that for some years past at least, Bengal has been the great bank on which all other parts of India have been compelled to draw, for the payment of their expenses; and the surplus wealth of this single presidency has been sufficient to cover the deficiencies of each of the others. Madras has of late been able to pay its own expenses; but Bombay never: not even since the great accession of new territory, which it has received within the last ten years. The Government of Bombay, however, drew on the treasury of Bengal for the deficiency, and out of the abundance of the latter, the wants of the former were invariably supplied.

During the past year 1824, the Bombay Government drew on Bengal as usual, for the sums it required:—when, behold!—this overflowing Treasury, which had cash balances of nearly ten millions sterling in hand but a year before, and hardly knew how to dispose of its surplus wealth, was unable to answer this trifling demand!!—The answer returned from Bengal was, that all their resources were either already exhausted in, or likely to be required for, the prosecution of the Burmese War: and that consequently the Bombay Government must endeavour to raise its own supplies within itself, by such means as were within its power to devise. The Bombay Government, acting on this advice, have accordingly set about raising a loan at their own Presidency, not however in the usual mode, but in the shape of Treasury Bills, to be issued at various dates, and to bear interest at the rate of 4 per cent. per annum. To this, however, they are likely, it appears, to get few or no subscribers. The exigency which gave rise to the scheme is known: and 4 per cent. is not deemed sufficient interest from a needy borrower. It is, indeed, doubtful whether the money required can be raised at 6 or even 8 per cent.: for if the Bengal Treasury be unable to help that of Bombay *now*, what will it be able to do a year hence, when the Burmese War shall have swallowed up another million or two of the surplus wealth which lay at the disposal of the Honourable Company. In Government loans, as well as in those of private individuals, the rate of interest will be regulated by the apparent security for repayment, and the demand for money at the time. The security in this case is not tempting,—the demand great: the interest will consequently be high; and we should not be at all surprised, since freights have risen from 5*l.* to 10*l.* per ton in consequence of the demand for shipping to assist in this war,—to see the interest of government loans raised from 5 to 10 per cent., and the rate of exchange advanced to two shillings, or even two and threepence for the sicca rupee, before the war is at an end: which will please some classes both in India and in England, particularly those who live in this country chiefly on the interest of funds vested in that, annuitants, and others, who draw their remittances principally in money or bills from Bengal.

If no other fact than this single one, of the exhaustion of the Indian Treasury were known, it would be sufficient to indicate the unwise and

disastrous policy of the rulers who, in the short period that has elapsed since Lord Hastings's resignation, had brought the country from a state of superabounding wealth to that of absolute incapacity to pay its current expenses. But they have done infinitely worse than even this. If the ten millions of surplus cash in hand had been sent out in ships and sunk in the Pacific Ocean, it would have been a mere loss of money to that amount, which a few years of tranquil and prosperous government would have replaced. But they began by violating the dearest rights of Englishmen, by the suppression of all freedom of opinion, by the imprisonment of the innocent, and the banishment of those who had committed no legal offence. They trampled the laws of their country under foot, and proclaimed an absolute and irresponsible despotism—thus insulting and disgusting every high-minded Englishman in the service of the state, and rendering themselves at once odious and contemptible in the eyes of all the well-informed men, even among the natives.—They followed this up by plunging the country into a war as senseless as it was unnecessary;—they have so plainly evinced their incapacity in the conduct of the war, as to give the natives of India proof that the English are not always either wise or invincible;—they have encouraged by the disasters of the present campaign whatever lurking disposition to revolt or invasion may exist, to seize so favourable a moment for action;—and they have exposed their countrymen to the waste of human life by sickness and disease, to shedding blood in an inglorious struggle, and probably to retiring from a country of which even the entire conquest would have yielded no solid advantages, while their withdrawal, after entering it, will give a deeper wound to the reputation of the British name than could have been inflicted by the longest tried and most persevering forbearance.

It is time, however, that we should advert to our letters. But we shall have effected some good if we have succeeded in proving that the advocates of despotism have shown their incapacity to govern, even with all the arbitrary power they wished in their hands: and that the reign of freedom, in which the press can do its duty, is not only more productive, but more safe and efficacious in every respect than that in which no voice but the voice of authority can be heard.

We have before said, that the latest letters from Bengal are those brought by the Westmoreland, to the middle of August, 1824. They contain the most unfavourable news from Rangoon. The troops then were stationary, suffering much from sickness, something from difficulty of obtaining supplies, all of which came by sea from Calcutta at an enormous expense, the population of the country appearing as yet proof against all our endeavours to come at their resources. From one or both of these causes, the army remained paralyzed at Rangoon, and all the schemes of proceeding up the river during the rains, had apparently been abandoned. Indeed it was difficult to see how the Commander could have expected to proceed with his army in boats up a winding river full of sands and shoals, the enemy in possession of both banks; the very necessity of tracking against the stream when the wind should be unfavourable or slack, if the localities be at all like those of the Ganges, would compel the General to march troops up one bank, as old Sir Eyre Coote was forced to do sixty years ago, when proceeding to Patna; or as the French on going up the Nile to Cairo in 1798, and the English in 1801; so that the only real use to be made of the river would be for

carrying the stores, &c. to accompany the army. In that case, the troops who marched by land along the bank, would find the rainy season the worst of any for passing over a country described as low, jungly, and inundated.

Sir Edward Paget was to proceed, in the beginning of the cold seasons, November, via Sylhet, over the imperfectly known range of hills that border Bengal on the east, and so to march direct into the heart of the enemy's country. He is a man of sense and skill; and by perseverance, he, and the admirable army he commands, will do all but impossibilities, as these last showed in the Nepaul war. The regions over which they have to pass are, however, altogether unknown to Europeans: and it is much to be feared, if they set off too soon in the cold season, that the pestilential influence of the unevaporated rains, and decayed vegetable matter in the valleys and forests which they have to traverse, will make sad havoc among the troops and followers. They have as efficient a Commissariat as any in the world, admirably organized pioneers, and an artillery yielding to none in Europe, for resources, intelligence, and professional skill. The utmost energies of all these departments will doubtless be called forth with success: the real worst enemy will be DISEASE.

It is known from experience, which has confirmed analogy, that the same unhealthiness in and after the rains, prevails in the eastern ranges of hills, as in the jungle and hill tracts of India generally. Even at an elevation of a few thousand feet in the Nepaul ranges of mountains, it is well known the influence of miasma rages with equal fierceness as in the swampy low grounds: and if we remember rightly, the Nepalese consider the *pure* air to commence only at Cheesapanee, or Cheesaghurry, an elevation of about six thousand feet.

A detachment of two or three battalions, European and Native, is said to have been ordered up as a re-inforcement from Madras to Chittagong, its original destination, when the rest of the expeditionary force from Fort St. George embarked for Rangoon.

Some cavalry, regular and irregular, will form part of Sir Edward Paget's force; and two regiments of the Body Guard of Lord Amherst, and the 1st Native Cavalry, had arrived at the rendezvous in the province, to the E. N. E. of Calcutta.

The Commander-in-Chief was personally using the utmost exertions in every department, to urge on the equipment of the grand army. Full powers appear to have been vested in His Excellency for this salutary purpose.

Rumours were afloat that the Bengal Sepoys at one time demurred to embarking by sea for Chittagong and Rangoon. These excellent troops have never yet shown themselves backward to volunteer in any number for this description of service, nor do we believe any difficulty could have been, or has actually been, experienced, in obtaining their ready services on this occasion, unless such may have arisen from individual unpopularity, or from the rashness, so unnecessary, of urging *compulsory* embarkation on men whose strongest prejudices and habits, religious and domestic, are abhorrent from sea voyages; who are enlisted on the well-known understanding, that no man shall be compelled to serve on ship-board; yet who have on *every* occasion shown themselves willing, when their sense of honour and attachment have been *properly* appealed to, to furnish voluntarily any number of men wanted for foreign service.

A letter, dated August 10, an extract of which has already appeared in the *Globe and Traveller* evening paper, states as follows :

The Birmahs are very powerful, and a strong, hardy, and cunning race, different from any enemies we have met with in this country before, likely to cost us some trouble and a vast outlay before we succeed. What has been done hitherto must go for nothing, after costing the country lacs of rupees, and the loss of great part of the army sent to Rangoon ; for they have got fever amongst them, and being in want of provisions, I fear few of them will ever return. It is now found that Rangoon is not the proper place to attack the Birmah Empire, and troops are marching in every direction to take up positions as near Chittagong, the eastern frontier, as possible, that the campaign may open with the cold weather, and under the immediate command of Sir E. PAGER, the Commander-in-Chief. Our Governor gives satisfaction to no one ; they could not do better at home than recall him, and give us a man of some talent, or he will do more injury to the country than many clever men will be able to restore.

The substance of other letters from India, given in the *Telescope*, conveys the same unfavourable impression as to the war in general. Indeed the evidence collected from all quarters possesses a remarkable uniformity. This paper says :

The Burmese war seems to be going on with a spirit of sanguinary ferocity which was hardly expected on our part, and one feature of it seems quite new in Indian warfare. We have often before had to fight an *army*, but this is the first time we have been called upon to cope with a *people*. Such most decidedly seems to be our task now. In our other wars, the inhabitants of the country, if not positively favourable to our interests, were at least to be bought or intimidated into assisting in forwarding our plans, in so far as conveying our military and commissariat stores, supplying us with provisions, and giving us information. The Burmans, on the other hand, refuse every thing of this kind, and we cannot even find the means of forwarding from Rangoon to the King of Ava, a letter stating our wrongs and demanding redress, nor can we gain information of what is going on within two miles of the stockade occupied by our troops. When the war was first planned, it was proposed that after the capture of Rangoon, the army was to proceed up the river in the boats of the country, manned by the Burmans themselves ; but here they have reckoned, it would appear, without their host, for when Rangoon fell into their hands, neither boat nor Burman were to be had for love or money ; and as yet not a single pound of provisions has been procured, except what has been brought by sea. Our army still remains within the stockade, which occupies all the clear ground in the neighbourhood of the town, and is surrounded by a thick close jungle, which enables the enemy to come up to our very sentinels unperceived ; and any one who ventures out is sure to be cut off. When a strong party is despatched to storm a stockade, they never remain out all night, as they dread encountering an enemy at such a disadvantage ; and stockades are thrown up by the enemy in all directions, as from the thickness of the jungle it is impossible to know that they are in the act of erecting them, until a smoke rising among the trees indicates their presence. It seems to be universally believed, that this will be a long protracted war. Some letters count upon its lasting till March, while others think that it will not be finished in one season, and that the troops will have to pass the next rains in the Burmese empire. What may be the intentions of the government with regard to the country when conquered, it is impossible to divine ; but it is generally conjectured, that it will not add it to our Indian empire, but rather break it up into the original provinces of Assam, Arracan, Pegue, Martaban, and the old Burma kingdom. As these are peopled by different races, who have been conquered by the Burmese, it will be obviously the interest of each and all of them to keep well with the British government, and this will greatly facilitate our commercial intercourse with every part of these regions.

It may be easily conceived that such a moment as this—in the ferment of a protracted, and it might be said hitherto an unsuccessful war—when troops were dying—officers subjected to unusual privations—and neither profit nor honour to be expected from the campaign—it would hardly

be expected that such a moment as this should be chosen for making *retrenchments* in the pay and allowances of the Indian Army—yet, such is the stubborn nature of the minds which now preside over the destinies of our eastern empire, that it has been with the greatest difficulty that Lord Amherst has been prevailed on not to endanger the safety of the country by such a step. His Lordship's highest recommendation in the eyes of the Directors before he left England, is said to have been the ready acquiescence which he evinced in all their views of economy, and the pledges which he made to run all risks of unpopularity rather than shrink from carrying into effect whatever orders they might intrust him with, for cutting down the emoluments of their servants abroad. To Ministers he was perhaps not the less acceptable on that account, provided he would also attend to their particular wishes, when they might have any to gratify, in the promotion of friends, dependants, and relatives of men of influence at home, as opportunities might serve. Soon after the commencement of the Burmese war, some of the anticipated orders for retrenchment arrived, and others quickly followed. Lord Amherst was for carrying them into immediate execution;—but the Commander-in-Chief is said to have observed, that he would not answer for the fidelity of the Army if the attempt were made: and all the individuals connected with Government joining in this view, succeeded at length in persuading the Governor-General not to venture on so hazardous a step. One of the proposed reductions was, to take away from captains in command of companies the sum of 50 rupees per month, allowed to them from the earliest periods of the service, nominally for repairing arms and accoutrements of their men, but counted on as part of the regular pay and emoluments of their post—small enough at all times, but especially so when embarked in such a warfare as the present. There is not an officer in the whole of the Company's Army who would not have murmured at this. Another proposed retrenchment was to do away all full batta¹ below Benares, and, in lieu of it, to give a smaller sum, under the denomination of house-rent,—to the manifest injury of those subjected to the change. There were, besides these, various other retrenchments proposed, in the pay of aides-de-camp and others, who have already barely enough to pay for the perpetual change of embroidered coats, which their situations oblige them to provide. All, however, must have originated in a spirit of the most miserable parsimony at home, and all would have been unpopular to the highest degree abroad.

The retrenchment of the fifty rupees per month for commands of companies, had been before proposed by the Court of Directors to be abolished under Lord Minto and other governors; but they had all invariably refused to lend themselves to such a task, until Lord Amherst undertook to do it. The objections to the proposed retrenchment of batta to all officers below Benares, were, however, still stronger than those to the cutting off the allowance to captains of companies. About twenty-five years ago, the whole of the Indian Army was placed by Lord Wellesley on full batta, on condition of their finding their own quarters in whatever situation they might be placed. This was, in fact, a great

¹ The English reader should understand that the nominal pay of an Indian Officer is very trifling: to this is added half batta, full batta, and double full batta, according to particular stations occupied, or the kind of service performed by the troops: the whole of which is however not at all too much for officers in such a climate and country.

saving of expense to the Government itself; as they were thus enabled to sell off, at once, a great number of barracks, bungalows, and other buildings throughout the country, which cost considerable sums to keep in constant repair for this purpose. On the faith of the permanency of the change introduced by Lord Wellesley, many of the Company's officers purchased these buildings, and some even erected others out of their own funds for their own use. Now, however, without even the pretence of public benefit from such a measure, the Court of Directors, who have such a "horror of innovation" on all *proper* occasions, and who lament on others, "the breaking up of established institutions"—propose to these officers a sum, as house-rent, altogether inadequate to the purpose of compensating them for their loss of the batta ordered to be reduced; and Mr. Wynne, it appears,—not doubting, perhaps, but that Lord Amherst was just the man to carry such an order into effect,—approves its being transmitted to Bengal. Fortunately, however, there was more sense of discretion there, than to suffer it to be carried into immediate execution. We trust that all these proposed retrenchments will be withdrawn; and that an increase to the pay and allowances of all branches of the army, but particularly the inferior ranks of officers, will be thought of before reductions, which could not be carried into effect without destroying the efficiency and damping the energies of those who require to have every encouragement to reconcile them to the duties of the service.

The following are extracts from a letter, dated Calcutta, August 18. The writer, after speaking of all commercial intercourse with Rangoon being suspended, and little prospect of its renewal, says—

We have now in Calcutta, very considerable quantities of goods for Rangoon and the Burman Empire, but it is useless to look to that quarter. It is, at present, the scene of a barbarous warfare, which utterly prevents the slightest friendly communication between any individuals of the two parties.

I wish I could give you an idea how long this state of things would last, but it differs so materially, in every feature, from the wars we have been accustomed to, that the best informed cannot possibly judge. My last letters from Major ———, speak of the sturdy and obstinate resistance of the Burmese, as not only unexpected, but that the general hostility of the people, their sanguinary mode of warfare, and the obstacles our troops have to encounter, are of a character totally differing from all his previous experience. He talks of measures contemplated for so distant a period, that I have no hopes of commercial relations being restored for at least six months to come.

Much interest is, at present, excited by the movements of our troops about Meerut, where it is said preparations are making for a dash at Runjeet Singh.

All our produce is still very high. The bright prospects for cotton, in the China market, preclude the chance of any considerable shipments to England.

The rate of exchange has been expected to have risen before this time; indeed we daily look to a rise, as the Company's Treasury is completely exhausted, and a loan must of necessity be resorted to.

You will scarcely credit the enormous cost of this war—no less a sum than a crore of rupees is abstracted from the Treasury, monthly, for the troops already employed; and if our northern provinces also engage the attention of Government, the want of money must soon affect the exchange.

The following is from another letter of the same date.

There is a rumour of an expedition against the Burmese on the land side, that is, through Chittagong; and our sapient Governor-General begins to find they have begun at the wrong end, as well as at an improper time. Sir E. Paget is known to have publicly said, it would "*be found to be no children's play.*" There is also a rumour of the possibility of our troops having to undergo another rainy season. The officers employed are already sick of it, as disease is spreading rapidly among them, and several have returned to Calcutta in ill-health. The

devastation occasioned by another rainy season would sadly increase the invalid list of our very best troops.

Intelligence had reached Calcutta, of the Burmese having evacuated Ramoo. This information was brought to Chittagong by two natives, who, in company with seventeen others, upon hearing this event from a Mugh woman whom they met at the Bukhalee River, on the 27th of July, crossed over to the fort, which, with the houses, they found entirely deserted; although from the circumstance of fires being burning, and food ready dressed, it was evident the evacuation had been recent and precipitate. Two of the party proceeded southward towards Rutnapulling, but saw no one. They then proceeded eastward, where they found that the Burmese had retired by the road over the Sonacharry to Rutnapulling Hill. It was generally thought at Calcutta, that the retreat of the Burmese was occasioned by the alarm excited at Ava, at the failure of the grand attack upon the British force at Rangoon, on the 1st of July, and the overthrow the enemy received on the 8th of that month. The force which had held Ramoo, was generally believed to be much better armed and equipped than that at Rangoon.

A party of our force, from the *Vestal* cruizer, visited Ramoo on the 10th of August, and inspected the stockades there. They were three in number, very strongly built, and about one mile square; in the centre of each a high mound was erected, as a kind of observatory or watch-tower. Within each stockade were sufficient barracks for the accommodation of ten thousand men; but from the horrid effluvia inside, our troops would not be able to occupy them during the rains. The houses the Burmese had erected, were dry and well built; and it was computed, that at least 20,000 men must have been employed in the erection of the stockades and houses, from the shortness of time in which they had been raised.

From a Mugh who was a prisoner in their camp, and who escaped in the neighbourhood of Tek Naaf, some particulars of their retreat had been obtained; from which it appears, that the Rajah of Arracan, and the Sirdars from Ava, evacuated their respective stockades, and proceeded without halting by Rutnapulling to the sea beach, as far as Burdeel. The Mugh, during the route, heard them say, that their retreat was in consequence of an order from the King, who had become alarmed at the success of the British on this side of Rangoon.

The ships *Meriton*, *Torch*, *Planet*, and *Cecilia*, had sailed from Chittagong, on the 23d. of July, for Cheduba, with troops; as some reports were current, that an attempt would be made by the Burmese to retake that conquest. The *Meriton* had on board the brother of the Rajah of Tipperah, who was charged with treasonable designs.

The latest accounts from the Sylhet frontier, which reached to the 1st of August, mentioned, that in consequence of the position which Colonel Innes had occupied at Juttrypore proving very unhealthy, the force under his command had dropped down the river, and taken up their quarters for the remainder of the wet season in the vicinity of Budderpoor, where the situation was more elevated and healthy. The first division of gun-boats had joined the Colonel's force, but it appears that the enemy had not ventured to leave his hills and fastnesses on marauding excursions, as he had formerly been in the habit of doing.

The Bhopalpoore accounts mention an affair between a detachment under Captain Dewaal, of the 60th Regiment, N. I., and the adherents

of Koonur Chyn Sing, the ex-chief of Nursinghur, on the 24th of July, in which the latter with eighty of his followers were slain. It appears, therefore, by this, that it is perfectly in accordance with British Justice, to make "*Ex Chiefs*" of the native princes, and then to put them to the sword, if perchance they dislike the appellation, and give the preference to the ancient titles and possessions of their forefathers. The friends of legitimacy and hereditary rule, strain at gnats when their interests are threatened, but can swallow camels when blind obedience is advantageous to their worldly prospects.

Many of the details of the affair at Ramoo have been already laid before the public: but the following extract of a private letter, from Calcutta, contains some particulars worth adding.

Lieut. Kenneth Campbell, of the 23d Regiment, N. I., behaved with great heroism at the fatal battle of Ramoo, if it could be called a battle, where some three or four hundred sepoys, with six European officers, were abandoned by those who ought to have reinforced them, and literally overwhelmed by about 25,000 Burmese. The only officers saved were, Lieuts. Campbell, Codrington, and Scott. The former owed his life to his knowledge of swimming on his back: he dashed into a rapid river, and swimming low in the water, he thus protected himself from the showers of bullets that flew around him: one ball passed through his hat, another through his coat, another wounded him on the knee slightly, and another in the leg. He had the colours of his regiment bound round his body, and lost them in swimming across the river. It appears, that he and Lieut. Codrington alternately had command of the Piquet Guard, and had more severe duty than any others. The hair-breadth escapes that Codrington had, are quite romantic: the fleetness of his horse, and his being able to swim, were his chief protection. A more sanguinary affair has scarcely ever occurred than this of Ramoo. The use the Burmese made of their victory is horrible to relate; let one instance suffice: poor Captain Trueman, of the 20th Regiment, wounded and disarmed, supported himself against a tree; a Burmese horseman rode up to him, dismounted from his horse, and regardless of the entreaties of the wounded soldier, deliberately levelled his musket at him, and shot him dead. It is said, that all the heads, hands, and feet of the slain, were sent to Amarapoora, to ornament the King of Ava's Palace! It is to be hoped, that some investigation will take place into the conduct of those who, being unportuned for reinforcements, took three days to consider of it, before they were sent; or rather, that some investigation will take place into the general conduct of the managers of the war; of the state of the army in the lower provinces of Bengal; of the defences of the eastern frontier, &c., when the proclamation of war was published; and of the state of things, generally, when the Commander-in-Chief arrived here by Dawk. from the upper provinces.

The epidemic fever before adverted to as prevailing in Calcutta and other parts of Bengal, had not ceased, and it was estimated that three-fourths of the population, Native and European, had been affected by it. The disease was attended with intense head-ache, violent pains in the limbs, and red inflammatory eruptions over the body. When these symptoms, which lasted about three or four days, departed, they were succeeded by extreme languor and debility. Whole families were suffering under the complaint, and in many houses scarcely a servant was left to attend the sick.

Since writing the preceding, accounts from Cheduba, of the 10th of August, announce, that considerable alarm had been excited among the inhabitants of the north-east corner of the island, by the appearance of a Burmese force on the opposite shore of Ramree. The enemy erected a stockade, and were supposed to be meditating a descent on Cheduba, for the purpose of seizing and carrying off the inhabitants. The Hastings frigate weighed anchor in consequence, and stood towards the position

occupied by the enemy, and anchored abreast of it, at a short distance from the shore. The launch and the row-boat, with an 18 and 12 pounder carronade in each, and two cutters, were sent to examine the coast, and take soundings; and as they approached the shore the enemy opened a heavy but ill-directed fire, which was soon silenced by the boats. The frigate then weighed, and anchored within about 500 yards of the enemy's stockade, upon which a heavy fire was opened, and its occupants obliged to retreat into an adjacent jungle. This result had restored perfect confidence among the natives, who had been conciliated by the commanding-officer of our troops. The 40th regiment was stated to be very sickly, about one-fourth of the men being upon the sick list. A detachment of European artillery, and the three remaining companies of the 40th regiment, had arrived at Cheduba, bringing with them a supply of treasure and commissariat stores.

MADRAS.

AMONG other letters that have reached us from Madras is one of a late date, September 18, which contains some comments that will at least show the state of feeling among one portion of the community, as to passing events. It should be stated that no recent alterations having been made in the state of the law, as it regards the press at Madras, it is still under a strict censorship: and nothing can appear in the papers there without the previous sanction of the Chief Secretary of Government, to whom the duty of censorship is intrusted. During the period that Mr. Elliott was Governor of Madras, any reflections, however gross and unfounded in truth, which might imply disapprobation of the conduct of the Marquis of Hastings in Bengal, were permitted to be freely printed—the latter being no personal favourite of the former; at the same time, that whatever contained the slightest insinuation against any individual enjoying the Governor's favour at Madras, was not permitted to appear in the papers of that settlement. Whether the present Governor, Sir Thomas Munro, has taken any personal interest in the direction of the press there, or whether it is left entirely to the Censor to manage as he may, we are not aware: but it seems that they have still, as formerly, no objections to print, at Madras, matters reflecting on the authorities in Bengal: while not a word that should censure the authorities at Madras, would be suffered to appear there, although these in turn might no doubt be freely printed at Calcutta. Such is the freedom of the press, which is most acceptable to the Governors in India, a freedom which admits of their circulating any thing they please against others, but which will not suffer any thing to be said against themselves. It has accordingly happened, that at this same place, Madras, where, but a few months before, a bookseller was absolutely afraid to sell openly and publicly a certain Number of the Quarterly Review, because it contained a Prospectus of the Oriental Herald, the Censor has permitted the papers of the Presidency to publish a full report of the debate in the House of Commons, on the subject of the Indian Press!!—In the year 1819, a meeting was held at Madras to prepare an address to Lord Hastings, thanking him for giving the Indian Press its freedom. It was attended by British judges, and officers, civil and military, of the highest rank and character. But Mr. Elliott, then the Governor, would not allow a report of its debate to be published: so that it was sent up to Calcutta, after being struck out by

the Censor at Madras, and first published there. Now, however, a debate in the Commons, as full of censure on the Bengal authorities of the present day, as the former was of admiration addressed to the authorities of the then existing period, is permitted to appear without curtailment or abbreviation. Such are the caprices of censorship—to-day, permitting nothing to be printed: to-morrow, admitting all.

The letter from Madras, dated September 18th, in advertence to this subject, has the following remarks:—

I read in to-day's *Madras Gazette*, the debate in the House of Commons, on the presentment of your petition by Mr. Lambton; from his very able statement of your case, I collect that you had been some time previous aware of the suppression of the Calcutta Journal, and of the cruel treatment which poor Arnot has experienced. For this reason I am most impatient to see the succeeding Numbers of the *Oriental Herald*, to read your comments on this continuation of the persecution of you, through the medium of your property, and all those intrusted with its management.

What would I not give if I could have been an invisible witness of the effect of your exposure of Mr. Adam's defence on that honourable personage, if amongst those virtues which his flatterers have so profusely ascribed to him, he happens to number any sense of shame, or of regret, for the commission of an act of tyranny, scarcely paralleled, certainly not exceeded, in the annals of British Indian History. They must have been ready to sink into the earth, on beholding how contemptible he must appear in the eyes of every *true* Briton, of every lover of justice and freedom, who has read your examination of his defence:—you have left him not a leg to stand on, nor any means of escape from that odium, which is sure, sooner or later, to overtake the man who avails himself of the temporary possession of power, to disgrace, by the exercise of a legalized tyranny, the free country which gave him birth.

Even some of Mr. Adam's supporters here, admit that his descending to such a pamphlet in defence of his conduct is an *awkward* circumstance, considering his high station: and I see that even his schoolfellow, Mr. Denman, could not refrain from pronouncing his conduct to you, to be oppressive, cruel, and unjust; it must be the award of every unprejudiced Englishman. I observe that Mr. Canning says, he should not be more astonished to hear that Lord Amherst had turned a tiger, than he was to hear it asserted that he had become a tyrant. Perhaps the gifted Secretary deems him too weak to play the tyrant: for it is well known, that his estimate of the talent of our titled Viceroy is somewhat of the lowest. Be this as it may, I think the Hon. Secretary, with all his eminent endowments, will find it difficult to reconcile the *late* conduct of Lord Amherst to poor Arnot (which he has *yet* to learn) with that extraordinary meekness and mildness, which he has with his usual eloquence described as characteristic of his disposition.

I have heard from Mr. Arnot, myself, by a letter dated in July last. In that letter he tells me, that Sir Stamford Raffles had been so deeply impressed with a feeling of commiseration for the hardship of his case, that he had addressed a Memorial on the subject in his behalf, to the Supreme Government, which Mr. Arnot forwarded from Kedgerce, on his return there from Bencoolen after the destruction of the *Fame*, (of which you have ere this heard;) with a respectful letter from himself. In reply, he received a laconic letter from Mr. Secretary Bayley, informing him that "*the Government saw no reason to alter its determination respecting him; and if he were found in India after the 1st of September, legal measures would be resorted to, to remove him from the country.*" "They are now," says poor Arnot, "going to resort to *legal* measures; and after having caused me to suffer *illegal* imprisonment, illness (he had the jaundice at Bencoolen, owing to the climate and depression of spirits), deprivation of property, and every thing in short but death; their *vengeance* is still unsatiated, and they are resolved that I shall drain to the very dregs the bitter draught of Transmigration!"

Doctor Muston, who is still in charge of your Journal, he having sworn that he was the sole proprietor, in order to satisfy the scruples of Government, who had declared that no license should be granted to any paper in which you had a share, had offered Mr. Arnot 400 rupees per month, to return to the concern,

and endeavoured to obtain permission for him to remain for that purpose ; but the Government would not hear of it. So much for the *amiable mildness*, the *fostering gentleness*, of Lord Amherst's disposition !

We are curious to learn here, whether Mr. Canning will admit that his Lordship has not proved himself capable of withstanding the corrupting influence of power ;—or whether he will defend him on the plea that his *amiable weakness* has unhappily led him to confide too implicitly in the judgment of the members of the Council, whose greater local experience he naturally thought, should make them (being all, of course, "honourable men") safe guides. But then, in this case, what becomes of the character of his "good gentle" friend, Mr. Adam, whom he is also, it seems, desirous to defend ? If, however, he is hard pushed, I presume, that the Commoner must be sacrificed to the Peer—for sacrificed he must be ; since, if Mr. Canning deserts him, Mr. Wynne, albeit well disposed to carry him through the straits, into which his misconduct has forced him, must of necessity desert him, unless he magnanimously resolves to break a lance even with his Ministerial co-adjutor and official predecessor, in behalf of his friend, in order to avert that sad calamity, the *second* fall of Adam.

But you will, no doubt, soon see Mr. Arnot himself in England ; and I do sincerely hope and believe, that the treatment he has experienced will strengthen, in a wonderful degree, your case, and lead at last to the abolition of a power, the existence of which is a disgrace to British Legislation.

Other letters from Madras state, that a change had taken place in the weather ; some very refreshing showers having fallen about the middle of August. The scenes of distress witnessed at Madras during the drought are described in these letters as extremely distressing. Many of the up-country villagers who had come to Madras for relief, had died in the streets from actual starvation, notwithstanding the exertions made in their behalf by the local Government, as well as by the opulent and philanthropic residents of Madras. To relieve the distress of these poor creatures, who had been driven from their homes by the failure of the usual rains, very active measures were set on foot by the Government. They were stated to amount to 20,000 persons, and the Committee of the Monegar Choultry received express orders to extend the charity of that Institution to the poor sufferers. The most judicious steps were immediately taken by that Committee, and the whole of them were supplied by food provided at four different depots outside the town, for such of them as were unable to work, and by labour provided by the superintending and civil engineer, for those who were capable of doing it. The management of each of these different divisions had been placed under the superintendence of two or three respectable gentlemen. The first of them commenced on the 22d July, under the charge of Messrs. Vansomfren, Braddock, and Johnson. In addition to these, several other depots had been formed by the humanity of the Government, calculated to afford food for at least 2000 persons daily.

SEAT OF WAR AT RANGOON.

By the ship *York*, Captain Talbot, which is the latest arrival from India, we have had the good fortune to receive a letter from a friend who had recently returned to Madras, from Rangoon, where he had been employed on the expedition against the Burmese, and had therefore the best opportunities of learning the real state of affairs on the spot. His letter is dated on the 19th of September, on the night of which the *York* sailed from Madras, and is therefore of the latest date from that quarter. The following are extracts of the most important parts of it :—

Having just come from the seat of the war, into which our new [Government

has plunged the country, you will, perhaps, expect that I should give you some information as to our operations, and the probability of its duration or result.

As to the duration of the war, I think it will be at least two years. Up to the last accounts, our troops had not advanced from Rangoon, nor can they ever proceed to Ava by that route; but it was said that the Prince of Prome, (the heir apparent I believe) was advancing to attack our force at Rangoon, with 70,000 men. That he will be repulsed with dreadful slaughter if he does, there can be no doubt; for the Burmahs cannot, with any odds, stand before our troops, thanks to their discipline and valour, and none at all to the political sagacity of our Governor General: there is therefore no fear of actual defeat.

For the rest, the war has been most injudiciously entered into, and carried on hitherto in a manner equally injudicious. Hostilities were decided on in December (or earlier) of the last year, 1823; and some pilot vessels were then armed and sent down with troops to the Naaf river, as you will have seen by the Calcutta Papers. From the same source you will have learnt that war was even then decided on; but nothing was done until March last, when a formal declaration of war was published, and an expedition ordered from Bengal and this place to Rangoon, just at the period when the proximity of the rainy season rendered it impossible that the ships could reach the place before it set in. This accordingly happened, and the result has been that the Company has been put to an enormous expense, for no good purpose; as up to the last accounts, our troops were not five miles in advance of Rangoon, whilst we have lost many (though fewer by far than might have been expected,) by sickness, and it is now well known, that the army can never advance to Ava from that place, there being no roads; whilst boats only can make a passage up the river, and that by tracking great part of the way.

As for the capture of Rangoon, it would have been taken as easily had we delayed the attack on it for six months. It is said that a royal salute was fired in Calcutta, for the capture of this place; if so, never was the Honourable Company's powder more foolishly wasted—for a one-gun privateer might have driven the Burmahs out of the place; they made in fact no defence, nor had they the means of making any.

An expedition, it is said, is planned against Mergui, which is on the coast, to the eastward of the entrance of Rangoon river; this expedition is to sail from Rangoon. Ships are still going from hence with troops to Chittagong and Rangoon, and the King's Royals are about to embark for Bengal, in the Indiamen in the roads, to proceed from thence, I suppose, to the S. E. frontier.

The expense of the war is enormous; and it is difficult to conceive what end Lord Amherst proposes to accomplish by it; the mere possession of a Choukee in the Naaf, could never surely be deemed of sufficient consequence to render it necessary, for the value of it, to expend so much blood and treasure; the mere punishment of Burman aggression and insult could never require it; for to effect this, it was only necessary first to get the European residents in the Burman dominions quietly removed from the country, and then we might have visited them with our vengeance, either at Rangoon, or by extending our south-eastern frontier, without going the length of invading the whole country with a view to its ultimate conquest, and addition to our already unwieldy empire in the East, which now, notwithstanding the modest language of the proclamation, seems to be intended.

You will see in the papers, statements affirming that the Burmahs are fast coming in to claim British protection, and reside under the British flag. Place no faith whatever in such assertions; for they are unfounded in fact! Nor is our system of warfare likely to produce this effect. It is true, we send out proclamations, offering protection, and guaranteeing safety; but in all the stockades we have yet captured, *no quarter has been shown*; on the contrary, every Burmah, *resisting or non-resisting—armed or unarmed—HAS BEEN BAYONETED OR PUT TO THE SWORD!*

It is said, indeed, that military force has hitherto prevented the peaceable inhabitants from returning to their deserted habitations; and it is hence inferred that when the military force is subdued, the only obstacle to their return being removed, they will flock in by thousands. It is to be hoped it will be so; but if it should turn out that they have been restrained from coming back, by the terror which our butchering mode of warfare is calculated to excite; in that case, their return is more improbable than ever: because if they have encountered

all the horror of disease and famine during the rainy season, is it not probable that in the fine weather they will be still less anxious to incur any danger for the sake of that shelter which they have done without during the wet season?

It was said that Sir Edward Paget, who was up the country when war was declared, is at variance with Lord Amherst as to the policy of that measure; but I hear now, that he is about to assume the command of what may be termed, with reference to the Rangoon force, the northern army marching from Chittagong.

Sir Archibald Campbell commands at Rangoon—he is not much liked by the officers:—in fact, when I left, a general spirit of dissatisfaction prevailed amongst them, partly owing to disappointment at the impossibility of advancing from Rangoon, and the evident inutility of their coming there at all; and partly owing to the wavering and indecisive measures of the General, which disgusted every body; besides which, he is said to have spoken somewhat contemptuously of the native troops, which gave of course great offence to the officers of their corps.

BOMBAY.

THE most interesting portions of our intelligence from this Presidency have been embodied in the article on the Bench, the Bar, and the Press of Bombay; but since that article has been printed off, we have learnt some few particulars connected with the event therein described, which will be added here. There are one or two other facts, however, unconnected with these, to which we are desirous of adverting, before entering on the additional details alluded to.

We have had frequent occasion to remark that the present Governor of Bombay, Mr. Elphinstone, does not number among his virtues, any overflow of sympathy with the sufferings of the natives, or any excess of zeal in the advocacy of their rights and privileges, when opposed to those of Europeans. There are some persons who are more easily moved by an anecdote than an argument, and for their benefit we relate the following, premising that we do not gather it from the Bombay Papers, where such a story could only be told with a bias and a colouring which we are not disposed to give it; but from a source likely to be quite as accurate, and much more impartial.

It is said that on a recent occasion, the following scene occurred within the precincts of the Government House at Parell, the country-seat of the Governor of Bombay, at the distance of seven or eight miles from the town and fort: A Parsee coachman was seated on the box of his master's vehicle, in waiting, in the Compound, or grounds before the house, when an Aide-de-camp of Governor Elphinstone, just starting in his gig for town, either because the way happened to be obstructed by the coach in question, (the coach, not of a Parsee master, but of an English one) or without such a feeble excuse, indulged himself by lashing the unoffending native with his whip. That blows thus dealt out with no sparing hand upon one who had given no cause of offence, should be received without a murmur, could hardly be expected: an altercation accordingly took place, which led to a repetition of the blows before so unjustly given; till at length the spirit of the Parsee being roused to resistance, he dismounted from his box, and by words or blows prevailed upon the Aide-de-camp to get out of his gig, and meet him on equal terms. The Parsee put himself in an attitude for deciding the quarrel pugilistically: the officer, not wanting in courage though deficient in kindness, squared his arms to meet him; and a contest with the fists took place, in which it was said the hardy and brawny arms of the humble coachman proved more than a match for the fairer and more delicate muscles of the Aide-de-camp. The result was the signal and entire defeat of the latter.

It is added, that this "pitched battle" drew the attention of the Governor himself, who witnessed the closing scene of it from his verandah; and, as it was not to be borne for a moment that a *low* native should defend himself from the assault, however unprovoked, of a *high* European, the armed sepoys and jemmadars, that surround the Government House in sufficient numbers, were ordered to take the "insolent" Parsee who had "dared" to defend himself, before the Magistrates in Bombay. He was accordingly hurried off to await his doom.

It happened, however, that the case came before Mr. Meriton, Superintendent of Marine, at Bombay, and one of the sitting Aldermen, who sat as a Magistrate on the bench of the Recorder's Court. Mr. Meriton, we believe, is no great favourite with any class; and still least of all with that class over which he especially presides, the Bombay Marine, it having been his constant practice to sacrifice the rights and interests of this ill-paid, and worse equipped, force, to considerations of economy pressed by the Directors at home, and in many cases most injudiciously carried into effect, to the great injury of the public service, and the wrong of the whole body affected by such changes. But a man may be a tyrant, as a sea-captain, where he has none to control him, and a just man, as a member of a bench, where there are superiors to revise his decisions; a man, in short, may be a bad Superintendent of Marine and a good Magistrate at the same time. Be this as it may, the particular instance of Mr. Meriton's justice which we have to relate, will speak for itself.

When the case came before him, he inquired minutely into the facts, and having ascertained from the English officer's own admission, that the first act of aggression was on his own part, he dismissed the Parsee immediately; observing that he had no power to punish men who merely *defended* themselves from the assaults of others, whether they were black or white; and adding that though the English officer had no grounds on which he could proceed against the Parsee, he was not equally certain of the absence of such grounds, if the Parsee thought proper to proceed against the officer, which, if he should hereafter determine on doing, he would no doubt obtain justice. The poor coachman, however, was content with escaping punishment,—and thus was established another signal triumph of law and equity over arbitrary power and brute force.

We may observe here, that we have no personal or vindictive motive to gratify in reciting this anecdote. We give it as we have heard it from those to whom the facts have been directly communicated from Bombay; and if there should be any trifling inaccuracies in the details (of which, however, we are not aware), the facts are beyond doubt true in substance, and their issue such as we have described. It is no pleasing task to record the insulting aggression of the strong: but it is a high gratification to be able to record, that justice has been done to the weak. Such decisions as these, if repeated wherever similar aggressions occur, would do more to win the attachment of the natives to the exercise of British power, than any other scheme that could be devised; and if this were the general character of such decisions, there would be no alarm on the subject of a Free Press:—its only task would then be, to praise the justice of the system by which the natives were ruled: but if the facts be otherwise, its duty would be of another description; and this is the true reason why the press is so hateful in the eyes of all evil-doers, in every quarter of the globe.

We pass from this subject to the case of Mr. Fair, the Editor of the Bombay Gazette, who has been transported without trial from that island, at the instance of the Judges! In the article inserted in an earlier part of our present Number, the principal facts of this case are detailed. We shall add here, those which have subsequently come to our knowledge, giving extracts from letters coming from individuals who espouse opposite sides of the case, and then offering a few remarks on the whole. The following is from a late letter, dated the 9th of September, which arrived by the *Lonach*, the last ship from that port :

The spirit of hostility, evinced by the Bar and their friends against the Bench, has by no means abated, and is carried to such lengths both in and out of Court, that it will be impossible for things to go on thus much longer, unless the Advocate-General, and perhaps two or three other of the barristers, are removed. Every opportunity is watched by them to cavil; to irritate, and if possible to entrap the Judges, at which times they always take care to have all their party assembled, as if they came there to see the Bench insulted. Fortunately, the two Judges agree most cordially on all points. The *Gazette* newspaper has all along leant very strongly to the side of the barristers; and in fact, the reports of the proceedings in Court are sent to it by *themselves*. The editor of that paper, Mr. Fair, has been ordered home, and has embarked on the H. C. S. *London*, via Bengal and China, the Government not being able to compel any other ship to take him; and he declining to give security to go home within three months by a free trader. He sailed from Bombay on the 7th of September.

Of the principal fact here alleged, and to which indeed all the subsequent proceedings may be traced—the hostility between the Bench and the Bar—there is no doubt entertained by any one: and if the conduct of the latter be, as it is here described, it is disgraceful to their body. *Their* making the Press, too, a vehicle for *their* particular versions of reports, is altogether unpardonable. But this only adds another proof to the many given before, that privileged presses *will* be used for bad and mischievous purposes, by whoever can command them: and that the only cure for this is rivalry, competition, and such an entire freedom of discussion and publication, as shall leave no room for any hope of success to those who would deceive the public by false and garbled statements. This is the only true remedy; and until this be applied, the evil will never disappear. We proceed to give an extract of another letter received by the same occasion, and bearing date the 8th of September. It is as follows:

Mr. Fair, Editor of the *Bombay Gazette*, has just left this Presidency in the H. C. S. *London*, Capt. Sotheby, for England, via Bengal and China—a most enviable trip, had it been voluntary; in his case it is the reverse, as he has been ordered home by this Government without trial, for having published in the *Gazette*, a *CANDID* and *JUDICIOUS*¹ statement of a conversation that took place in the Supreme Court here, between the Bench and Bar, who cordially hate each other, and which the former is *pleased* to term a false and distorted statement, tending to bring the Court into contempt. Mr. Fair, who is well known and universally esteemed in Bombay, is accused of having favoured the Bar side of the question, and of having coloured it accordingly in his report; and the Court being *determined to wreak their vengeance on some one*,² a complaint was sent in to Government, the result of which was, that poor Fair fell a victim to the cause of TRUTH,³ and was ordered to embark for the United Kingdom forthwith. The PUBLIC⁴ have taken it up, and I dare say it will soon be brought before the proper

¹ These terms are not warranted by the documents that we have seen.

² This is assuming more than the case appears to us to justify.

³ The truth of the report, published by Mr. Fair, was impeached, and *this* was the essence of the dispute.

⁴ We are glad to hear that Bombay has a PUBLIC—since Bengal is declared to

tribunal at home ; for a more arbitrary exercise of power never existed under the most despotic government.

Here we have evidently the sentiments of writers who think very differently on this transaction ; and without going the whole length of either, we can gather enough from both to show, that the transportation of the Editor was an act, for which there was not the slightest political necessity (as indeed there never can be) ; which the Judges ought never to have asked ; and to which the Whig Governor, Mr. Elphinstone, ought never to have assented.

It is said, indeed, that the Judge, Sir Charles Chambers, asked only an apology, and did not insist on the transportation of the individual. But, even an apology was not the proper thing to be asked. What apology, indeed, could or ought to satisfy any Court for so gross a breach of justice, as publishing a wilfully false and perverted account of its proceedings ? This is not merely an offence to the Judge, it is a wrong done the whole community, and no apology to the Judge ought to be received as a sufficient atonement. Now, either the offence committed by Mr Fair was really and truly a legal offence, or it was not. If the former, he should have been committed, or proceeded against " by due course of law ;" if the latter, it was absurd to ask an apology, which no man can be either morally or legally bound to give, when he has committed no offence : so that in either case the Judges were decidedly wrong.

But what shall we say of the Government ? We have already said, and we again repeat, that their meanness in sacrificing Mr. Fair, was altogether contemptible ; and shows them to be as deficient in courage, as they were in justice. Why did not Mr. Elphinstone suppress the *Bombay Gazette*,—as Mr. John Adam, whom " every body praised," and " whose popularity nothing could exceed,"¹ and his worthy successor Lord Amherst, who " leant on Mr. Adam as his principal staff," had done the *Calcutta Journal* ! Why did he not do this ?—The answer is plain. The *Gazette* was the property of Mr. Francis Warden, a member of the Government, the security of whose property was of course to be respected ! In the consultations which took place on this subject in the Bombay Council, we find, however, Mr. Warden taking the right, because the just side, in this matter, and voting *against* the transportation of Mr. Fair, in which it is said he was supported by Sir Charles Colville ; while Mr. Goodwin, of whom we hear one excellent trait of character, that he respects the rights of the natives, as far as the prejudicial influence of the service to which he belongs will permit, voted *for* the banishment, believing it to be an act necessary to maintain the dignity of the Court ; and Mr. Elphinstone—" the Whig Governor"—the " liberal-minded Englishman"—the " abolisher of the Censorship"—the twenty other fine things which those who believed in the sincerity of his professions have called him, gave his casting vote to this arbitrary and despotic measure ! For him, therefore, there is no excuse ; the fate of Mr. Fair was in his single hands ; with him alone rested the decision of this great question, whether a British subject should be punished with-

have none : and still more glad to find they have taken up the cause of the injured Editor, against those who have banished him.

¹ See the admirable Analysis of these fallacies, in the article on Governor Elphinstone and Governor-General Adam, by an Old English Bench—*Oriental Herald*, vol. iii. p. 521.

out trial or not: and to his lasting disgrace he preferred the former. It was bad enough in a British Judge to ask, but it was worse for a pretended friend of freedom, and a Whig Governor, to accede to such a measure: and whenever the friends of Mr. Elphinstone shall venture again to talk of his liberal principles, let the recollection of this act of transporting an Englishman without trial, be an answer to all their pretensions. We are aware, that we shall be charged with inconsistency, as we have often been before, for censuring at one time, the very individual that we have praised at another. Let it be borne in mind, however, that the inconsistency is in those who profess one thing at one time, and practice differently at another. It is because we cannot stoop to the same pliability and change, that our stubborn attachment to principles and not to persons, our regard for measures and not for men, subjects us to the charge of seeming inconsistency, when in truth, inflexibility would be a more appropriate term.⁵

The only other event of public interest which we have learnt from Bombay, is the discharge of Lieut. Fenwick, the report of whose trial for the murder of a Blueel Chief was given in our last. The prisoner was

⁵ Since writing the above, we have seen in the Morning Chronicle of 27th ult., the whole of the correspondence that passed between the Bombay Government and Mr. Fair. We regret that it is impossible at the late period of our writing this, to include it in our present Number, as the perusal of all the letters has rather confirmed than altered our opinion on the subject. That there were omissions and colourings in the reported proceedings of the Supreme Court, in the Paper edited by Mr. Fair, calculated to affect the reputation of the Judges, there does not appear to us to be any room to doubt. But if this was a legal offence, there was also a legal remedy; and if it was not a legal offence, the Judges had no right to ask for punishment. Their conduct in appealing to the strong arm of arbitrary power, rather than the open protection of the law, every Englishman must condemn. But the conduct of Governor Elphinstone is still more reprehensible; and we certainly think, with the writer of one of the letters before quoted, that "a more arbitrary exercise of despotic power, never existed."

Mr. Arnot was sent from Calcutta, via Bencoolen, with a further chance of visiting the Eastern Islands also before he reached England. Mr. Fair is sent from Bombay, via Calcutta and China, so that he will circumnavigate half the globe before he reaches home; and this too, as a prisoner on board ship, under circumstances of the most aggravating description. We are glad to find that he has protested against the measure, and that he contemplates proceedings in England—where, in whatever manner he may seek his remedy, he has our best wishes for success. We have only room at present for the last letter of the collection, written on board the H. C. S. *London*, in Bombay Harbour, and dated Sept. 7, 1824; as follows:—

"To JAMES FARISH, Esq. Secretary to Government.

"SIR,—Following the orders of Government, and the warrants of the Honourable the Governor, of the 1st instant, to the Senior Magistrate of Police, and the Commander of the H. C. S. *London*, I am now a prisoner on board that ship: and although I have considered it desirable on every account, not to offer any sort of resistance to the authority of Government, or to raise any question of law at this place, which might disturb the peace of society, I should be wanting in justice to myself, were I not thus to avow my belief that the whole of the proceedings against me on this unfortunate occasion are illegal, and more particularly my transmission to the United Kingdom in a ship not bound direct to that quarter. I desire, therefore, to enter my protest against those proceedings before I leave this harbour, lest silence should be construed into an acquiescence in their propriety, and operate to my prejudice hereafter, in the endeavours which it will be my duty to make, to obtain redress from the proper authorities in England, for the injuries which I consider myself to have suffered, and to be still suffering, from the acts in question. I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient servant,
C. J. FAIR."

found guilty of the murder, but recommended to mercy on the ground of his *inexperience* (as if every man entering the army, had not sufficient experience to know, that the murder of prisoners in cold blood was a crime); but certain questions arose, as to the jurisdiction of the Court, and other points which were reserved for the decision of the Bench, and subsequently moved in arrest of judgment. The report given in the Bombay Papers of these objections, and the decision made on them, are as follows :—

- The points reserved by the Court during the trial, and which were subsequently moved in arrest of judgment, were—

1st. Whether the jurisdiction was proved as laid in the indictment, i. e. whether the surrender had been committed within the territory of a native prince in India, in alliance with the Government of Bombay?

2d. Whether there was evidence to prove Lieut. Fenwick a British subject?

3d. Whether as to this indictment the Court had jurisdiction under the 26th Geo. III. cap. 57 & 29, which makes the servants of the Company, and all other of his Majesty's subjects resident in India, amenable to the Courts of Oyer and Terminer, and gaol delivery in the British settlements in India, for murders, felonies, &c. done by them in any of the countries or parts of Asia, Africa, or America, beyond the Cape of Good Hope, to the Straits of Magellan, within the limits of the exclusive trade of the said United Company?

As to the first point, the Court held that there was no legal and admissible evidence that the murder had been committed within the territories of a native prince, in alliance with the Government of Bombay. The treaty of alliance with the Guicowar was said to be in writing; but there could be no other evidence of that treaty admitted, except the treaty itself, which had not been produced. The evidence adduced was not sufficient to prove that the Rajah of Loonawarra was in alliance at all with the Government.

As to the second point, the Court did not think it necessary to give any formal decision; but intimated an opinion, that it considered all commissioned officers of the Company as having King's commissions, and, therefore, as his Majesty's subjects.

As to the third point, the necessary averments were not in the indictment.

The Court, therefore, decided, that Lieutenant Fenwick should be discharged, but took time to consider the mode in which that should be done.

It was, therefore, upon a mere technical objection, that the prisoner was discharged. Had the Bombay Government been desirous of seeing justice strictly done, they would have produced the treaty, on the evidence of which the principal objection would have been removed: and then sentence of death might have been commuted for transportation, or any milder punishment, and the natives of India satisfied that murders could not be committed among them with impunity. But no! Both the Government, and the Court of Bombay, reserve the punishment of transportation for those who commit the *greater* crime of daring to use the press for purposes of which they disapprove! Such men are to be banished from the country without any trial whatever, and therefore strictly innocent in the eye of the law: while an officer, convicted of the deliberate murder of a fellow-creature in cold blood, and after a fair trial pronounced guilty by a Jury of his countrymen, is discharged from custody, and in all probability suffered to remain in the country, and enjoy the emoluments of the service, as if nothing had ever happened! Can injustice and inconsistency go further than this?—The man who commits no legal offence (which would seem to be the fair inference of no legal proceedings being instituted against him), is banished without a trial: while the man who is accused of the highest offence of which any mortal can be guilty, is granted the benefit of a trial, and under the protection of a legal technicality, escapes without any punishment whatever!!

Surely, such an inconsistency as this ought to open the eyes of the Legislature to the absurdity, as well as injustice, of permitting for a moment longer, the continuance of such a power as that, which can banish men without trial, in the hands of the East India Company and its servants in authority under them. It can never be necessary for any good purposes, where Courts of Law exist, to punish all offences by legal process: that it has been used for *bad* purposes, the cases of Mr. Arnot and Mr. Fair (to say nothing of the many that have preceded them) will prove. Let us hope, then, that the voice of England will be unanimous in demanding its immediate abolition; and in teaching the rulers of India, that law should be superior to despotism; and the punishment of innocent men, at least, something lighter than that awarded to murderers and felons.

We cannot dismiss this case of Mr. Fenwick, without remarking on the singular fact, that though the murder in question took place as long ago as January 1823, and must have been known to hundreds in India, and more especially to the officers of his own corps, no notice whatever appears to have been taken of the transaction in any quarter until January 1824, (a whole year,) when some correspondence appears to have passed between Lieutenant Fenwick and his brother officers, in which he disputed the justice of their resolutions.* It was not, however, until March of the same year, or fifteen months after the murder in question, that he was put under arrest for the transaction; and then not until he had himself written a letter, in which he admits, that he is urged by mental distress to confess the crime, and requests the letter to be laid before his commanding officer. The reader will, no doubt, think with us, that his brother officers could not have been sufficiently alive to the reputation of their body, to suffer such a deed as this to remain so long unatoned for. It is too much the practice, indeed, both in the Civil and Military Service of India, for the members of each body to screen, rather than visit with their open displeasure, the known vices, and even crimes of their fellow-servants. Their notion is, that the reputation of their body is stained by the publicity of such vices and crimes; and, therefore it is, that known peculators, receivers of bribes, and instruments of corruption in various shapes, are received into society, and treated with the same honour as men whose characters are unimpeachable; so that all distinctions of virtue and vice, right and wrong, are often confounded. The true way, however, to maintain the reputation of any public body unsullied, is, for the pure and upright to expose and shun the impure and dishonest: and if they cannot effect their expulsion from the service, at least to make them feel, that a want of integrity should be punished by the scorn and desertion of all honest men. On this principle, Lieutenant Fenwick—however mistaken the notions under which he committed the murder, of which a jury of his countrymen, after a patient trial, found him guilty—should have been at least removed from the Indian army, as unfit to be intrusted with power; and if the Government had not the virtue to insist on this, the officers of his corps should have protested against his re-admission among them with this stain on his reputation.

* See Letter of Lieutenant Fenwick to the Adjutant of his corps. *Oriental Herald*, vol. iv. p. 116.

The only minor incidents which we have to add under the head of intelligence from Bombay, are the following:—

An affray took place at Bombay, on the outside of the fort, between some Bengal sepoy and the inhabitants of the island, who were celebrating one of their festivals, the Cocoa Nut Day. In attempting to restore tranquillity, Mr. Gray, the junior magistrate of the police, is said to have been assaulted by the multitude, and compelled to retreat covered with bruises. An active search was making for the ringleaders, who, it is hoped, would be punished as they deserved.

A statue of the late Lord Cornwallis, which was subscribed for by the society of Bombay, and sent out from England several years since, was about to be erected on the Green, under an appropriate building, the foundation of which had been laid.

The following is an extract of a late letter from Bombay, relating to the Marine Force of the expedition.

There is such a demand for the Bombay Marine Force to the eastward, that all staff appointments (except the Marine Board) are ordered to be vacated, and the officers proceed to Rangoon. The *Psyche* and *Discovery* are under orders for that quarter, and the new 18-gun ship, to be launched next month, will also proceed there. The lamentable state of the Marine corps is such, for want of men, &c., that you may better imagine than I can describe, the condition of the vessels as they are turned out of this port for service; however, at Calcutta they may be manned and equipped, and rendered useful,—here they are in a miserable state.

CEYLON.

It is said that the British Government have it in contemplation to give directions for vessels and diving bells to be prepared, for the purpose of taking the pearl oysters from the banks off Ceylon. The oyster beds have been much impoverished of late, from the indiscriminate manner in which the divers have taken up whatever came in their way, by which young oysters have been removed to the great injury of the beds. For some years past, the annual produce has not exceeded 20,000*l.*, while formerly these banks produced nearly 200,000*l.* per annum.

JAVA.

By the ship *Sarah*, which left Batavia on the 9th October, we learn that up to that period, no instructions had been officially received by the local authorities, concerning the new treaty between the Netherlands and this country. Vague rumours of every kind were afloat, concerning the intentions of the Batavian Government, but all these rest entirely on conjecture. In the mean time, while this uncertainty continued, people were unwilling to embark in any speculation of magnitude. One letter says that so completely has the absurd conduct of the Dutch cut up their commerce, that some of the most respectable Chinese residents at Batavia are seriously contemplating a removal to Singapore. If these people quit Java, it will be a severe loss to the Island, as in their hands rests much of the commercial capital of the country, which if transferred, would be the making of Singapore.—As it is, we are informed by letters from a gentleman who had just arrived at Java, from that colony, that so rapid has been the progress of improvement, that, on revisiting it after an absence of little more than three years, he could hardly know that it was the same place. When the *Sarah* sailed, British manufactured goods were selling at the

same price as formerly, but more slowly : produce, particularly Coffee, was still falling. The Governor was on a tour through the Moluccas, and it was generally believed, that on his return, something definitive would be settled, with regard to the commerce of Great Britain.

PELEW ISLANDS.

THE English whale ship *Timor*, was nearly cut off by the Pelew Islanders, in the month of December last. Part of the crew were killed, and the savages had gained possession of the deck, having driven the crew aloft, with the exception of the cook, who, however, repelled them with boiling water, and was so successful in the use of this, his appropriate weapon, that in a few minutes a space was cleared for the crew to regain the deck, when they drove the savages overboard. These Islanders had hitherto been considered inoffensive, and no precaution had been used in passing near them when their boats were out.

NEW SOUTH WALES AND VAN DIEMAN'S LAND.

THE first stone of a Presbyterian Church had been laid at Sydney, early in July last, at which ceremony the Governor was present ; several other public edifices were about to be erected, and the building of an Exchange at Sydney, was in contemplation. On the 27th of July, on a trial before the Supreme Court, the Attorney-General was counsel for the plaintiff, being the first Barrister that ever pleaded in the Law Courts of New South Wales. A new settlement was about to be established on the north-west side of the Island ; and the ship *Countess of Harcourt* had been taken up by Government to convey the troops and stores to the place appointed. The spot fixed upon is stated to be in Lat. 12. S. Long. about 130, in the vicinity of Melville Island. The object of the Government in this expedition was believed to be principally with a view to open and preserve an intercourse between the Malay Coast, so as to encourage and facilitate the Spice Trade. Mr. Ward, of the Australian Company, had expired on board the *Prince Regent*, on her way to Sydney.

Mr. J. Hobbs had returned to Van Dieman's Land after an absence of five months, during which he had completely circumnavigated the Island. The object of this undertaking was to discover some eligible spot for the formation of a new settlement, and a very important discovery had resulted from this enterprising trip, which was that of superior coal strata at South Cape, which it was expected would furnish employment for the small craft, and prevent any scarcity of fuel in Van Dieman's Land. There appears to be considerable rivalry between this colony and that of New South Wales, and several meetings had been held at Hobart's Town to consider of the plan to be adopted for effecting a perfect independence of Van Dieman's Land from the parent colony. A proclamation had been issued by Lieutenant Governor Arthur, in behalf of the Aborigines of the Island, in which he states that several Settlers and others are in the habit of wantonly firing at and destroying the defenceless natives, and that His Majesty's Government having strictly enjoined that these shall be considered under the protection of the British laws, any future acts of barbarity of that kind would be prosecuted in the Supreme Court. Considerable improvements were about to take place in Van Dieman's Land, and the general tenor of the accounts from thence is extremely favourable.

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

OUR letters from the Cape of Good Hope contain accounts of such transactions on the part of the Governor there, that we hesitate to give them publicity until further assurance of their truth. We have been furnished more particularly with a detailed account of the suppression of a "Literary and Philosophical Society," which we hope to be able to give in our next Number at length: and it will supply many particulars which have not before transpired. We regret to learn that many parts of the country around the Cape were infested with locusts, to the great destruction of vegetation; and that the vineyards had sustained considerable damage from insects, so as to excite apprehensions that the vintage would be very unproductive.

Some vituperative letters had appeared in the Cape papers, accusing the Committee of the Subscription recently raised in London and Scotland in behalf of the Settlers, of using abusive terms towards the people of that Colony. It is almost needless to say that this accusation is totally groundless, and that the London Committee in particular may rather be accused of moderating, than of exaggerating, the statements put forth regarding the wretched condition of those on whose behalf they were appealing to the benevolent feelings of the Mother Country.

The press is free enough at the Cape, as well as elsewhere, for the abuse of those whom the Governors wish to misrepresent and decry: although no man in the colony could dare to speak the truth as to what required censure there, without risking his being transported for his pains.

The case of Mr. Edwards, who was sentenced to this ignominious punishment for doing his duty in Court, in defence of his client, and who was, in short, sacrificed as a victim to power, through the perverted application of an obsolete Dutch law, must be fresh in our readers' recollection. The following, from a late Cape paper of September 22, 1824, published under the eye of the Cape Government, with a view rather to excite the public feeling against Mr. Edwards, than in his favour, speaks volumes as to the cruelty of the treatment which could drive him to such desperation.

Orders having been received for the removal of William Edwards, under sentence of transportation to New South Wales, from Cape Town, to be placed on board the convict ship *Minerva*, in Simon's Bay, he was accordingly removed from the town prison, at half-past seven, A. M., on the 17th instant, in a covered cart, drawn by four horses, and received the indulgence of being permitted to take his wife and sister-in-law along with him. He was attended by the third Under-sheriff Stetwell and a constable, both on horseback. He feigned extreme illness previous to getting into the carriage, and at the Three Cups, at Rondebosch, he pretended to be so ill as to necessitate his quitting the cart. On approaching Capt. Carnall's place, near Wynberg, he was met by Captain Carnall on horseback, and when opposite to the place, which is at a short distance, on the left of the road, he again stopped the cart, and got out under pretence of extreme illness. He feigned to be so ill and weak as to be scarcely able to reach the house: when there, however, he entered into a private conversation with Captain Carnall, for a considerable time, and then accepted the invitation of Mrs. Carnall to breakfast, inviting Stetwell to partake with him. During the repast, he pretended to be labouring under great depression of mind as well as of body, and at length said he must retire. The Under-Sheriff attended him to the door of another apartment, which Edwards closed from within, leaving Stetwell on the outside. It appears that this apartment, which was a kitchen, led to a pig sty; over the wall of which Edwards climbed, where he found a horse equipped, and in waiting for him, and immediately set off with all possible speed towards Simon's Town. After a

considerable time, it occurred to the Under-Sheriff to be necessary to look after his prisoner, and on finding him flown, he was thrown into great consternation. He lost a considerable time in making search about the place, when, at length, discovering the footsteps of a horse, and it appearing to him that he had taken the direction of Simon's Town, he immediately pursued. At Fish-hook Bay, he met the Under-Sheriff, Van der Schyff, who had seen Edwards on the road, passing at full speed, a quarter of an hour before. He joined in the pursuit, and after having passed the Signal-post about 300 yards, came up with Edwards' horse here, which it appeared he had just quitted, as he was at the time entirely blown, and unable to move. Edwards's footsteps were traced to a rock at the edge of the sea, to give an idea (as he has since declared), that he had drowned himself. On quitting the rock, he made his way over the hill, taking off his boots whenever the ground would receive the print of them, to avoid being traced, and proceeded by the foot-path on the Steinberg, into the main road to Wynberg, and in the evening arrived back at Captain Carnall's house.

Intelligence having been received on Sunday, that he had inquired for the road over the mountain, of a slave girl of Mr. Harter's, at Silvermine, and of his having been seen on his way from that path to the main road before dark on Friday evening, orders were issued to the police to proceed to the guard-house at Wynberg, during the night of Sunday, where they were met by Major Molesworth and a few dragoons, with a guard from Newlands, which had been called out. These, strengthened by a portion of the guard from Wynberg, were judiciously disposed round Captain Carnall's premises before daylight, so as to render further escape impracticable. The premises were then entered, and it appears that Edwards had concealed himself in a sort of locker, between the thatch and an upper room, in which Mrs. Edwards was in bed. Search was made in this apartment, but without effect, and the officers entered the adjoining room, and began to remove sundry planks, when hearing a noise, they re-entered the room of Mrs. Edwards, and perceiving the bed was considerably higher than it was when they quitted the room, concluded that he was concealed under the mattress, which proved to be the fact. The Deputy Fiscal, Mr. Van Rensveld, and the Under-Sheriff, Mills, threw themselves on him, and whilst they seized his right arm, he made a desperate cut at his throat, with a razor, used by his left hand. It appears that the wound is only superficial, and he will be removed, as soon as there shall be no risk, on board the convict-ship.

COAST OF AFRICA.

THE latest accounts from Cape Coast, state that the Ashantee army at Coomassie, had succeeded in escaping the vengeance of the Ackins, who, from want of ammunition, had been unable to arrest their progress. Cape Coast is mentioned as having been very gay, in consequence of a visit from Colonel Last, the Governor of D'Elmina, and suite. Provisions of all kinds were in abundance at Cape Coast, and the ravages of war were fast disappearing. We regret to find, that the slave trade is still carried on under French colours to a great extent, on the coast of Africa. The brig James, recently arrived at Milford from the Gulf of Guinea, sailed from Bonny about the middle of last September, in company with a brig under French colours, with about 500 slaves on board, supposed for the West Indies; and in the early part of the same month, a French corvette with twenty-two guns, and a great number of men, sailed from Bonny, with upwards of 600 slaves for Bourbon. A few days before the James sailed, three large brigantines arrived at Bonny from Nantes, intended to take five hundred slaves each. There were about twenty-five slave ships under French colours at Bonny, during the time the James was there. Pepple, the King at that period, was about to offer up a human sacrifice. The victim selected, was a fine lad about eighteen years of age, who, with all the enthusiasm of ignorance, was led to suppose that this was an acceptable offering to the Deity!

Advices have been received from the colony of Prince of Wales's Island, to the 5th of October, which announce the arrival and sailing of his Majesty's ship Maidstone, Commodore Bullen. On the 3d of that month, the Commodore captured a Portuguese brigantine with about five hundred slaves on board, in a situation too horrible for description. When captured, she was on her passage for Brazil, but the Commodore had changed her destination for Sierra Leone.

PERSIA.

WE have received details of the late dreadful earthquake, or rather succession of earthquakes which have occurred in Persia. By a letter from Koonar Tuckhta, near Shiraz, of the 11th of June, we learn that on the 2d of that month, a violent shock was felt there in the morning, followed by repeated other convulsions: but the damage sustained here was comparatively insignificant. At Kauzeroon, a town between Shiraz and Bushire, however; the devastation was extreme; and the rocks at the pass of Kotel Kaumaress, near this, were thrown down, by which the pass was blocked up, and the entire town of Kauzeroon destroyed. Nearly one hundred of the inhabitants were buried under the ruins of their habitations. The most calamitous event took place on the 25th of June: a very tremendous earthquake occurred on that day, by which the town of Shiraz is said to have been utterly destroyed. The eastern side of the city walls, all the houses, the towers, the mosques, and other public buildings, were levelled with the dust. No accurate list of the accidents which occurred had been obtained, when the accounts left; but the surviving inhabitants had quitted the ruins, and were living in tents in the outside of the walls. The number of sufferers was understood to be above two thousand.

EGYPT.

By the latest accounts from Cairo, we learn that the greatest activity prevailed in the cotton trade, of the probable advantages of which it would appear that the people of England were not accurately informed. It is generally imagined, that reciprocal trade may be established between Egypt and England, and that our merchants may exchange their manufactures in barter for the raw material. This, the late accounts from Egypt represent as very improbable; for the Pasha, who is in fact the great monopolizer of the whole cotton trade, is himself a manufacturer also, having establishments on the British principle at Cairo and Rosetta, and therefore viewing the introduction into Egypt of [any other manufactures than his own with peculiar jealousy. It remains for time alone to show, whether the cupidity of the Pasha will not induce him to be anxious to encourage reciprocity of trade, in the hope of being a larger gainer by it than by monopoly; but, at present, it is generally believed that the speculative purchases of Egyptian cotton have been more advantageous to the grower, than to the purchaser. His Highness should proclaim his imitation of the East India Company, by whom alone his monopolizing views would be approved or defended.

INCIDENTS AND EVENTS IN EUROPE CONNECTED WITH THE EASTERN WORLD.

Governor-General.—The most contradictory rumours prevail in the higher circles of political and public life, as to the probable successor of Lord Amherst; for that he must be superseded in his post no one now seems, as far as we can learn, to entertain a doubt. Lord William Bentinck is still pointed out as the most eligible and highly qualified of all those who have been named: and past, or rather present, experience shows, that a man of no qualifications will not do. The strangest rumour of all, however, is, that the present Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Robinson, is ambitious of the honour, and is not unlikely to succeed to the appointment, with a peerage of course. Such strange things happen in the political world, that we wonder at nothing; nor do we rely so much on probabilities, in events of this nature, as in most others, for the waywardness of power and influence sets all calculations at defiance. That he would make a better Governor-General than Lord Amherst, few men can doubt; but such a post requires a union of great civil and military talent, great self-possession and firmness; and not merely the reputation of liberal views and principles, but a determination to act on them for the benefit of the country and its inhabitants. Whoever has these requisites will make a good Governor-General, and such a man we should delight to see appointed.

Increased Allowances.—Notwithstanding that the treasuries of Madras and Bombay are said to be each a lac of rupees or (10,000*l.*) deficient in their usual annual receipts for revenue during the last year, arrangements have been made at home for increasing the allowances of the principal officers there. To compensate Mr. Elphinstone for his non-appointment to Madras, for which place he was proposed, it was determined at the India House to make his Presidency equal, in point of emolument and allowances, to that of Sir Thomas Munro: accordingly, the salary of the Governor of Bombay, which was formerly one lac of rupees, or 10,000*l.* per annum, has been raised to one lac and 43,000, or nearly 15,000*l.* per annum. The salary of the Commander-in-Chief has been raised to 75,000 rupees per annum; and that of the Members of Council to 60,000 rupees each. If increased allowances ensured increased zeal to benefit the country over which men ruled, we should be glad to see such augmentations frequently; but as there appears to be no benefit likely to arise from this increase, except to those who receive it, it can be hardly a matter of congratulation on public grounds.

Sir Thomas Munro.—It is confidently asserted that Sir Thomas Munro has taken his passage in the Asia, in which ship he was to leave Madras for England; so that he may be expected home shortly; and no doubt, there will be an active contest again between those who aspire to the honour of being his successor.

Sir John Malcolm.—During the past month there has been a considerable struggle at the India House, on the subject of a grant to Sir John Malcolm, which, however has been ultimately carried in his favour. It is said, that soon after Sir John's disappointment respecting the governorship of one of the Presidencies of India, this compensation for ser-

vices was suggested. He had been proposed by the Court for Bombay, but his Majesty's Ministers rejected him. He had been proposed for Madras, and had met with the same fate. If he had asked for the Governor-Generalship, the result would probably have been the same; although, strong as our objections are, from conviction of its impolicy, to the appointment of any Company's servant, whether civil or military, to such an important post, we would much rather see Sir John Malcolm at the head of affairs in India, than have the present miserable inefficiency that rules its destinies prolonged. Sir John, however, having no hope of immediate employment, consented to the proposition of a pension for life. At first 500*l.* was talked of, but this was rejected; 750*l.* was then proposed, but as this is no more than the pension allowed to retired Warehouse-keepers and Members of Council at St. Helena, who, it seems, are considered on a par with each other in point of utility and rank—Sir John refused to accept this also. A bold advance was therefore at once made to the round sum of 1000*l.* a year: and the grant was brought before the Court of Directors. In this stage—as their proceedings are not made public (for good and sufficient reasons no doubt),—we have no exact record of the arguments made, pro and con, in the debate. We hear, however, that the question was contested with great obstinacy: that it was carried by only a single vote: and that too, against the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the Company; so that the battle must have been a hard-fought one, and the victory proportionately gratifying. It requires the approbation of the Court of Proprietors, before it can be confirmed: and the issue of this must be uncertain. Had the Court of Directors been unanimous in granting the pension in question, or had there been a tolerably large majority, with the two Chairmen at their head, the Proprietors, the great bulk of whom come to vote as they are bid to do by their patrons and employers among the Directors, would have carried it in confirmation beyond a doubt;—but when the Court is divided against itself, and the two Chairmen are against the grant, it will not be so easy, if the disapprovers bring up their dependants to maintain their point, to make it pass through the Court of Proprietors as ordinary questions are done. For ourselves, we do not see any strong objection to the grant being confirmed. The public services of Sir John Malcolm are undoubtedly such as to entitle him to the most distinguished approbation of the Company, for few men of his rank have done more for their benefit in the various situations which it has been his lot to occupy. His allowances, it is true, have been most ample; for years indeed, on the largest scale, seldom less than 8000*l.* a year: and the exercise of ordinary prudence might have appropriated out of this a handsome provision for declining years. But, in the expenditure even of this, there is good reason to believe that the Company's interests, and the character of the British name, were as frequently the objects of Sir John Malcolm's solicitude as his own private gratification; and that the indulgence of this seldom or never interfered with the strict performance of his public duty. These appear to us powerful and sufficient reasons why the friends of the East India Company should support this grant to an officer who has "done the state some service," and whose private fortune is insufficient to support him. The friends of good government and humanity (all of whom must, we should think, be enemies of the East India Company, who avow themselves the advocates of

irresponsible despotism) have better reasons than this for yielding their assent to the proposed pension :—Sir John Malcolm has been invariably the friend of conciliation and kindness towards the natives of India, high and low ; and has practised, in all his intercourse with them, the benevolence and urbanity which he urged on others. He was among the earliest also to call the attention of the Indian Government to the growing importance of the half-castes, and to suggest measures for the improvement of their condition. His instructions to the Residents under his charge breathe the same spirit of respect for the rights and comforts of the natives which has always marked his own conduct ; and all that is known of his public life shows him to have been generally esteemed in India by his European, as well as his Native Indian fellow subjects. For these reasons, we say, those who are most averse to the abominable system of monopoly and despotism avowed and practised by the Company, may yet vote in support of the pension given to Sir John Malcolm, who has softened, rather than aggravated, the rigours of that system whenever it has been in his power. The only fault we have to find with him, (and that excites our pity as well as censure) is, that any consideration on earth should have betrayed him into the inconsistencies which he ventured to put forth upon the subject of the Indian press. They were altogether unworthy of him : and we should think that he himself would gladly draw a veil over this page of his history, if it were possible. But great as were his weaknesses in this respect, they cannot do away the record of former sentiments or former services : and still less should we think that any one would be influenced by them, to oppose a reward granted for a career of merit, closed before these found utterance.

The late William Fairlie.—During the past month, this eminent individual died at his house in Park Crescent, Portland Place :—and it is because we do not think a mere record of this event, in the ordinary columns of an obituary, sufficient, that we mention it here. This eminent merchant and benevolent man was, at the period of his death, at the head of the firm of Fairlie, Bonham, and Co., one of the first East India houses in London, and for many years previously he was at the head of the firm of Fairlie, Ferguson, and Co., at Calcutta, one of the first British houses in India. He passed nearly forty of the most active years of his life in Bengal, and did more public and private good during that period than it falls to the lot of most men to do during their whole existence. He was the individual, to whom, conjointly with Sir David Scott, India is so deeply indebted for bringing forward the Private or Free Trade, and developing the vast resources of that rich and inexhaustible country. Lord Wellesley had the penetration and good sense to take this side against the antiquated and rigorous monopoly to which it was opposed, for which premature liberality he incurred the never-dying animosity of the Court of Directors, who would neither bring forward those resources themselves, nor permit others to do so for them. Mr. Fairlie was also one of the greatest encouragers of the cultivation of indigo, now so vast a source of profit both to India and to England. He did this, not merely by embarking in it himself, but, with a liberality of the most disinterested kind, by making large advances of capital to others, and assisting them onward to success and fortune. No man, not in the Company's service, ever enjoyed so much consideration in Calcutta—Mr. John Palmer perhaps excepted, who possesses the same distinction from

the exercise of the same virtues. Mr. Fairlee was the means of establishing a great number of men in business, who now live in opulence. He was especially benevolent and kind to that class of persons called by the Company, "interlopers" and "adventurers,"—namely, young and enterprising merchants; and his evidence before Parliament on the subject of India and its commerce, proves that his conviction and desires were all on the side of enlarged and liberal views and institutions.—We sincerely hope that some pen, competent to the task, will put on record a memoir of his life and character, of more value and importance than this brief sketch, which we have traced with a hurried hand, and from mere general recollections.

Recruits for India.—Very active exertions have been made during the past month in recruiting for the various corps destined for India. It is stated, that the reinforcement to be sent out there will be five thousand strong. The charge of these will be defrayed by the East India Company. Orders for recruiting for the British Army in India, has been also issued. It is determined that every corps now on service in that quarter, shall be immediately completed to the full Indian establishment.

Steam Conveyance to India.—On the 24th ult. the steam vessel *Enterprize* was launched from the Dock Yard of Messrs. Gordon and Co. Deptford, destined for the passage between this country and Calcutta. This fine vessel is nearly 500 tons burthen. Immediately after the launching she was taken into Messrs. Gordons' dry dock, where she is to be completed and fitted with engines, by Messrs. Maudslay; and, it is expected, will be ready to sail about March. She will be fitted entirely for passengers, upon a most liberal scale; and her commander Lieut. J. H. Johnston, R. N. who is well acquainted with the navigation of the Indian seas, calculates on her reaching Calcutta within two months after leaving Portsmouth. With respect to fuel and machinery, such precautions are said to have been used, as to leave no doubt upon these points. It will require, however, at least one successful voyage to establish general confidence.

East India Trade.—We extract the following, from the Report of the Committee of Ship Owners, presented to the General Meeting, held at the City of London Tavern, December 23, 1824.—The Committee regret to have to state that the advantages which the Legislature intended to secure to British ships in the East India trade, by the Act 4 Geo. IV. Cap. 80, have only in part been realized.

It will be recollected, that the consent of the British ship owners to the admission of India-built vessels to all the privileges enjoyed by ships built in this country, was given upon the understanding that, in return, they were to be allowed to participate, in common with the former, in the coasting and general trade in the Indian seas. It appears, however, that the local Government does not feel itself authorized to grant its licenses to trade between India and China, to any vessel not owned by a trader resident in India. The committee have laid a memorial on the subject, before his Majesty's Government, and have no doubt that the necessary orders will be sent to the Authorities in India to conform to the justice of the case, and the intentions of the Legislature.

Meanwhile, the Committee have the pleasure to announce, that the Hon. East India Company have so far relaxed their system, as to become the exporters of tea direct from China to the British Settlements in North America; and, as the reasons upon which this measure is founded, apply in equal force to the export from China to the Continent of Europe, and to other parts of America, the

Committee hope that the Honourable Directors will at length see the policy either of carrying on this trade themselves, or of allowing other merchants and ship-owners to participate in it with the traders of all other nations: as the case now stands, a monopoly is virtually created in favour of the shipping and commerce of foreign countries, to the exclusion of every British interest.

Transfer of Singapore.—Since writing the first article in the present Number, in which it is stated that Singapore was to be transferred to the Government of Penang, and to be made a dependency on that island, we have learnt that a warm debate took place on this subject in the Court of Directors, at the India House, and that the party advocating this measure were left in a minority, and that the party who contended for its being made subject to the Government of Bengal prevailed. There is something, perhaps, gained by this, inasmuch as the commercial jealousy of the former cannot now operate so disadvantageously. But, after all, the difference is but little. Singapore, in either case, will be no longer a free port: its free institutions are to be broken up, to make room for those of Bengal, all the regulations of which are to be made to extend there; and we shall exhibit in our next Number a very striking illustration of the mischief of this change, which neither time nor space will admit of our doing here.

THE TRUE INTERESTS OF THE CIVILIANS IN INDIA.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,

Calcutta, August 20, 1824.

THE natural modesty of my temper has hitherto prevented me from addressing you on a subject, highly interesting to the numerous class of Company's servants, to which I have the honour to belong. I am one of the unfortunate number of Civilians, whose distressed condition, and whose claims upon the liberality of our honourable masters, have of late been so pathetically insisted on. Did not one gentleman lately assure us, that a service of forty years in this country will not enable us to provide for our numerous and helpless families (supposing that we have any), and have we not had meetings, and committees, and petitions, and good arguments, and bad arguments, and no arguments at all, brought forward to prove the same melancholy fact? I shall not waste any time upon this part of my subject, because I take the declared opinion of so respectable a body of men to be a full and sufficient proof, of any thing they are pleased to assert. Surely, Sir, they who administer the affairs of a great kingdom, are competent to decide upon a question of comparatively small extent, though certainly of great importance; and it must strike you, that no one can judge so well of the circumstances and merits of the Civilians, as the Civilians themselves.

The misfortune is, that so many good things have been said, and so many methods of relief proposed, which, though unanswerable in theory, proved extremely inconvenient in practice; that our judgment is perplexed by variety, and our patience exhausted by delay. As all former expedients then have failed, it is natural to suspect something wrong in what my noble countryman termed "the fundamental feature on which the

matter hinges:" and I trust I shall secure your attention by the novelty of my plan, as well as by the probability of its success.

If promotion were our object, and we were in the habit of watching the mortality of our superiors like a hungry Ensign, I should suggest the propriety of *compelling* some of our body to serve as *Volunteers* in the present war, where those who survive might gain a relish for the simple fare and wholesome exercise of a camp. Or we might go to work a shorter way, and draw up in front of Capt. Parlbys next discharge of rockets; and that officer might display his skill by picking out a few fat-headed Collectors, flagellating Magistrates, and little great Diplomats, whose loss would not much derange the machine of Government. Only I should like to have the ground previously cleared of all the real soldiers, lest they should observe some symptoms of finching in the party, that might be misconstrued into timidity. But I forbear suggesting many plans equally ingenious, as money seems to be our only object.

Not to detain you any longer then, here is my specific. Instead of attempting to persuade Government to increase our salaries, or to grant us a fund on which we may retire, or to give us larger interest for our money than others are willing to accept—my proposition is, to make a determined and unsparing reduction of all our allowances. Do not start too hastily at the idea, for I am ready to prove, that it is to the excess of these allowances, that we owe all our misfortunes. Let any one of your readers make a list of twenty Civilians, and twenty Military men, whose names most readily occur to him, and then calculate the difference between the debts of the two parties; and his intellect must be obtuse indeed, if he does not see at once the justice of my theory. For my own part, I need go no further than my own family; and, as its history happens to exemplify what I have to say on this subject, I trust you will forgive me for alluding to it.

As my father was not unknown in Leadenhall-street, he determined to send his sons to India, where all persons were supposed at that time to acquire "large fortunes and diseases in the liver." For me, who was the elder of the two, and a great favourite of my mother, a writership was with some difficulty procured. The name did not at first please my fancy, but I submitted to the will of my parents—especially as it promised me an early emancipation from their authority. When I arrived in Calcutta a new scene opened upon me, and new feelings were awakened in my bosom. I was suddenly transported from a state of irksome dependence into all the pride, pomp, and circumstance of Oriental habits. Instead of flogging a top at school, or submitting to a similar operation on the opposite part of my own person, I was metamorphosed *per saltum* into a personage of no ordinary importance. I seemed, like Malvolio, to have "greatness thrust upon me;" and, like him, I grew giddy from the elevation. I bought half a dozen prime Arabs; and fancying that I knew something of horse-flesh, I tried to rival Treves upon the turf: but somehow or other the old boy always contrived to distance me. I played the good fellow with a jovial crew, till I nearly obtained the reputation of a three bottle man. I decked my person, and furnished my apartments, as my trades-people assured me, with unquestionable taste—

Some Demon whispered—Visto, have a taste.

In short, Sir, I indulged my new-born liberty, in utter heedlessness of the consequences. My Agents lent me large sums (for a consideration)

to satisfy the more surly creditors, and there were plenty of obsequious natives, who were willing to lend me any thing I pleased:—so I comforted myself with the soothing maxim—that “it would all be the same thing a hundred years hence.”

A short time after me, arrived my brother Tom, as one of “the cheap defence of nations.” Poor Tom! I showed him all the attention that could be expected of me—that is, considering our different situations. I lamented to him most feelingly the hardness of his lot compared with mine. I gave him a horse, which I had broken down in training, and a most liberal supply—not of money, but—of good advice, about prudence, and economy, and “all that.” How Tom contrived to battle through the world, I cannot conceive. He was three years an ensign, and seventeen more elapsed before he became a regimental captain: but he stuck to his corps, did his duty, and came at last to be noticed as a good officer. He could not squander away money, for no one would lend it to him; and, as he had no prospect of large allowances in future, he thought it best to save something as soon as possible. As he found he could not vie with those who were better paid than himself, he entered into no rivalry of ostentation; and, as splendour in this country was denied him, he turned his thoughts towards enjoying a competence at home. The rogue fell in love too, (it was the only foolish thing I ever knew Tom do;) but, as a young registrar had lately arrived at the station, the lady considerably saved him from the consequences of his rashness. The end of it all is, that he is now going, with a decent provision for the evening of his life, to old England and all its enjoyments; whilst I, who am cursed with an income of 4,000 rupees a month, still owe two lacs to my creditors, and some odd thousands over, that are not worth reckoning.

Now, Sir, you may be aware, that our military friends are said to cast a jealous eye upon our exorbitant allowances; and you may have observed an old officer curling his nose into a most formidable shape, when some puppy of a civilian, young enough to be his son, has taken precedence of him. Ungrateful wretches that they are! Have they not sixpence a day for being shot at, and immortal honour into the bargain? Has not the Company lately endeavoured, with a parental hand, to take from them the few temptations to extravagance, or means of luxury, that might yet exist among them? Was not an elegy written the other day upon Capt. Noton, in exceeding bad verse, merely because he had the luck to be cut to pieces at Ramoo?

O fortunati uinium, sua si bona nôriat!

whilst I have lived at such a rate that I can never bring my expenses within my income, and must die at last of mere old age, inglorious and unweung, instead of perishing “*pour la gloire et l’amour*” under the swords of the Burmese!

But let us not waste our time in invidious comparisons or unavailing regret. Let us resolutely cast off this cumbrous superfluity of wealth, which is the cause of our distresses, and the monument of our shame. Let us be content literally “to buy our blessings at a price.” Let us petition our “honourable and approved good masters” to relieve us of three-fourths of our present unwieldy receipts. I have little doubt but that Government would sympathize with our sufferings, and yield to our

request. If, however, there should be any demur on their part, I will not shrink from becoming a martyr to my own proposal. Like Curtius, I will devote myself for the public good, and consent to receive in my own person, the overwhelming weight of all that is mercifully taken off the shoulders of my friends. Future times will do justice to my motives, and erect some tribute to the memory of self-denying virtue.

This, Sir, is the way to strike at the root of the evil. When once released from the pressure of this abundance, instead of consuming all our time in striving to open afresh "the bleeding artery of profusion," we might find some leisure to attend to the work of our employers, and the duties of our station. We might then find our proper level in society, instead of being courted for the sake of our good dinners, which are afterwards ridiculed by the guests; and seeing every simpering Miss set her cap at ignorance, sensuality, and dotage, in hopes of ruling over an expensive establishment. Whatever may be its effect on those who have long trodden the rounds of dissipation, it will at least save such as are now entering the service, from a repetition of our follies and misfortunes; and it is the only thing that *will* save them—for when did it happen to the rising generation to be bettered by the wisdom of the past?

PHILIP.

CHINESE FEAST.

On the 19th of June Mr. Haki, a most respectable Chinese merchant of Singapore, entertained in Lessuden House the whole of the European merchants as well as the military officers of the settlement with a grand *Cha-Lang-Kae*. By half-past four o'clock a most splendid dinner was on the table, and upwards of fifty gentlemen sat down to partake of it. Captain Maitland, of the *Jane*, had the kindness to bring on shore his band, which continued playing during dinner the most beautiful Native and European airs. The party went off with the greatest hilarity, and many did not leave the table before a very late hour.

Great credit is due to Mr. Haki for the choice and luxurious viands selected by him: they were entirely *à la mode de Chine*, and a better or more abundant table we have never seen even at a *Cha-Lang-Kae* in Canton.

The *bird-nest soup* was admirable, as well as the six other soups of *mutton*, *frogs* and *duck livers*; we could not but partake of almost the whole of the dishes, and we did ample justice to an excellent *hashis* made of *stewed elephants' tails*, served up with a sauce of *lizards' eggs*. We also noticed particularly that some French gentlemen present seemed to eat with particular *gout* a *stewed porcupine* served up in the

green fat of turtle; the *beechnut de mer* was excellent, as well as the *fish maws* served up with *sea weed*. There was also a novel dish to the party, and we only have seen it once at the great *Kingqua Feast* in Canton: the expense of this dish alone was estimated at 200 dollars: it consisted of a platter full of *snipes' eyes*, garnished round the border with *peacocks' combs*, and was the most delicious and delicate viand we ever tasted.

The desert corresponded in every respect with the dinner. We cannot, however, pass over without remark the exquisite *gout* of the jellies made from the *rhinoceros' hide* without saying they were the best we ever tasted. The fruit was excellent and abundant, having been previously ordered from Malacca and Rhio. Nothing could surpass the wines, which were of all sorts, imported by the *Noormabul* from England, 15th February last: the confectionary was excellent, being also imported direct from Hoffman by that vessel.

Every thing went on with the greatest glee; but the champagne about this time had made an impression on the heads of some of the party, who were inclined to be riotous, and the glass-ware was heard to tingle in different parts of the room; all however ended in perfect harmony.

TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD AMHERST, GOVERNOR GENERAL
OF INDIA.

[The following is a Copy of a Letter addressed by Mr. Arnot to Lord Amherst, soon after his arrest and imprisonment in Fort William : and to which his Lordship did not think proper to return any answer whatever. It has but recently come into our possession, or it would have been published at an earlier period. The reader will find it worthy of his attention.]

Fort William. Sept. 20, 1824.

MY LORD,

ALTHOUGH the hardship I am now suffering, proves to me the lamentable fact, that I cannot plead, as the common privilege of a British subject, to be heard before I am condemned—a principle of natural justice acknowledged even in the time of the ancient Romans—yet, if afterwards, in the interval between the sentence and the execution, so humble an individual as the one who now addresses you, be at all permitted to intrude himself upon your Lordship's notice, the unprecedented circumstances in which I have been placed, in consequence of the order passed by Government for my removal to the United Kingdom, will justify me in calling your Lordship's attention to the grievous injury I shall suffer by this sentence being carried into full execution.

In the two first representations addressed to Government, I was precluded from noticing some very important features of my case, by copies of the papers containing the charges against me, for which I am so punished, being withheld from me; but the Magistrates of Calcutta (whose gentlemanly behaviour in discharging this disagreeable duty deserves from me every praise,) having, after much doubt and hesitation, at last put me in possession of these copies, I think it my duty to represent to your Lordship, with that respect which is due to your high station, but at the same time with the plainness that truth demands, the extraordinary character of the assumption against me; on which I find is grounded the reason for my being subjected to the hardships of a charter-party passage, with the immediate ruin of my pecuniary affairs, and the annihilation of all my hopes and prospects in life.

But before I enter into the particular circumstances under which I have been visited with the displeasure of Government, I think it necessary to notice slightly the chain of events which led me to place myself in that situation. Having suffered severely in the common distress, which, after the close of the French war, involved more or less every interest in the kingdom; like innumerable others, I turned my eyes to some foreign land, where I might advantageously employ the wreck of my property. The trade to India being thrown open to British sub-

jects, I accordingly, in July 1820, proceeded to this country, a passenger on board the *Golconda*, Captain Edwards, with a small commercial investment on my own account; understanding that the Government at home, and the Indian administration were alike actuated by the liberal and patriotic view of no longer shutting up this extensive field for British enterprise, in the present straits of the mother country, when she had so much need of an outlet for her surplus population.

Some time was necessarily consumed in disposing of my investment, when, if from the practice of the government, or the current opinion of the inhabitants, I had discovered that a license was at all necessary to my residence here, I would have returned to England; but on the contrary, the free encouragement given by government, as I had been previously led to expect, to European residents, and the various prospects of useful exertion that opened to me, induced me to hope, that by remaining in this country, I could employ my time, both with profit to myself and advantage to society. Finding numerous British subjects settled in every part of the country, and engaging in the most extensive speculations, without any dread of the power of government, or thinking any special licence requisite for their security; and French, Dutch, Americans and other foreigners, freely residing in different parts of the Company's territories, I could not imagine that I should be treated with less indulgence; or that under British rule, the land of my nativity, from which I had been driven by her distresses, would ever subject me to a penalty, from which, if a Chinese, a Turk, or a Jew, I should have been exempted. Considering a native of Great Britain, at least as much entitled to the favour of Government as any of these races of men, believing that I should enjoy the same protection as other British subjects similarly circumstanced, and knowing that my name had been brought under the notice of Government, by being inserted in the *Calcutta Annual Directories* for two years past, I conceived, that the only means necessary to secure a continuance of that protection, was to conduct myself agreeably to the established laws of the country. I have accordingly done so: and reasonably

hoped that three years of unimpeachable conduct, in proof of which I appeal to the judgment of my fellow citizens, would save me from being seized by force, as I have been in the public streets, and transported like a malefactor, without being chargeable with any crime, as I shall show, unless being a native of the United Kingdom can be called a crime.

In accepting the situation of assistant, in the office of the Calcutta Journal, I never considered myself as taking upon me any portion of the responsibility to the laws or to the government of the country, which necessarily rest upon the Editor of a newspaper; and if the Honourable the Governor-General in Council had thought otherwise, when Mr. Buckingham was removed from India, I must then have shared in his punishment.

When, in consequence of the order for his transportation to England, he relinquished the personal management of this paper, he intimated to Government in his letter of the 17th of February, that the Editorship had been wholly intrusted to Mr. J. F. Sandys, who was in future to be "solely responsible" for its management. Judging by the proceedings of Government, which in that case had held the Editor *only* to be punishable for the offences of a newspaper, I could not imagine, that by continuing to hold my situation of assistant, I should be considered liable for Mr. Buckingham's successor, who avowedly took upon himself the sole responsibility, and which justly vested with him, as without his sanction and approval no article could appear in the paper.

I therefore was astonished to find that the order for my removal, grounded on a certain passage in the Calcutta Journal of the 30th ultimo, which the Government considers disrespectful, and for which it is said that (the article quoted) "being professedly editorial, Mr. Sandys and Mr. Arnot, the avowed conductors of the paper are clearly and personally responsible," I cannot but lament that the Government should have proceeded to act upon an error so fatal to me, without affording me an opportunity of rectifying it by stating the fact. I have shown by the letter of Mr. Buckingham above quoted, that due intimation was given to Government, that Mr. Sandys alone was from the very beginning of his present connexion with the paper, the acknowledged and avowed conductor of the Calcutta Journal, and the solely responsible editor. I never had any power or title to usurp such a charge; and if it had been imputed to me, my regard to truth, and my duty to Mr. Buckingham my employer, would have compelled me to renounce it. But I can solemnly assert, that I never pretended to the character

of conductor of the Journal assigned me in the above letter, of the Chief Secretary to Government, and never saw or heard myself charged with such responsibility till I saw it there.

Proceeding upon this supposition, that I and Mr. Sandys were the responsible conductors of the Calcutta Journal, the letter of the Chief Secretary to Government then states:

"Mr. Sandys cannot be subjected to any direct mark of the displeasure of Government suitable to the occasion and to the nature of the offence which would not equally injure the interests of the sharers in the property; but Mr. Sandford Arnot is a native of Great Britain, residing in India without a license from the Honourable the Court of Directors or other legal authority: the Governor-General in Council has accordingly resolved that Mr. Arnot be sent to England, and that immediate orders be issued to give effect to the foregoing resolution."

In the above passage, supposing different individuals jointly culpable, and possessing both a choice of objects and modes of punishment, your Lordship is pleased to select me as the victim doomed to suffer for the whole; and it without this punishment, by substitution, the concern to which I was attached must itself necessarily be sacrificed, I could not, on that condition, solicit your Lordship for a remission of my sentence. For although I have ceased to have any connexion with the Calcutta Journal, I believe it to have been eminently serviceable to the cause of Indian improvement, and the best interests of British power; objects which my humble endeavours have been zealously exerted to promote; and I would not purchase my safety by the destruction of a publication which has so ardently laboured to enhance the glory of the British name in India, and ameliorate the condition of the millions subject to British rule.

But, by the manner in which my removal from the country is substituted as a less harsh measure than the withdrawal of the license of the Calcutta Journal, the latter was evidently considered by your Lordship too harsh a punishment for the offence. I therefore feel assured, that when your Lordship is aware how mistaken the grounds are on which that sentence was passed against me, by which I have been deprived, for some time, of what every Briton holds dear—his liberty, and subjected to great anxiety while kept in this state of suspense about the future proceedings to be instituted against me, you will consider the confinement and distress of mind I have already suffered, a sufficient atonement for this offence of the "Calcutta Journal," and therefore remit the

remainder of the punishment. I have already shown that I was not responsible to Government for that offence, be it great or small; but if I had been so, I should have considered it excusable, if not defensible, on the following grounds:

The article for which, as is well known, Mr. Buckingham was avowedly ordered to quit India, might have been deemed objectionable, either as questioning the motives of Government in conferring the appointment of the clerk of the stationery committee, or impugning the conduct of Dr. Bryce in accepting it: for the whole scope of it only embraced these two objects. In the article quoted from the Calcutta Journal of the 30th ultimo, as the ground of my banishment, the Government is implied to have been principally actuated by a desire to vindicate the purity of its own motives, any imputation against which might easily be supposed to have been most peculiarly offensive. But this opinion, not at all discreditable to the Government, was evidently not advanced with a view to impugn its conduct; nor were its proceedings wantonly and unnecessarily introduced; but, on the contrary, alluded to with the greatest reluctance, accompanied by expressions indicating in the most respectful manner, a regret that it should be even necessary to mention them at all, and stating that it was ventured upon solely because it was found absolutely necessary to vindicate the Judges of the Supreme Court from the obloquy and discredit attempted to be thrown upon their decisions, and upon the individuals concerned in them. When the wisdom and integrity of our highest legal tribunal are attacked, if the hands of those who would defend them are tied up, the due course of justice must be obstructed.

Whatever restrictions might exist on the press, some degree of indulgence would be expected in such a case; but since, during your Lordship's administration, the persons opposed to the Calcutta Journal had commented on the proceedings of the Supreme Court, with a degree of licentiousness quite unprecedented, and in direct opposition to the letter, and wholly incompatible with the spirit of the existing restrictions, the public naturally believed, that as the judges were now for the first time abandoned to the attacks of the press, the same instrument would be allowed to defend them; and since the public had no means of discovering your Lordship's views with regard to the press, but by the conduct observed towards it, they concluded, from its now being allowed to intrude on ground ever before held sacred, that your Lordship, after the example of your illustrious predecessor, the Marquis of Hastings, was unwilling to avail yourself

of any extraordinary power for restraining it, beyond the laws in force in that free country from which you had lately come, which has risen to its present intellectual eminence by the free expression of public opinion.

When these impressions were general in society, this article was written; and without any previous warning, that your Lordship, only about a month arrived amongst us, would act on a contrary principle, I am suddenly told, that a passage in the Calcutta Journal has incurred your displeasure;—that you hold me responsible as an “avowed conductor” for that paragraph, and that the Government has therefore ordered my banishment from the country, in consequence of which I have been laid hold of, and placed in duress by a warrant under your Lordship's signature.

I trust that your Lordship will yet pause before you carry this sentence of banishment against me into execution. That you have the power of doing so I do not dispute; nor that your mandate might with equal facility drive from India many hundreds more of your countrymen, placed equally at your mercy. Allured by the confidence of security under this Government, they have brought their talents and industry to this distant country; and trusting in a continuance of its countenance and protection, they have surrounded themselves with comforts, and connected themselves with the country by every endearing tie. It is for your Lordship to consider, whether by reviving arbitrary powers hardly ever exercised, but calculated for times of doubt and danger, long since passed by, and therefore considered to have fallen into disuse, you will now pluck up these unfortunate settlers by the roots, blasting the fruits of many years exertion, and converting their sources of happiness, from which they are torn, into misery and desolation. If I must be the first victim of such an intended system, to be now introduced under your Lordship's auspices, I hope that from the exposure thereby occasioned of its cruel consequences, I may also be the last.

It is true, that in addition to the *crime* of being a native of Great Britain residing in India without a license, I am also gratuitously charged with a responsibility which I *never undertook*, and therefore loaded with the blame of a paragraph in the “Calcutta Journal,” at which you are pleased to take offence. For this I knew that I was not responsible; but lest my being connected with that paper in any shape, as an assistant, should be considered a crime worthy of transportation, I offered to relinquish all connexion with the press, so that no reason of political expedience for such a harsh measure might remain. Knowing

myself innocent of the charge fixed upon me, I volunteered to place myself in such a condition, as to render it impossible for me to commit such an offence. Before I am subjected then to transportation on such grounds as these assigned, I beg your Lordship to consider, as a British Peer, whether you will thereby support the dignity of that exalted body of men, from whom you have been selected by your Sovereign, to maintain the honour of his crown and the glory of your country in this quarter of the world, where, in seeming to us the possession of an empire, our hold on which is *OPINION*, the fame of British humanity and justice must be of incalculably greater force than the renown of British arms. If, for any *imputed* or imaginary offence (resting upon the most loose and uncertain authority, or none at all) a person may be laid hold of, without any form of trial, or other opportunity of stating the truth and vindicating his character, and summarily transported many thousand miles, will this excite confidence in the wisdom and justice of Government? And if British rulers thus treat natives of Great Britain, when possessed of the power of doing so, will the natives of India expect their *foreign* masters to exercise a milder sway over them, were their power restrained by no other considerations but justice and humanity? Your Lordship, having by this act, so shortly after your arrival, appar-

rently hastened to give a certain character to the new administration, agreeably, as will be believed, to instructions from the highest sources of authority at home---the natives of India will justly infer, that their British rulers now seeing their empire in the East firmly established by the talents of the Marquis of Hastings and others of your illustrious predecessors, mean, at last, to lay aside the fair promises of liberality and justice, by which they attained their present footing, and make force, in which there is now none to dispute their supremacy, the only principle of their government. I may be permitted to beg, that your Lordship will weigh as a statesman, whether an exercise of power, calculated to produce such an impression, can bring with it any public advantages sufficient to counterbalance its evils; or whether it is called for by such an imperious necessity, as would justify any Government in sacrificing an individual convicted of no offence, who, allured by the indulgence shown to others, has been induced, by confidence in its honor and magnanimity, to place himself at its mercy.

I have the honor to remain,
My Lord,
Your Lordship's most
Obedient humble
Servant,
SANDFORD ARNOT.

CIVIL AND MILITARY INTELLIGENCE.

CIVIL SERVICE OF INDIA.

BENGAL.

Calcutta.—July 9. Mr. J. De Lancy, an Assistant to the Secretary to the Board of Revenue in the Central Provinces.—Aug. 5. Mr. J. Campbell, Register of the Civil Court of Rajeshahye, and Joint Magistrate stationed at Buggoorah.—6. Mr. E. Ravenshaw to be First Assistant to the Secretary to the Government in the Secret and Political Department.

MADRAS.

Fort St George—July 23. H. S. Graeme, Esq. President of the Board of Revenue; J. H. D. Ogilvie, Esq. Chief Judge of the Sudder and Foujdary Adawlut; Mr. J. D. Newbolt, Head Assistant to the Collector and Magistrate of Ganjam; Mr. J. Orr, Head Assistant to the Collector and Magistrate of Nellore; Mr. S. C. Clarke, Head Assistant to the Collector

and Magistrate of Masulipatam; Mr. A. Robertson, Assistant to the Collector and Magistrate of the Northern Division of Arcot.—August 20. J. Cochrane, Esq. Second Judge of the Court of Sudder and Foujdary Adawlut.—27. Mr. G. E. Russell, Senior Member of the Board of Revenue; Mr. A. Macdonell, Second Member of Ditto; Mr. R. Clarke, Third Member of Ditto; Mr. J. Dent, Secretary to Ditto; Mr. J. W. Lewis, Deputy Collector of Sea Customs at Madras.—Sept. 3. Mr. J. A. Dalzell, Secretary to the Native Pension Fund.

BOMBAY.

Factors to be Junior Merchants.

Bombay Castle, Aug. 3.—Messrs. A. Crawford, J. B. Simpson, W. C. Bruce, F. E. Elliot, W. Stubbs, J. Williamson, J. Vibart, A. Bell.

Writers to be Factors.

Aug. 3. Messrs. J. P. Willoughby, W. Gordon, J. A. Shaw, H. H. Grass, W. S. Boyd, H. Borradaile, G. M. Blaire, W. Simson, B. Hutt.

CEYLON.

Colombo, Aug. 27.—M. Wilmot, Esq. to be Assistant to the Vice Treasurer, and Commissioner of Stamps; dated 1 Sept. 1824.

ECCLESIASTICAL APPOINTMENTS.

BENGAL.

Calcutta, Aug. 12.—Rev. H. S. Fisher, Chaplain at Dum Dum.

CEYLON.

Colombo, Aug. 27.—The Rev. J. S. M. Glenie, to perform the duties of Archdeacon of Colombo till a Successor be duly instituted.

EAST INDIA COMPANY'S ARMY.

EAST INDIA COMPANY'S ARMY.

[From the *Indian Gazette*.]

BENGAL.

MILITARY APPOINTMENTS.

Fort William.—June 3. Capt. R. Powney, of the Artillery Regt. to be Superintendent of the Tangent Scale and Model Department, vice Parib; Lieut. E. P. Gowan to be Commissary of Ordnance, vice Powney; Lieut. J. F. Paton, Barrackmaster of 8th Division, to be Officiating Assistant to the Superintendent of Public Buildings in the Upper Provinces, and Barrackmaster of 11th or Meerut Division, vice Dunlop; Capt. P. M. Hay to be Barrackmaster of 8th Division, vice Paton; Capt. J. Pickett, of the Corps of Engineers, to be Barrackmaster of 17th or Burdwan Division, vice Kennu; Lieut. Col. Povoleri, of the Invalid Establishment, to the command of the Benares Provincial Batt.; Lieut. F. C. Robb, Deputy Assistant Quartermaster General of 2d Class, to be Deputy Assistant Quartermaster General of 1st Class, dated May 1, 1824; Lieut. T. Fisher, Deputy Assistant Quartermaster General of 3d Class, to be ditto of 2d Class, dated Jan. 1, 1824; Brev. Capt. J. G. Drummond, Deputy Assistant Quartermaster General of 3d Class, to be ditto of 2d, vice Robb, dated May 1, 1824.

The following Expedition Orders by Sir A. Campbell, K. C. B., Brig. Gen. in command of the Force at Rangoon, are confirmed, viz.

Rangoon.—May 15. Capt. Snodgrass, Postmaster to the Force, with a salary of 350 rupees per month, and such other establishment as may be hereafter sanctioned.—18. Lieut. Rawlinson, Bengal Artillery, to collect stores and resources for the general supply of the combined forces; Lieut. Rawlinson is to be considered, from the 18th ult. as an extra Sub-Assistant Commis. Gen. pending the present service, on the usual staff allowance of the rank (300 rupees per mensem).—June 5. Ass. Commis. C. Bowman to the charge of the Dacca Depot.—8. Capt. Fiddes, Ass. Commis. Gen. to have general control of Commissariat Department with combined forces in

Ava.—14. Capt. Auber, 38th N. I. to be Member of the Annual Arsenal Committee.

June 17.—The Commander in Chief is pleased to make the following appointments; the Interpreters and Quartermasters being subject to the condition prescribed in G. O. of Feb. 17, 1823:—

Light Cavalry.

3d Regt. Lieut. F. Dibdin to be Adj. vice Angelo, promoted.

7th Regt. Lieut. C. Duffin to be Interp. and Quartermaster, vice Stedman, promoted.

European Infantry.

2d Regt. Brev. Capt. J. Marshall to be Adj.; Lieut. J. P. Ripley to be Interp. and Quartermaster.

Native Infantry.

1st Regt. Lieut. F. Rowcroft to be Adj. vice Bruce, promoted.

2d Regt. Lieut. A. C. Beatson to be Interp. and Quartermaster, vice Doveton, removed.

3d Regt. Lieut. J. Martin to be Interp. and Quartermaster, vice M^r Millan, removed.

4th Regt. Lieut. H. Doveton to be Adj. vice Caley, promoted.

5th Regt. Lieut. J. Jervis to be Adj. vice Chalmers, removed.

6th Regt. Lieut. T. Birket to be Adj. vice Pasmore, promoted; Lieut. A. Farquharson to be Interp. and Quarterm. vice Dingwall, promoted.

7th Regt. Brev. Capt. G. Holmes to be Adj. vice Dunlop, promoted; Lieut. H. Templar to be Interp. and Quarterm. vice Moody, promoted.

8th Regt. Brev. Capt. J. Hall to be Adj. vice Malden, removed.

9th Regt. Lieut. W. Becket to be Adj. vice Bird, removed.

10th Regt. Lieut. W. Start to be Interp. and Quarterm. vice Brettridge, removed.

11th Regt. Lieut. J. Croudace to be Adj. vice Denby, promoted; Brev. Capt. N. Stewart to be Interp. and Quarterm. vice Benson, promoted.

12th Regt. Lieut. W. A. Ludlow to be Adj. vice Rowcroft, removed.

13th Regt. Lieut. R. B. Brettridge to

be Interp. and Quarterm. vice Sturt, removed.

14th Regt. Brev. Capt. W. J. Gairdner to be Adj. vice M'Laren, removed; Lieut. R. Thorpe to be Interp. and Quarterm. vice Manning, removed.

16th Regt. Lieut. J. M'Laren to be Adj. vice Gairdner, removed; Lieut. F. E. Manning to be Interp. and Quarterm. vice Thorpe, removed.

17th Regt. Lieut. D. Wood to be Interp. and Quarterm. vice A. Wood, promoted.

18th Regt. Lieut. J. P. M'Millan to be Interp. and Quarterm. vice Martin, removed.

21st Regt. Lieut. T. B. Malden to be Adj. vice Hall, removed.

22d Regt. Brev. Capt. R. Chalmers to be Adj. vice Jervis, removed.

23d Regt. Lieut. J. Moule to be Adj. vice Holmes, removed; Lieut. J. D. D. Bean to be Interp. and Quarterm. vice Wright, promoted.

24th Regt. Lieut. S. L. Bird to be Adj. vice Bland, promoted.

26th Regt. Lieut. G. M. S. Robe to be Adj. vice Murray, promoted; Brev. Capt. W. Hodgson to be Interp. and Quarterm. vice Johnstone, removed.

27th Regt. Brev. Capt. G. H. Johnstone to be Interp. and Quarterm. vice Hodgson, removed.

29th Regt. Lieut. C. H. Marley to be Adj. vice Pearce, promoted.

30th Regt. Lieut. W. Payne to be Adj. vice Brown, promoted; Brev. Capt. Whinfield to be Interp. and Quarterm. vice Wiggins.

31st Regt. Lieut. J. M. Heptinstall to be Adj. vice Payne, removed.

32d Regt. Lieut. W. F. Steer to be Adj. vice Agnew, promoted.

34th Regt. Brev. Capt. F. Hodgson to be Adj. vice Croft, removed.

35th Regt. Lieut. J. T. Croft to be Adj. vice Hodgson, removed.

36th Regt. Lieut. J. A. Barstow to be Adj. vice Troup, removed.

37th Regt. Lieut. J. R. Troup to be Interp. and Quarterm. vice Barstow, removed.

38th Regt. Lieut. P. Craigie to be Interp. and Quarterm. vice Garrett, removed.

39th Regt. Lieut. R. Garrett to be Interp. and Quarterm. vice Craigie, removed.

40th Regt. Lieut. J. O'D. Macgrath to be Adj. vice Macfarquhar, promoted.

41st Regt. Lieut. P. Polwhele to be Adj. vice Sibbald, promoted.

43d Regt. Brev. Capt. S. Hart to be Interp. and Quarterm. vice Hughes, removed.

44th Regt. Lieut. M. Hughes to be Interp. and Quarterm. vice Hart, removed.

45th Regt. Lieut. D. Williams to be Adj. vice Grigg, removed; Lieut. T. Ward to be Interp. and Quarterm. vice Norton.

46th Regt. Lieut. W. Fraser to be Adj. vice Williams, removed.

47th Regt. Lieut. J. S. Winfield to be Adj. vice Smith, removed.

48th Regt. Lieut. F. C. Smith to be Adj. vice Bolton, removed.

51st Regt. Lieut. T. Roberts to be Adj. vice Lister, promoted.

52d Regt. Lieut. J. Hewett to be Adj. vice Roberts, removed.

54th Regt. Lieut. C. F. Urquhart to be Adj. vice Hayes, promoted.

56th Regt. Brevet Capt. O. Phillips to be Adj. vice Dick, promoted.

57th Regt. Lieut. A. T. Davies to be Adj. vice Cox, promoted.

59th Regt. Brevet Capt. B. Woolley to be Adj. vice Campbell, promoted; Brev. Capt. A. White to be Interp. and Quarterm. vice Berguer, promoted.

60th Regt. Lieut. C. B. M'Kenly to be Adj. vice Woolley, removed.

61st Regt. Lieut. R. C. Jenkins to be Interp. and Quarterm. vice Stewart, promoted.

63d Regt. Lieut. R. M. C. Pollock to be Interp. and Quarterm. vice Bignell, removed.

64th Regt. Lieut. F. Candy to be Adj. vice Pollock, removed; Lieut. W. Bignell to be Interp. and Quarterm. vice Davies, promoted.

65th Regt. Brev. Capt. G. J. B. Johnston to be Interp. and Quarterm. vice Grant, removed.

66th Regt. Brev. Capt. J. Grant to be Interp. and Quarterm. vice Johnston, removed.

67th Regt. Brev. Capt. R. S. Phillips to be Adj. vice Thoresby.

68th Regt. Lieut. C. Marshall to be Adj. vice Phillips, removed.

Purneah Prov. Batt. Lieut. J. Graham, 60th N. I. to be Adj. vice Colnett, promoted.

Chittagong Prov. Batt. Lieut. G. F. Vincent, 2th N. I. to be Adj. vice Clarkson, promoted.

June 22.—Lieut. J. S. Pitts, 1st Europ. Regt. to be Adj.; Lieut. T. E. Soady, 3d Regt. N. I. to be ditto; Lieut. V. Wood, 10th Regt. N. I. to be ditto; Lieut. W. Douglas, 20th Regt. N. I. to be ditto; Lieut. (Brev. Capt.) G. Olliphant, 22d Regt. N. I. to be Interp. and Quarterm.; Lieut. R. Colebrooke, 27th Regt. N. I. to be Adj.; Lieut. J. Gibbs, 42d Regt. N. I. to be ditto; Lieut. H. Macintosh, 44th Regt. N. I. to be ditto; Lieut. H. W. Bellew, 56th Regt. to be Interp. and Quarterm.; Lieut. and Brevet Capt. T. Webster, 59th N. I. to be Adj.—July 6. Maj. Biggs to assume command of 1st Batt. of Artillery at Agra.—8. Maj. Tapp to be Member of the General Invaliding Committee at Allahabad.—10. Lieut. F. Hewitt to be Interp. and Quarterm. 33d N. I.

PROMOTIONS.

Fort William, June 10.—The under-mentioned Officers, Cadets of the 2d and

3d classes of 1808, are promoted to the rank of Capt. by Brevet:—

Lieut. G. Mavor	19th Regt. N. I.
W. H. Whinfield	30th
J. H. Mackinlay	63d
T. Berkett	6th
V. L. Palmer	50th
O. Phillips	56th
W. B. Girdlestone	46th
N. Campbell	21st
R. Kent	12th
W. H. Earle	39th
A. M'Kinnon	42d
W. Sage	48th
J. J. Hamilton	23d
H. Goldie	47th
T. Webster	59th
R. Low	35th
N. Stewart	11th
H. Carter	10th
B. Pruis	26th
J. Macintosh	49th
T. Ward	45th
W. P. Welland	55th
T. W. Ince	29th
W. Ramsey	41st
C. Thoresby	68th
J. Bedford	48th
J. Tomlinson	61st
J. J. Tillotson	2d
J. R. Aire	64th
T. Lamb	12th
W. E. B. Leadbeater	53d
J. M'Laren	16th
W. H. Sleeman	1st
H. L. Barnett	46th
C. Coventry	32d
S. Walker	7th
A. Durie	15th
R. S. Brownrigg	15th
G. H. Johnstone	27th
P. P. Nind	3d Light Cavalry
Capt. A. F. Richmond	33d Regt. N. I.
J. Bell	1st
T. Haslam	40th
R. A. Stedman	7th Light Caval.
L. H. Smith	6th

REMOVALS AND POSTINGS.

Fort William.—July 3. Cornet R. W. Hogg to do duty with 1st Light Caval. at Sulthanpore; Ens. F. E. Smith, J. P. Farquharson, H. Wilson, P. Hopkins, G. D. Harvey, R. E. Blackburn, T. F. Flemyng, H. Becher, and R. Hill, to do duty with 2d Europ. Regt. at Dinapore.—6. Lieut. Bignell, 64th Regt. and Lieut. Pollock, 63d Regt. permitted to exchange Corps; Lieuts. Bignell and Pollock to be Interp. and Quarterm. to above Regts.—10. Lieut. Gen. D. Castro, and Lieut. Col. P. T. Comyn, posted to 53d N. I. vice Lieut. Col. Com. W. H. Perkins, and Lieut. Col. W. H. Wood, removed to 2d Europ. Regt.

FURLOUGHS.

Fort William. June 9. Lieut. G. Britten, 62d Regt. N. I. to Europe, for one year, without pay, on urgent private

affairs.—July 3. Capt. J. Bourdieu, 43d N. I. to Europe, on sick certificate.

MADRAS.

MILITARY APPOINTMENTS.

Fort St. George.—July 23. Lieut. Col. J. Limond to be Acting Commandant of Artillery, with a seat at the Military Board; Lieut. G. O'Connell is appointed to the temporary charge of the Arsenal of Fort St. George.—30. Lieut. T. M. Johnston to be Adj. to the 21st Regt. N. I. vice Cuppage.—Aug. 3. Lieut. Col. J. Knowles to the command of Villore, during the absence of Col. Fraser on other duty.—6. Col. H. Fraser, of the Infantry, to command the Division of Madras Troops on Foreign Service at Rangoon; Capt. J. Kitson, 23d L. Inf. to be Brig. Major to Col. Fraser; Lieut. Col. F. W. Wilson, 2d Regt. N. I. to command the Rifle Corps, vice Knowles; Lieut. C. Evans, 25th Regt. N. I. to be Fort Adjutant at Trichinopoly, vice Morgan; Lieut. D. H. Eaton, 2d Regt. N. I. to be Adj. vice James, promoted; Lieut. W. Johnston, 20th Regt. N. I. to be Adj. vice Gordon, deceased; Lieut. and Brv. Capt. A. M'Leod, 43d Regt. N. I. to be Quarterm. Interp. and Paym. vice Lindsay, deceased; Sub-Assist. Commissary Gen. Lieut. W. N. Burns, to be Deputy Ass. Commiss. Gen. until further orders; Lieut. T. Rooke, 12th Regt. N. I. to be Sub-Ass. Commis. Gen. vice Watkins; Lieut. J. S. K. Biscoe, 11th Regt. N. I. to be a Sub-Ass. Com. Gen. vice Harris.—10. Lieut. E. Dyer, 46th Regt. N. I. as Ass. in the Adj. Gen. Depart. vice Biscoe.—28. Capt. A. Wilson, 10th Regt. N. I. to be Brig. Maj. to the 1st Brig. of Inf. on foreign service, vice Evans; Lieut. J. V. Brown, 1st Europ. Regt. to be Quarterm. Interp. and Paym. to complete the Establishment; Lieut. St. John B. French to be Quarterm. Interp. and Paym. of 2d Europ. Regt. vice Robertson, deceased; Lieut. W. M. Lally, 11th Regt. N. I. to be Adj. vice Biscoe; Lieut. J. Wallace to be Adj. and Lieut.; R. Codrington to be Quarterm. Int. and Paym. to the 46th Regt. N. I.

PROMOTIONS.

Fort St. George. July 20.

15th Regt. N. I. Sen. Lieut. and Brev. Capt. A. Sibbald to be Capt. and Sen. Ens.; A. M'Nair to be Lieut. vice Rand, deceased, dated July 12, 1824; Cadet H. T. Ogilvie, of the Infantry, is promoted to Ensign, date to be settled hereafter.

The undermentioned Gentlemen Cadets are admitted on the Establishment, and promoted to Ens., date to be settled hereafter:

Messrs. W. Biddle, W. G. Cotes, R. H. Robertson, J. O'Brien, R. T. Wilbank, C. G. Hurrell, H. M. Prichard, J. R.

Savage and C. Taylor; date of arrival July 19, 1824.

July 23.—*20th Regt. N. I.* Sen. Ensign W. Shelley to be Lieut. vice Gordon, deceased, dated July 17, 1824.

27.—*2d Regt. N. I.* Sen. Lieut. and Brev. Capt. J. P. James to be Capt. and Sen. Ens.; M. Beauchamp to be Lieut. vice Poile, deceased, dated July 15, 1824.

42*d Regt. N. I.* Sen. Ens. J. Fitzgerald to be Lieut. vice Thompson, deceased, dated July 16, 1824.

The undermentioned Gentlemen Cadets for Cavalry, Artillery, and Infantry, are admitted on the Establishment, and promoted to the rank of Cornet, 2*d* Lieut. and Ens. respectively; dates to be to be settled hereafter:

Mr. J. Oakley for Cavalry; Messrs. G. A. Goldingham, S. S. Trevor, J. W. Croggan, and N. H. Fish, for Artillery; Messrs. W. Russell, R. Sheriff, J. C. Darlel, and E. V. P. Halloway, for Infantry, date of arrival July 28.

Aug. 3.—*8th Regt. N. I.* Sen. Lieut. R. Smith to be Capt. and Sen. Ens. F. Daniell to be Lieut. vice Friswell, deceased, dated June 20, 1824.

42*d Regt. N. I.* Sen. Ens. J. E. B. Shaw to be Lieut. vice Lindsay, deceased, dated June 9, 1824.

26*th Regt. N. I.* Sen. Ens. T. Maynor to be Lieut. vice Jones, deceased, dated June 20, 1824.

13.—*2d Regt. N. I.* Sen. Lieut. H. Dowker to be Capt.; and Sen. Ensign E. Athrop to be Lieut. vice Pell, deceased, dated July 15.

6*th Regt. N. I.* Sen. Lieut. and Brev. Capt. W. Low to be Capt. and Sen. Ens. J. Dewes to be Lieut. vice Isacke, killed in action, dated July 3, 1824.

29*th Regt. N. I.* Sen. Lieut. and Brev. Capt. R. Cooke to be Capt. and Sen. Ens.; R. Hurlock to be Lieut. vice Hume, deceased, dated Aug. 7, 1824.

17.—*Infantry.* Sen. Maj. J. S. Fraser, from 35*th Regt. N. I.* to be Lieut. Col. vice Smythe, deceased, dated Aug. 15, 1824.

35*th Regt. N. I.* Sen. Capt. J. Mallandaine to be Maj. Sen. Lieut. and Brev. Capt.; E. E. Bruce to be Capt. and Senior Ens.; W. E. Brooshooff to be Lieut. vice Fraser, promoted, dated Aug. 15, 1824.

28.—*1st Regt. L. C.* Sen. Cornet W. H. Clifford to be Lieut. vice Humfrey, deceased, dated Aug. 15, 1824.

MEDICAL APPOINTMENTS.

Fort St. George.—July 23. Messrs. G. Beeton and R. Lindsay are appointed as Assistant Surgeons on this Establishment, to do duty under the Garrison Surgeon of Fort St. George.—30. Veterinary Surgeon J. Stevenson, from the Horse Brig. of Artillery, to be Superintendent of the Veterinary Establishment

of Arcot, vice Erratt, deceased.---Aug. 3. A. F. McLaughlan, M.D. admitted an Assistant Surgeon, and appointed to do duty under the Garrison Surgeon of Masulipatam.---6. Ass. Surg. T. Thornton, M.D., appointed to the charge of the 2*d* European Regt.

Aug. 17.---The following appointments of Sub Ass. Surgeons are ordered, viz.

B. Figrado to the Garrison of Seringapatam, vice Almeida, pensioned; ---Dallas to the Department of the Superintending Surgeon at the Presidency; and T. De Cruz to the Garrison of Poonamallee.---28. Ass. Surg. G. Wilson to be Garrison Ass. at Vellore.

REMOVALS AND POSTINGS.

Head Quarters, Choultry Plains.—July 12. Lieut. J. Hill, 24*th Regt. N. I.* to the Rifle Corps.—13. Lieut. M. G. Fitzgerald, 41*st Regt. N. I.* to the Rifle Corps; Ensign T. D. Roberts, at his own request, from 37*th* to 30*th Regt. N. I.*—17. Lieut. Col. Commandant E. Boardman, from 29*th* to 45*th Regt. N. I.*; Lieut. Col. Commandant W. Munro, from 45*th* to 29*th Regt. N. I.*; Ensign J. Bean, at his own request, from 1*st* European Regt. to 15*th Regt. N. I.*; Ensign S. Bayley, at his own request, from 25*th* to 26*th Regt. N. I.*—22. Ensign C. Rowlandson, 46*th Regt. N. I.* to do duty with 32*d* Regt. N. I.; Ensign W. Elvey, recently arrived, to do duty with 1*st* Regt. N. I. at Palaveram; Ensign H. A. Holcombe, recently arrived, to do duty with 10*th Regt. N. I.* and join the Depot at Poonamallee; Ensign E. H. Atkinson, at his own request, from 1*st* to 19*th Regt. N. I.*; Ensign N. Burrard, at his own request, from 19*th* to 1*st* Regiment N. I.—27. Lieut. J. T. Baldwin, of the Artillery, from 2*d* to 1*st* Batt.—Aug. 4. Lieut. Col. Commandant G. Wahab, from 38*th Regt. N. I.* to 20*th Regt. N. I.*; Lieut. Gen. and Col. T. Bowser, from 20*th* to 38*th Regt. N. I.* Lieut. Gen. and Col. W. Kinsey from 2*d* to 29*th Regt. N. I.*; Lieut. Col. Commandant W. Munro, from 29*th* to 3*d* Regt. N. I.; Major C. Ferrier, 43*d* Regt. N. I., Major A. Balmain, 7*th Regt. N. I.* and Capt. Wallen, 34*th Regt. N. I.* will relieve Major Bell, C. B. of H. M. 48*th* Foot, Capt. Coyle, 23*th Regt. N. I.* and Capt. Jourdan, 10*th Regt. N. I.* as Members of the General Court Martial assembled in Fort St. George, of which Col. Hewitt, C. B. is President.—9. Cornet J. Oakly to do duty with 2*d* Regt. L. C.; Ensign R. Shirreff to do duty with 21*st* Regt. N. I.; Ensign H. Wakeman to do duty with 20*th Regt. N. I.*

MEDICAL POSTINGS.

Head Quarters, Choultry Plain.

Aug. 4. Assist. Surgeon D. Vertue to

33d Regt. N. I.---6. Asst. Surg. T. Thornton, M. D. to the Details of the 2d European Regt.

ADJUSTMENT OF RANK.

Fort St. George.---Aug. 6. Lieut. K. A. McLeay, 26th Regt. N. I. to rank from 19th Sept. 1823, vice Blenkinsop, deceased.---13. Captain J. P. James, and Lieut. M. Beauchamp, 2d Regt. N. I. to take rank from 1 July 1824.

FURLOUGHS.

Fort St. George.---July 16. Lieut. Col. Commandant W. Munro, to Europe, on sick certificate; Lieut. J. Sandys, to Europe, on ditto.---20. Lieuts. and Brevet Capt. F. W. Morgan, of 1st, and J. P. James of 2d Regt. N. I. to Europe, on ditto.---23. Lieut. Col. A. Andrews, C. B. 29th Regt. N. I. to China, on ditto.---27. Ensign W. Grant, 2d European Regt. to Europe, on ditto.---Aug. 6. Capt. A. Cooke, 38th Regt. N. I. to Europe, on sick certificate; Ensign P. Mellish, 4th Regt. N. I. on Furlough to Europe, for one year.---10. Lieut. Col. Commandant J. L. Lushington, C. B. 1st Regt. L. C. to Europe, on Furlough.---28. Surgeon J. Dean, to Europe, on Furlough, so soon as his services can be dispensed with at Rangoon; Capt. C. E. Duckenfield, to Europe, on sick certificate.

GENERAL ORDERS.

Fort St. George, June 18, 1824.---The Hon. the Governor in Council is pleased to notify in General Orders, that all Europeans (men or women) who may be found guilty of supplying liquor to European soldiers without authority, will be sent to England.

COURTS MARTIAL.

ON ENSIGN O'HALLORAN AND LIEUT. C. STUART, H. M. 69th FOOT.

Head-Quarters, Choultry Plain, 10th August, 1824.

His Exc. Gen. Sir Alex. Campbell is pleased to publish to the army, the following extracts from the proceedings of a general court-martial held at Fort St. George, 23d July 1824, which court martial was composed of the following officers:

President.---Col. Hewitt, C. B., 32d N. I.

Members.---Lieut. Col. Com. Boardman, 45th N. I.; Lieut. Col. Com. G. Wahab, 38th N. I.; Lieut. Col. Walker, C. B., H. M. 54th regt.; Lieut. Col. Parlbey, 30th N. I.; Lieut. Col. Pearce, Horse Brig.; Major Bell, C. B., H. M. 48th regt.; Major Martin, 8th L. C.; Major Swayne, *Oriental Herald*, Vol. 4.

25th N. I.; Major J. Bell, 9th N. I.; Capt. Cox, H. M. 54th regt.; Capt. Jourdan, 10th N. I.; Capt. Cole, 28th N. I.; Capt. Mandilhon, H. M. 54th regt.; and Capt. Peake, 22d N. I.

Crime.---"Ensign O'Halloran, H. M. 69th regt. of foot, placed in arrest by order of his Exc. Gen. Sir Alex. Campbell, on the following charge:

"For having in His Exc. Gen. Sir Alex. Campbell's office, in Fort St. George, on the 9th instant, made use of violent and insulting language to Major Leslie, H. M. 69th regt., his superior officer."

Head-quarters, Madras, 22d July, 1824.

Finding and Sentence.---"The court finds the prisoner, Ensign O'Halloran, H. M. 69th regt. of foot, guilty of the charge preferred against him, does therefore in virtue of the articles of war, established for the better government of H. M.'s forces, adjudge him to be placed next below Ensign Thomson, H. M. 69th regt."

Disapproved.

(Signed) A. CAMPBELL, Gen.,
Commander-in-Chief.

His Exc. cannot allow the publication of a sentence, so inadequate to a crime of such magnitude, without the expression of his entire disapprobation.

His Exc. Gen. Sir Alex. Campbell is also pleased to publish to the army, the following extracts from the proceedings of a general court-martial held at Fort St. George, on the 2d day of August, 1824, which court-martial was composed of the abovementioned officers.

Crime.---"Lieut. Charles Stuart, H. M. 69th regt. of foot, placed in arrest by order of His Exc. Gen. Sir Alex. Campbell, on the following charges:

1st. "For having replied to an official letter, under date 17th instant, addressed to him, by order of the officer commanding the dépôt at Poonamallee, in terms highly disrespectful and insubordinate.

2d. "For contumaciously persisting in the expressions used in the aforesaid letter, 17th instant, after having been told by the Fort-Adj. to withdraw the offensive communication, and forward another of a different tendency."

Head-quarters, Madras, 22d July, 1824.

Finding and Sentence.---"The court finds the prisoner, Lieut. Stuart, guilty of the charges preferred against him, and does, therefore, in virtue of the articles of war, established for the better government of H. M.'s forces, sentence him to be placed next below Lieut. Sargent, H. M. 69th regt., date of rank 14th September, 1823."

Disapproved.

(Signed) A. CAMPBELL, Gen.,
Commander-in-Chief.

Circumstances have occurred to pre-
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vent His Exc. Gen. Sir Alex. Campbell from re-assembling the above courts-martial, and it only remains for him to pronounce his disapprobation of the sentence, and to dissolve the court.

Lieut. Stuart has been found guilty of using highly disrespectful and insubordinate language, in a letter addressed to his immediate commanding officer, Capt. Edwards, and for contumaciously persisting in such conduct. For this crime, so subversive of military discipline and the well-being of the service, he is sentenced to be placed one step lower in the list of lieutenants, a sentence, under any circumstance, inadequate to the crime; but in the present case not involving the slightest punishment; for besides the officer next below whom the prisoner is placed, having gone to England for the avowed purpose of being placed on half-pay, the eight junior lieutenants of the 69th regt. will, on their arrival in England, be reduced to the same state, thus rendering it immaterial to Lieut. Stuart, whether he is for the present to be junior of that rank, or standing one higher on the list.

His Exc. Gen. Sir Alex. Campbell trusts, that had an opportunity been afforded him of pointing out these circumstances to the members of the court-martial, they would, on revision, have passed a sentence commensurate to the serious offence of which the prisoner has been convicted.

His Exc. takes this occasion of promulgating to the army, that if courts-martial composed as this was, principally of senior officers, will not support their own authority by duly estimating such transgressions, and marking them by adequate punishments, they must not look to him for aid. His exertions must prove ineffectual, and his interference unnecessary, when even the appeal to such tribunals is, as in the present case, futile and unavailing; these remarks apply equally to the court-martial on Ensign O'Halloran.

The sentences awarded to Ensign O'Halloran and to Lieut. Stuart, of the 69th regt., are remitted, and those officers will return to their duty; his Exc. considering it less injurious to the service that crime should go unpunished, than that he should sanction what is held up as a punishment, though in fact only an evasion of acquittal.

BOMBAY.

MILITARY APPOINTMENTS.

Bombay Castle.—June 21. Lieut. A. M. D. Elder to be adj. vice Steward, dated June 7; Lieut. J. Watts, 2d Europ. reg., to be quarterm., vice Osborne, do.; Lieut. J. Majoribanks, 3d N. I., to command Candeish Local Bat.—July 29. Ens.

Hebord, 5th reg. N. I., to be Mahratta interp. to 6th reg., dated June 7, 1821; Ensign H. Wood, 5th reg., to act as 2d interp. to 6th reg., N. I.; Lieutenant G. M'Can, 15th reg. N. I., to be Mahratta interp. to that reg.; Ensign W. Lang, 21st reg. N. I., as Mahratta and Hindoostance interp. to 1st Europ. reg., dated June 7, 1824; Ensign G. M'Donnell, 12th reg. N. I., to be interp. in Hindoostance to H. M. 4th Light Dragoons, dated June 21, 1824.

Native Force.

1st Gren. Regt. Lieut. T. R. Billamore to be adj., vice Rollings removed; Lieut. T. Clibborn to be interp. in Hindoostance and quartm., vice Teasdale, removed to 2d Gr. regt.

2d Gr. Regt. Lieut. W. Rollings to be adj., vice Billamore removed; Lieut. H. C. Teasdale to be interp. in Hindoostance, vice Clibborn removed.

3d Regt. Lieut. C. Johnson to be adj., vice M'Cullum promoted and removed.

6th Regt. Lieut. W. V. Hewett to be adj., vice Aitchison promoted.

7th Regt. Lieut. G. St. Barbe Brown to be interp. in Hindoostance and quartm., vice Brown removed.

9th Regt. Lieut. O. Boole to be adj., vice Peyton removed; Lieut. John A. Crosby to be interp. in Hindoostance and quartm., vice Brown removed.

10th Regt. Lieut. J. C. Peyton to be adj., vice Farquharson promoted and removed; Lieut. J. D. Brown to be interp. in Hindoostance and quartm., vice Crosby removed.

11th Regt. Lieut. J. E. Parsons to be adj., vice Jackson removed.

14th Regt. Lieut. G. W. Oakes to be interp. in Hindoostance and quartm.

15th Regt. Lieut. B. M'Mahon to be adj., vice Fredell promoted.

16th Regt. Lieut. G. T. Penley to be adj., vice M'Mahon removed.

17th Regt. Lieut. H. M'Can to be interp. in Hindoostance and quartm., vice Simpson promoted.

19th Regt. Lieut. John Swanson to be adj., vice Nixon promoted.

21st Regt. Lieut. A. Lighton to be adj., vice Clarke promoted and removed; Lieut. W. Wylie to be interp. in Hindoostance and quartm., vice Noton removed.

22d Regt. Lieut. H. J. Parkinson to be adj., vice Lighton removed; Lieut. W. Noton to be interp. in Hindoostance and Mahratta and quartm., vice Wylie removed.

24th Regt. Lieut. J. Outram to be adj., vice Allen who resigns.

Capt. Gallwey, 1st bat. 5th N. I. to act as Ass. Sup. of Bazzars, at Sholapore, on departure of Maj. Lamy, Mar. 12.—July 30. Lieut. Bell, Auditor General's Office, to succeed late Lieut. Hall as 1st Assist.

from July 13; Lieut. A. Johnson, 17th N.I. to succeed Lieut. Bell as 2d Assist. —31. Capt. Simpson to discharge duties of Assist. Quar. Gen. with Guicowar Subsidiary force during absence of Capt. Morse; Lieut. Col. Salter to take charge of Brigade at Sholapore, during absence of Lieut. Col. Russell, on duty at Poonah.

Aug. 5.—Lieut. Stack, of N. C. and at present Extra Assist. to Resident at Nagpore, to succeed to a vacancy in Nagpore Auxiliary Horse.—28. Lieut. J. E. Lang, to be Adj. vice Swainson, dated Aug. 15.

PROMOTIONS.

Bombay Castle.—July 2. 6th Regt. N.I. Ens. T. Ridout, to be Lieut. vice Gibson, deceased.

17.—19th N.I. Lieut. G. Whyte, to be Capt., and Ens. H. Jacob to be Lieut., in succession to Plaisted deceased.

24th N.I. Ens. E. McEarle to be Lieut. vice Hall deceased.

MEDICAL APPOINTMENTS.

Bombay Castle.—June 29. Mr. W. B. Taylor, to be an Assistant Surgeon.—July 12, Mr. W. Bird, to be 1st. Nat. Hosp. Assist. for the Ahmednagur Local Batt.—19. Ass. Surgeon, T. Stewart, to be Assist. Garrison Surgeon, at Surat, vice Phingle.—26. Mr. A. Montgomery, to be an Assist. Surgeon.—Sept. 2. Assist. Surgeon, J. G. Stuart, to be Surgeon at Abindabad, vice Law; and Mr. J. Howison to succeed. Mr. Stewart as Surgeon to the Zillah of Kairah.

REMOVALS AND POSTINGS.

Bombay Castle.—July 2. Cadets for the Engineers, cavalry and infantry (in Lists, No. 3, of 1822, and No. 1, of 1823) are posted permanently to regiments as follow:—

Engineers. 1st Lieuts. J. S. Grant, and W. Harris, to Engineers.

Cavalry. Lieuts. D. C. F. Scott, to 3d regt.; W. A. Crawford, 1st do.; C. R. Babington, 3d do.; W. Vardon, 1st do.; G. Rowley, 2d do.; W. R. Smith, 3d do.; A. W. B. Fitzroy, 1st do.; W. Trevalyan, 2d do.; W. J. Otley, 3d do.

Infantry. Ensigns P. J. Vaillant, 13th N. I.; W. C. Manesty, 8th do.; J. Young, 20th do.; T. W. Gardiner, 21st do.; G. Tollemache, 13th do.; G. Clarkson, 12th do.; J. Davidson, 2d Europ. Regt.; H. Aston, 10th N.I.; S. Landon, 16th do.; A. Goldie, 17th do.; H. A. K. Christopher, 2d or Gr. do.; D. E. Miles, 19th N.I.; T. D. Fallon, 7th do.; A. F. Wade, 18th do.; J. C. Anderson, 24th do.; P. Hennessey, 6th do.; W. Long, 8th do.; D. Malcolm, 3d do.; F. C. Hall, 4th do.; G. Pope, 22d do.; S. C. Baldwin, 20th do.; J. Skelton, 14th do.; H. C. Cole, 11th do.; E. Whicheo, 21st do.; J. E. Carpenter, 13th do.; J. A. A. Eckford, 1st Europ. Regt.; R. Colquhoun, 5th N.I.; J. B. Rind, 12th do.; E. H. Ramsay, 15th do.; H. Stiles, 2d Europ. Regt.; W. Purves, 9th N.I.; J. Malony, 10th do.; E. P. Del'Hoste, 16th do.; T. Foulerton, 1st. Gr. N.I.; R. C. Curry, 17th N.I.;—16. Lieut. D. M. Scoble, 13th N. I., and Lieut. A. Bradford, 14th do.; permitted to exchange corps.

Ens. G. S. Brown, 15th N. I., and Ens. J. Chesshyre, 16th do., permitted to exchange corps.

Ens. E. H. Ramsay, 15th N.I. transferred to 2d. Europ. Regt. as junior Ens.; and Ens. J. Davidson removed from 2d Europ. Regt. and posted junior Ens. to 15th N. I.

Aug. 9.—Lieut. J. C. Lascelles, 1st N.I. and Lieut. C. H. Teasdale, 2d N.I., permitted to exchange corps.

Lieut. H. W. Panget, 9th N.I., and Lieut. R. Meldrum, 10th N.I., permitted to exchange corps.

Lieut. G. Moore, 24th N. I., and Lieut. J. Ontram, 25th N. I., permitted to exchange corps.

FURLOUGH.

Bombay Castle, Aug. 29.—Ass. Surgeon C. Mactavish, 24th. Regt. N. I., to Europe for recovery of health.

MARINE APPOINTMENT.

Bombay Castle, July 2.—Senior Midshipman T. B. Davis, to be 2d Lieut. vice Gorely, deceased, dated 22 May.

KING'S FORCES IN INDIA.

[From the London Gazettes.]

PROMOTIONS, APPOINTMENTS, REMOVALS.

BENGAL.

16th Light Dragoons. W. V. Jillard, Gent. to be Cornet, by purchase; vice Stewart, who retires, dated 6 January 1825.

14th Foot. Hospital Assistant G. Evers to be Assistant Surgeon, vice Trigge, promoted in 6th Foot, dated 23 December 1824.

MADRAS.

89th Foot. Capt. E. G. Smith, from half-pay 31th Foot, to be Captain, vice W. A. Steele, who exchanges, receiving the difference, dated 23 Dec. 1824.

BOMBAY.

47th Foot. Lieut. W. Siborn, from half-pay 9th Foot, to be Lieutenant, vice Mair, appointed to 62d Foot, dated 11 November 1824.

67th Foot. Hospital Assistant A. Cum-
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ming to be Assistant Surgeon, vice French, promoted in 49th Foot, dated 23 December 1824.

CEYLON.

45th Foot. E. W. Lascelles, Gent. to be Ensign without purchase, vice Hope, appointed to 81st Foot, dated 23 December 1824.

Ceylon Regt. Lieut. Col. H. F. Muller, from half-pay 1st Foot, to be Lieutenant Colonel, vice Sullivan, appointed to 6th Foot, dated 6 January 1825.

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

6th Foot. Assistant Surgeon S. Hood, from half-pay 86th Foot, to be Assistant Surgeon, dated 23 December 1824.

55th Foot. Lieut. C. W. Sievwright, from half-pay of Rifle Brigade, to be Lieutenant, vice M. Forlong, who exchanges, receiving the difference, dated 23 December 1824.

[From the *India Gazettes*.]

BENGAL.

MILITARY APPOINTMENTS.

Calcutta, June 3.—The following Expeditionary Orders by Sir A. Campbell, K. C. B. Brigadier General, in command of the Force at Rangoon, are confirmed, viz.

Rangoon.—May 14. Paym. C. Grimes, 15th Foot, to be Deputy Judge Advocate General to the Force. The Governor General in Council has been pleased to fix the allowance at the rate established in Bengal. July 10. Lieut. Col. Morrison of 44th Regt. to be Brigadier General on the Chittagong Frontier.

PROMOTIONS.

Fort William, June 16.

54th Foot. Lieut. R. Woodgate to be Captain by Brevet, dated 27 Oct. 1823.

67th Foot. Lieut. W. Webster to be Captain by Brevet, dated June 4, 1824.

4th Light Dragoons. Captain Gerard S. Moore, from half-pay 65th Foot, to be Captain, vice Michael Kirby, who exchanges, receiving the difference, 19th April 1823.—Coronet Matthew Chitty Downes St. Quintin, to be Lieutenant by purchase, vice Coney, promoted in the 17th Light Dragoons, 8th Jan. 1824.—Harry Shakespear Phillips, Gent. to be Cornet, by purchase, vice St. Quintin, 8th January 1824.

11th Light Dragoons. Cornet Robert Hare to be Lieutenant, by purchase, vice Partridge, whose appointment has not taken place, 30th October 1823.—William Henry Warrington, to be Cornet, without purchase, vice Partridge, who resigns, 29th January 1824.

13th Light Dragoons. Cornet Arthur

Alexander Dalzell to be Lieutenant, by purchase, vice Hislop, who retires 5th February 1824.—Ensign Thomas Frederic Hart, from the 63d Foot, to be Cornet, by purchase, vice Dalzell, 5th Feb. 1824.—Veterinary Surgeon John Schroeder, from the 3d Light Dragoons, to be Veterinary Surgeon, vice Constant, who exchanges, 5th Feb. 1824.

16th Light Dragoons. Lieutenant John Vincent, from the 59th Foot, to be Lieutenant, vice Macdougall, who exchanges, 12 May 1823.—Sub-Lieut. Thomas Brett, from the 2d Life Guards, to be Cornet, vice Williams, who exchanges, 22 December 1823.

1st Foot. Lieut. Richard Bennett, from half-pay 24th Foot, to be Lieutenant, vice J. Clayton Cowell, who exchanges, 8th January 1824.

13th Foot. Capt. Robert Joseph Dehnam, from the 66th Foot, to be Captain, vice Ellard, who exchanges, 1st Jan. 1824.—Ensign Edward Pearson, from the 92d Foot, to be Ensign, vice Shawe, who exchanges, 29 Jan. 1824.

14th Foot. Lieut. John Liston, from the 38th Foot, to be Lieutenant, vice Ware, who exchanges, 23 May 1823.

20th Foot. Brevet Col. John Forster Fitzgerald, from the 60th Foot, to be Lieutenant Colonel, vice Bunbury, who exchanges, 5th Feb. 1824.—Capt. John Byrne, from the 35th Foot, to be Captain, vice Gethin, appointed to the 96th Foot, 20 Jan. 1824.

To be Lieutenants.—Lieut. Richard Church, from half-pay 31st Foot, vice Kidman, appointed to the 96th Foot, 4th February 1824.—Ensign Edmund Maysey Wigley, from the 82d Foot, by purchase, vice Lord Edward Hay, promoted, 5th Feb. 1824.—Ensign Duncan Darroch, to be Lieutenant, without purchase, vice Robinson, deceased, 25th Jan. 1823.—Richard Tasker Farlong, Gent. to be Ensign, vice Darroch, 25 Jan. 1823.

30th Foot. Lieut. Walter Foster Ker, from half-pay 23d Foot, to be Lieutenant, vice Onseley, appointed to the 96th Foot, 5th Feb. 1824.

38th Foot. Lieut. Robert Ware, from the 14th Foot, to be Lieutenant, vice Liston, who exchanges, 23 May 1823.

41st Foot. Capt. Robert Brown, from the 24th Foot, to be Captain, vice Townsend, who exchanges, 29 Jan. 1824.—Lieut. Francis Dickson, from the 69th Foot, to be Lieutenant, vice Norman, who exchanges, 3d April 1823.

44th Foot. Brevet Major J. Chilton L. Carter, to be Major without purchase, vice Guherie, deceased, 5 June 1823.

To be Captains without purchase.—Lieut. Daniel Caulfield, vice O'Reilly, deceased, 26 May 1823.—Lieut. Frederick Hemming, vice Carter, promoted, 6 June 1823.

To be Lieutenants.—Ensign Barrington

Browne, vice Caulfield, 26 May 1823.—Ensign Henry Dick Carr, vice Hemming, 5 June 1823.—Ensign Henry James Shaw, vice Sarjant, deceased, 6 ditto ditto.

To be Ensigns.—Hemsworth, Usher, Gent. vice Browne, 26 May 1823.—Gore Browne, Gent. vice Carr, 14 Jan. 1824.—Henry Nixon, Gent. vice Shaw, 15 ditto ditto.

46th Foot. Surgeon Daniel O'Flaherty, from the 14th Light Dragoons, to be Surgeon, vice Forster, who exchanges, 22 Jan. 1824.—Assistant Surgeon Richard Hewat, from half-pay 94th Foot, to be Assistant Surgeon, vice Robert Andrew M'Munn, who exchanges, 10 ditto ditto.

47th Foot. Ensign Angus Johu Millar to be Lieutenant, vice Keayes, deceased, 17 June 1823.—Appleton Marshall Robinson, Gent. to be Ensign, vice Millar, 1 Jan. 1824.—Ensign and Adjutant Eugenius M'Carthy to have the rank of Lieutenant, 31 June 1823.

48th Foot. Lieut. J. Marshall to be Captain by Brevet, dated 6 Aug. 1823.—Lieut. C. J. Vandermeulen to be Captain by Brevet, 20 Oct. 1823.

59th Foot. Lieut. Alexander Macdonnell, from the 16th Light Dragoons, to be Lieutenant vice Vincent, who exchanges, 12 May 1823.

60th Foot. Lieut. John Smith to be Captain without purchase, vice Lane, deceased, 11 May 1823.—Lieut. William Norman, from the 41st Foot, to be Lieutenant, vice Dickson, who exchanges, 3 April ditto.

87th Foot. Major Henry Browne to be Lieutenant Colonel, without purchase, vice Miller, deceased, 18 May 1823.—Brevet Major Henry C. Streatfield to be Major, vice Browne, ditto; Lieut. John Day to be Captain, vice Streatfield, ditto; Ensign Lawrence W. Halstead to be Lieutenant, vice Day, ditto.

To be Ensign without purchase. Nicholas Milley Doyle, Gent. vice Halstead, 15 Jan. 1824.

EXCHANGE.

Fort William, June 21.—Lieut. M. Schoof, 67th Foot, to be Lieutenant of 30th Foot, vice Deane, who exchanges.

BOMBAY.

MILITARY APPOINTMENTS.

Bombay Castle.—June 24. Ensign Child, 67th Foot, to act as Interpreter. July 8. Lieut. Sir K. Jackson, Bart. of 4th Dragoons, to be an Extra Aide-de-Camp to the Hon. the Governor.

GENERAL DISTRIBUTION.

Distribution of His Majesty's Forces throughout the British Empire.

ENGLAND AND THE ISLANDS.

Cavalry. 1st Life Guards, Hyde Park Barracks; 2d Life Guards, Windsor;

Royal Horse Guards, Regent's Park Barracks; 1st Dragoon Guards, Newcastle; 2d Ditto, Norwich; 2d Light Dragoons, Manchester; 3d Ditto, Coventry; 6th Ditto, York; 7th, Hounslow; 8th, Dorchester; 11th, Maidstone; 12th, Brighton; 14th, Exeter; and 17th, at Canterbury.

Infantry. 1st Foot Guards, 1st Battalion, Westminster; 2d Ditto, Portman-street; 3d Ditto, Windsor; 2d Coldstream, 1st Batt. Knightsbridge Barracks; 2d Ditto, Mews, Charing-cross; 3d Regiment, 2d Batt. Tower, London; 2d Regiment of Foot, Chatham; 7th, Manchester; 8th, Plymouth; 17th, Hull; 24th, Plymouth; 31st, Gosport; 53d, Weedon; 57th, Chatham; 99th, Portsmouth; 3d Royal Veteran Battalion, Jersey, Guernsey, and Sherness; 1st Veteran Company, Chatham; 2d, Isle of Man; Royal Wagon Train, Croydon; Royal Staff Corps, Hythe.

SCOTLAND.

Cavalry. 6th Dragoon Guards, Glasgow; and 1st Light Dragoons, Piershill.

Infantry. 72d Regiment of Foot, Edinburgh.

IRELAND.

Cavalry. 3d Dragoon Guards, Cahir; 4th, Dublin; 5th, Dundalk; 7th, Newbridge; 9th Lancers, Dublin; 10th Hussars, Ballinrobe; 15th, Cork.

Infantry. 3d Foot Guards, 1st Batt. Dublin; 1st Regiment of Foot, 1st Batt. Castlebar; 10th, Fermoy; 11th, Cork; 15th, Cork; 19th, Limerick; 22d, Dublin; 25th, Ennis; 26th, Trillick; 29th Kinsale; 34th, Enniskillen; 39th, Buttevant; 42d, Buttevant; 58th, Waterford; 61st, Limerick; 62d, Templemore; 63d, Naas; 65th, Birr; 66th, Boyle; 73d, Athlone; 75th, Fermoy; 78th, Dublin; 79th, Kilkenny; 81th, Clonmel; 86th, Newry; 88th, Dublin; Rifle Brigade, 1st Batt. Belfast; 2d Batt. Dublin; 1st Royal Veteran Battalion, Galway; 2d, Londonderry.

MEDITERRANEAN.

Infantry. 72th Regiment of Foot, Gibraltar; 18th, Corfu; 23d, Gibraltar; 29th, Corfu; 32d, Corfu; 36th, Corfu; 43d, Gibraltar; 51st, Cyphalonis; 64th, Gibraltar; 80th, Malta; 85th, Malta; 90th, Zante; 94th, Gibraltar; 95th, Malta.

NEW SOUTH WALES.

3d Regiment of Foot, and 40th Regt.

EAST INDIES.

Cavalry. 4th Light Dragoons, Bombay; 13th Lancers, Madras; and 16th Lancers, Bengal.

Infantry. 1st Regt. of Foot, 2d Batt. Madras; 13th, Bengal; 14th, Bengal

16th, Ceylon; 20th, Madras; 30th, Madras; 38th, Bengal; 41st, Madras; 44th, Bengal; 45th, Ceylon; 46th, Madras; 47th, Bombay; 48th, Madras; 54th, Madras; 56th, Mauritius; 59th, Bengal; 67th, Bombay; 69th, Madras; 82d, Mauritius; 83d, Ceylon; 87th, Bengal; 89th, Madras.

CEYLON CORPS—Ceylon.

WEST INDIES.

Infantry. 4th Regiment of Foot, Dominica and Antigua; 5th, Dominica; 9th, Grenada; 21st, St. Vincent; 27th, Demerara; 33d, Jamaica; 35th Barbadoes; 50th, Jamaica; 60th Regt, 2d Batt. Barbadoes; 77th, Jamaica; 91st, Jamaica; 93d, Barbadoes; 1st West India Regi-

ment, Barbadoes; 2d Ditto, part in the West Indies; 3d, Trinidad.

AMERICA.

Infantry. 37th Regt. of Foot, Canada; 52d, New Brunswick; 66th, Quebec; 70th, Montreal; 71st, Quebec; 74th, Halifax; 76th, Canada; 81st, Halifax; 96th, Halifax; Royal Newfoundland Veteran Companies, Newfoundland.

AFRICA.

Infantry. 6th Regt. of Foot, Cape of Good Hope; 49th, Cape of Good Hope; 55th, Cape of Good Hope; 2d West India Regiment, part in Sierra Leone; Royal African Colonial Corps, Cape Coast Castle; Cape Corps, Cape of Good Hope.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

BENGAL.

Births.—June 2. At Howrah, Mrs. J. Statham, of a daughter. 4 Mrs. M. Jones, of a daughter. 5. At Agra, the lady of Capt. J. Taylor, of the Engineers, of a daughter. 6. At Calcutta, Mrs. M. D'Rozario, of a daughter. 8. Mrs. Fisson, jun., of a daughter. 9. Mrs. C. M. Hollingberry, of a son. July 10. At Agra, the lady of J. Fraser, Esq., Civil Service, of a daughter. 12. At Calcutta, Mrs. Daw, of a son. 13. At Sylhet, the lady of Lieut. Thos. Fisher, Dep. Assist. Quart. Mast. Gen. of a daughter; at Cawnpore, the lady of Capt. C. King, 16th Lancers, of a daughter; Mrs. T. Ward, of a daughter; Mrs. Wm. Soubise, of a son. 14. The lady of Lieut. Col. J. L. Stuart, 68th N. I., of a son; at Allepoy, the lady of Capt. R. Gordon, of a son. 16. The lady of Capt. T. C. Watson, Fort. Adj. in Fort William, of a son. 17. Mrs. W. Ward, of a daughter; at Berhampore, the lady of Major Hackett, 47th N. I., of a son; at Sylhet, Mrs. J. Blechynden, of a daughter. 20. At Calcutta, the lady of the Rev. J. Hill, of a daughter. 21. The wife of Mr. R. Arrowsmith, H. C. Marine, of a son; at Nattore, Mrs. A. H. J. Martyr, of a daughter; Mrs. R. Martindell, of a son; Mrs. T. Bason, of a son; at Calcutta, Mrs. M. Siret, of a son. At Serampore, Mrs. L. D'Souza, of a daughter. 25. At Calcutta, Mrs. J. Roberts, of a son. 28. Mrs. C. Doucet, of a daughter. 29. At Calcutta, the lady of Mr. A. B. Fraser, of a son.—August 2. At Calcutta, Mrs. L. Sakes, of a son; at Sylhet, the lady of W. J. Turquand, Esq., Civil Service, of a daughter. 5. At Serampore, Mrs. J. Meudies, of a son.—9. At Calcutta, Mrs. C. C. Arratoon, of a son.

Marriages.—June 2. At Calcutta, Capt. J. Orchard, 1 Europ. Regt. to Miss M. Douglas, niece of Lieut. Col. J. L. Stuart. 10. At Calcutta, Capt. Loder, 16th N. I., to Miss H. Sandle. 16. Mr. A. D'Cruz, to Miss S. Moore. 23. At Dinapore, J. P. Maillard, Esq., to Miss S. Humphreys. July 17. At Calcutta, Mr. Mabeit to Miss Ann Wilson. August 26. At Meerut, Lieut. W. Beckett, 9 Reg. N. I., to Ann, second daughter of Major R. Dnrie, 11th Dragoons. 4. At Calcutta, the Rev. T. Reichardt, of the Church Missionary Society, to Miss M. E. Price. 5. At Calcutta, Mr. S. Sweeting, to Anna Maria, only daughter of the late B. Pratt, Esq., of Madras.

Deaths.—June 1. At Masulipatam, Mr. H. Russell, Esq., of the Corps of Engineers. 22. At Kishengunge, Assistant Surgeon A. Wyatt, 57th Reg. N. I. 23. At Allahabad, the lady of Lieut. J. R. Tallot, 59th Reg. N. I. 26. At Chittagong, Mr. R. Hitchens. 30. At Calcutta, Mr. T. Andrews, sen. July 1. At Ballegunge, G. M'Cowan, Esq. 2. At Secrole, Wm. Henry, eldest son of H. B. Armstrong. Adj. H. M. 14th Foot, aged four years. 10. Mr. J. Gates. 12. At Serampore Mr. F. Victor, aged 26. 13. At Calcutta Mr. W. H. Paine. 14. Mr. Wilkinson Purser of the ship Barossa; Mr. W. Morris. 15. At Keitah, Mary, the lady of Lieut. Hawkins, 38th Reg. aged 17 at Calcutta, Mrs. H. Seth. 16. At Calcutta, Mr. J. Gollidge. 18. At Meerut a Cornet J. Kirke, 11th Light Dragoons; at Calcutta, Mr. A. Dyson. 20. At Calcutta Master J. A. Seymour, aged three years. 21. At Calcutta, Mr. K. Jacob; E. C. Turner, Esq.; Mrs. F. D. Roza. 24. At Calcutta, Mr. H. Butler. 28. Drowned, Mr.

S. Austin, Foreman in the Dock-yard of Messrs. Kyds and Co. 29. At Benares, Lieut. C. H. Penrose, 54th Reg. N. I.; Jane Penelope, youngest daughter of Dr. Watson. 30. At Sangor, Lieut. Col. J. W. Taylor, 20th Reg. N. I. 31. At Chinsurah, the lady of the Rev. G. Munday. August 1. At Chinsurah, Lieut. C. Smidt; at Jessore, the infant son of D. Johnson, Esq.; at Calcutta, Henry Moore, infant son of Mr. J. Harwood. 2. At Chowringhee, the infant son of Lieut. Col. Stuart. 3. At Barrackpore, Mr. H. Innes, aged 17 years, eldest son of Lieut. Col. Commandant Innes, C. B. 39th Reg. N. I. 6. At Berhampore, Emma, second daughter of Lieutenant and Adjutant J. Gibbs, 42d Reg. N. I. 7. At Garden Reach, Mary Anne, infant daughter of Mr. T. R. Wiltshire. 9. At Calcutta, Mr. A. Hope, aged 18 years. Sept. 8. At Calcutta, E. A. Roussar, Esq.

MADRAS.

Births.—July 3. At Mangalore, the lady of Capt. W. Pickering, 50th Regt. N. I. of a daughter. 10. At Trichinopoly, the lady of A. B. Peppin, Esq., of a son. 25. At Nagpoor, the lady of Capt. Sandys, of a son. Aug. 6. At Madura, the lady of J. Horsley, Esq., Company's Service, of a daughter; at Bolarum, near Hyderabad, the lady of Lieut. Agar, of Russell Brigade, of a son. 11. At Trichinopoly, the lady of Captain Dun of a daughter. 12. At Madras, the lady of Lieut. Col. Commandant M'Dowell of a daughter. 15. At Royapooram, Mrs. Secluna of a son, since dead. 23. At Cocanda, Mrs. Smith of a daughter. 26. At the Presidency Cantonment, the lady of Capt. A. E. Spicer, of a daughter. 27. At Madras, Mrs. P. Kutchick of a son. 31. Mrs. Moore of a daughter. Sep. 1. At Arcot, the lady of Lieut. J. G. Green, 1st Regt. L. C. of a daughter; at the Presidency, the lady of Lieut. Purton, Engineers, of a son; at Tranquebar, the lady of Capt. J. Smith, 4th N. I. Bat. of a daughter. 2. At Madras, the lady of F. W. Russell, Esq., of a son. 3. At Madras, Mary the wife of Mr. Parr, of a son.

Marriages.—July 15. At Madras, T. Stephenson, Esq., to Miss E. S. Yates. 26. At St. Mary's Church, Mr. T. Barker, to Miss R. Lambert. 28. Mr. J. Snellgrove, of the Horse Artillery, to Miss A. De Siloa, of Viperi. Sep. 4. At St. Thomas' Mount, Lieut. and Adjutant H. S. Foord, of the Artillery, to Myra Anne, eldest daughter of Col. Taynton. 6. At Black Town Chapel, Mr. W. Grostate, to Miss M. Balfour.

Deaths.—July 5. At Salem, Mrs. Hunter. 8. Mrs. M. Paten. 9. At St. Thomé, Miss A. Simpson, sister of the late Col. T. Barrett; at Quilon, Capt. J. D. W. Rand, 5th Reg. N. I. 14. At Porto Novo, Thomas Parry, Esq. 18. At Trichinopoly,

C. H. Higginson, Esq. First Judge of the Court of Appeal and Circuit for the Southern Div. 19. Miss E. Lazaro. 21. At Belgaum, Ensign W. Duncan, 49th Reg.; Mrs. R. Goddard. 22. At Bolarum, Lawrence, son of Capt. J. Oliphant, Nizam's Engineers. 29. At Tranquebar, Mrs. A. Wright. 30. At St. Thomas' Mount, Catherine, infant daughter of Capt. Welch, 54th Reg. Aug. 6. At Samulcottah, Capt. J. Hume, 29th Reg. N. I. 9. At Vellore, G. Hewitson, Esq. Garrison Assist. Surgeon. 14. At the Presidency, Lieut. Col. T. Smith, commanding 24th Reg. N. I. 17. At Cuddapah, Mary Eliza, daughter of Lieut. Ross, Superintending Engineer, Ceded Districts. 19. At Masulipatam, Jane, the wife of Capt. W. James, Acting Paym. of the Southern Division. 23. At Madras, Mrs. Barbara, the lady of K. Arathon, Esq.; at Achener, while on his route to Madras, Lieut. A. Suter, of the Royal Regiment. 28. In a Choultry, near Warranilly, Pet. H. F. Robertina, wife of Lieut. Ross, Superintending Engineer, C. D. Sept. 1. Mr. J. M. C. Hughes. 3. Mr. J. Du Pont Godfrey. 4. At Pondicherry, M. Bernard M. Panthome, aged 80. 7. At the Presidency, Lieut. Gen. C. Lauande, of the Senior List.

BOMBAY.

Births.—June 7. At Colabah, the lady of J. Morley, Esq., of a son. July 14. At Surat, the lady of J. Romer, Esq., of a daughter; at Mozagon, the lady of Capt. Palm, 10th Regt. N. I., of a son. 20. Mrs. L. Joseph, of a son; at the Presidency, Gualior, the lady of Capt. J. Stewart, of a son. 21. The lady of Mr. G. Osborn, of a daughter. 27. At Kaira, the lady of Capt. Gibson, of the Artillery, of a son. 28. At Ahmedabad, the lady of W. A. Jones, Esq. C. S., of a son. Aug. 6. The lady of Lieut. Houghton, H. C. Marine, of a daughter.

Marriages.—July 3. At St. Thomas's Church, Capt. A. Macdonald, Bengal Establishment, to Maria, daughter of J. Elphinstone, Esq. C. S. 20. Rev. D. Young, Chaplain, to Harriet Frances, daughter of the late J. Fenton, Esq. of Doncaster.

Deaths.—June 15. At Surat, T. Bradley, Esq. Ass. Surgeon, of a fever. 20. At Rangoon, Lieut. G. Middleton, Bombay Marines. July 9. At Nagpoor, George Alexander, youngest child of J. Gordon, Esq. 12. At Broach, Caroline Mary, infant daughter of R. Boyd, Esq. Civil Service. 18. At Surat, John Strachan, Esq. Superintending Surgeon, Surat division of the army. 21. At Toka, near Aurungabad, Capt. W. Clark, in the service of H. H. the Nizam; Eliza Emma, lady of H. H. Glass, Esq. C. S. 24. At Dapoolce, Ens. James Young, 20th N. I. 27. At Mengaum, Major A. J. O. Browne,

10th N. I., late commanding 19th regt. 31. At Ahmedabad, the infant son of W. A. Jones, Esq.; at same place, W. Law, Esq. civil surgeon.

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

Marriage.—Aug. 24. By special licence, Philip Cortland Anderson, of the E. I. Company's Service, to Miss Lucy Young.

Deaths.—Sept. 28. William Harrison, Esq. Surgeon of H. M. 6th regt. aged 46. ---At the mouth of the Breede River, in South Africa, in Sept. last, Godfrey Saunders, Esq. of the Royal Navy, Commander of the Cape Government Brig Locust.

CEYLON.

Births.—July 18. At Colombo, the lady of J. Barnett, Esq. C. S. of a daughter 23. At Colombo, Mrs. A. Campbell wife of Mr. J. Campbell, of a daughter.

Deaths.—July 16. At Colombo, Mr. J. C. Weinman. 20. At Colombo, the infant daughter of Mrs D. De Neys. 22. At Colombo, 2d Lieut. H. Braham, of H. M. Ceylon Regiment.

PENANG.

Death.—July 25. Commodore Grant, the Naval Commander in Chief on that Station.

GREAT BRITAIN.

Births.—Jan. 8. The wife of Capt. J. Lamb, of the Ship Palmyra, of a son. 17. The lady of T. R. Thellusson, Esq. of a daughter. 19. At Kentish Town, the

wife of Capt. Riden, of the Ship Princess of Wales, of a daughter.

Marriages.—Dec. 22. At Gibraltar. Mr. H. H. Murdoch to Miss M. Tapp. 27. At St. Marylebone, C. H. Beagne, Esq. Royal Engineers, to Mary, eldest daughter of the late Major General Pringle, East India Comp. Service. Jan. 13. At Clapham Church, C. Turner, Esq., Lieut. 34th Regt. Madras Infantry, to Eliza, eldest daughter of the late M. Sketchly, Esq. of Clapham Rise. 18. At Middle, by the Rev. G. Bird, A. M. J. Watkins, Esq., Capt. 62d Regt. Bengal Infantry, to Mary Ann, only daughter of W. Watkins, Esq. of Shotton, Salop. 20. By the Rev. W. Arnstrong, Col. J. Sinclair, Bart. of the Hon. East India Comp. Service, to Miss S. C. Carter, sister to the lady of Col. H. S. Osborne, of Cecil Lodge, Cheshunt.

Deaths.—Dec. 17. At the Manse of Botolphic, Jessie Taylor, second daughter of the late J. Angers, Esq. of Calcutta, aged 8 years. 30. At Liverpool, A. Hamilton, Esq. F. A. S. late Professor of Sanscrit and Hindostanee at Haileybury College. Jan. 7. Ann, the wife of B. G. Babington, M. D. and second daughter of B. Fayle, Esq. of Aldermanbury. 8. Drowned at Gravesend, Mr. W. Bignell, Second Officer of the Hythe. 19. In Park Crescent, W. Fairlie, Esq. late of Calcutta, and principal of the house of Fairlie, Bonham and Co. of London. 21. At Gravesend, Mr. J. Brown, 2d Officer of the Waterloo. Lately, in the 78th year of his age, J. Holland, Esq. many years Freight Accountant to the East India Company.

COMMERCIAL INTELLIGENCE FROM INDIA.

Among the letters addressed to us by Correspondents in India, and submitted to our inspection by respectable Merchants here, from their correspondents in the same quarter, there is often a union of subjects that will bear separation advantageously. We have accordingly selected those which relate chiefly to Commerce and Shipping, for the purpose of placing them before the eye of the mercantile reader in a separate page. The following are extracts from some of the latest letters received.

Calcutta, August 9, 1821.—Shipments of cotton are still making on proprietors' account, and no sales effecting, except among natives for country use. Sugar continues dull, and will like cotton, be probably exported in a great degree on first account. Salt-petre nominal. No purchasers of Opium, of Gall Nuts, of Coffee, of Hides, of Sapan Wood, or of Munjeet. Lac Dye of favourite marks only saleable. Shell Lac, Turmeric, Ginger, Gums, Elephant's Teeth, Bandannas, and Choppas inquired after. Gunney Bags on the advance, and much wanted. Grain steady. Partial sales only making in Cotton Piece Goods.

Madras, September 18.—We have not transmitted your funds by this opportunity, hoping a more favourable exchange will shortly enable us to do it with advantage. Money is by no means so redundant as when we last wrote you, and a loan is talked of. Freights are high, but that is merely owing to the

few opportunities we have had of transmitting produce from this place. Two or three ships arriving together, would find considerable difficulty in filling up.

September 19.—The war at Rangoon proves to be of more moment, even daily. This Government are offering 20 rupees per ton per month, for *six months certain*, and much anxiety is manifested. The ship *Goleonda* arrived here on the 13th, the *Lord Amherst* on the 14th, and the *Lady Raffles* on the 16th inst. The *Lord Amherst* sails for Calcutta on the 23d. Freight is now eight guineas per ton, and looking up again, after the *York's* departure.

Bombay, September 8, 1824.—We have little to report on general subjects of commercial interest, except the fall of *freights* for London, to £9. which has already been accepted for 100 tons, in the *Upton Castle*. We ask the same terms for the *Marquis of Hastings*, shortly expected. Opinions now prevail that £3. a ton will be the rate before Christmas. Prospects are yet very uncertain for the cotton crop, and in the meantime we hear of no sales. In Cutch, which generally produces about 20,000 bales, there had been no rain up to a very recent date. The other districts have had partial showers. It is impossible to expect more than an average crop, at most say 100,000 bales. We have just opened a letter of the 21st ultimo, from Calcutta, which concludes with the following words, "Our Indigo crop will again be a short one, prices high of course. Exchange on London as last year."

Singapore, September 13, 1821.—The ships *Thames* and *Marquis of Huntley* were obliged to come in here, with a tremendous sick-list; the drought in Java has been the same as in most other parts of India; and the consequence has been that the vessels that watered last at Augier got the green stagnant muddy water, which brought on severe bowel complaints. They, and some of the other ships, were detained here some days, before they could get as much water as would carry them up the China seas. The *Marquis Camden* sailed a few days since, and the *General Harris* and *Lord Melville* are now in the roads. We are about making an aqueduct that will give sufficient water to any sized fleet. The last accounts from Bombay mention, they had not had rain for a great length of time, and they were fearful of severe sickness in consequence.

China.—Letters from Canton state, that Cotton was in great demand, and Opium was quoted at 1080 to 1100 dollars per chest for Old Patna, and 1030 to 1050 for new. The Company's Treasury was opened at 207 on Calcutta.

Note.—It being difficult to quote with preciseness the prices of the following articles, the mode of stating generally, whether they are at an advance or discount, has been adopted, as being sufficient to give a tolerably correct idea of the market: the Exchange being at par.

References.—P. C. prime cost of the article as invoiced at the manufacturers' prices, exclusive of freight and charges. A. advance on the same. D. discount.

Birmingham Hardware	P. C. a	Glass Ware	10 a 15 A.
Broadcloth, fine	P. C. a 10 D.	— Window	15 a 20 A.
— Coarse	P. C. a 5 D.	Hosiery	10 a 15 D.
Flannels	15 a 20 D.	Millinery	unsaleable
Hats, B. & Knell's	30 a 35 A.	Muslins assorted	P. C. a 5 A.
Chintz	15 a 20 A.	Oilman's Stores, Wyatts	P. C. a 5 A.
Cutlery, Table	P. C. a 10 D.	Stationery	15 a 20 A.
Earthenware	20 a 35 A.		

N. B. 10 s. rs. equal to 116 c. rs. Bazar weight, 16 chittacks equal to 1 seer, or 2lb. 13dra. English. 40 seers equal to 1 maund, or 82lb. 2oz. 2dra. 100 bazar maunds are equal to 110 factory maunds; and 3 factory maunds are equal to 2cwt.

INDIAN SECURITIES.

CALCUTTA, AUG. 9, 1824.

Buy.]	Rates of Premium.		[Sell.
R. As.			R. As.
37 4	Remittable Loan		36 8
11 8	From No. 1 to 320 of the 5 per cent. ditto ..		10 8
8 4	From 321 to 1,040 of ditto		7 12
7 8	From 1,041 to 1,440 of ditto		7 0
6 12	From 1,441 the last No. issued		6 4

	Bank of Bengal Rates.	Per Cent.
Discount on Government Bills		3 0
Do. on Private Bills		4 0
Interest on Loans on Deposit, open date		3 8
Do. 2 Months certain		3 0

	Rates of Exchange.
On London, 6 Months' sight, 1s. 10½d. to 1s. 11½d. per sicca rupee.	
Madras, 30 Days' sight, 94 to 98 sicca rupees per 100 Madras rupees.	
Bombay, ditto, ditto 92 to 93 sicca rupees per 100 Bombay ditto.	

	Freight.
To London, per Ton of 20 Cwt.	£ 5 0 0
Ditto.... per Ton of 50 Cubic Feet	8 0 0

SHIPPING INTELLIGENCE.

ARRIVALS IN ENGLAND FROM EASTERN PORTS.

Date.	Port of Arrival.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Port of Departure.	Date.
Dec. 28	Downs	.. Mulgrave Castle	Ralph	.. Mauritius	.. Oct. 1
Dec. 28	Dublin	.. Mars	.. Wilson	.. Cape	.. Oct. 20
Jan. 9	Downs	.. Olive Branch	.. Henderson	.. Cape	.. Oct. 30
Jan. 17	Downs	.. Atlas	.. Clark	.. Bengal	.. July 9
Jan. 17	Off Dover	.. Lonach	.. West	.. Bombay	.. Sept. 8
Jan. 19	Liverpool	.. Westmorland	.. Worthington	.. Bengal	.. July 9
Jan. 23	Off Portsmouth	York	.. Talbert	.. Madras	.. Sept. 19

ARRIVALS IN EASTERN PORTS.

Date.	Port of Arrival.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Port of Depart.
Aug. 1	Singapore	.. Joseph	.. Christopherson	London
Aug. 9	Bengal	.. Perseverance	.. Brown	Liverpool
Aug. 9	Bengal	.. Hindostan	.. Mac Callum	Liverpool
Aug. 15	Bengal	.. Catherine	.. Macintosh	London
Aug. 17	Singapore	.. Asia	.. Eastwick	London
Aug. 25	Singapore	.. Thames	.. Havside	London
Aug. 25	Singapore	.. Marquis Huntley	.. Fraser	London
Aug. 31	Bengal	.. Mellish	.. Cole	London
Sept. 2	Bombay	.. Upton Castle	.. Thacker	London
Sept. 2	Madras	.. Marchioness of Ely	.. Mangles	London
Sept. 3	Madras	.. Asia	.. Balderston	London
Sept. 4	Madras	.. David Scott	.. Thornhill	London
Sept. 4	Cape	.. Euphrates	.. Mead	London
Sept. 12	Madras	.. Rose	.. Marquis	London
Sept. 13	Madras	.. Golconda	.. Edwards	London
Sept. 14	Madras	.. Lord Amherst	.. Lucas	London
Sept. 14	Madras	.. Resource	.. Fenn	London
Sept. 15	Madras	.. Lady Raffles	.. Coxwell	London
Sept. 21	Madras	.. Fairlie	.. Oldham	London
Oct. 4	Mauritius	.. Hibberts	.. Thacker	London
Nov. 14	Cape	.. Nerina	.. Northwood	London
Nov. 22	Cape	.. Regalia	.. Hemming	London

DEPARTURES FROM ENGLAND.

Date.	Port of Depart.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Destination.
Jan. 4	Deal	Windsor	.. Haviside	.. Bombay and China
Jan. 4	Deal	.. Isabella	.. Wallis	.. Madras and Bengal
Jan. 4	Deal	.. Luna	.. Knox	.. Cape
Jan. 4	Deal	.. Lavinia	.. Brooks	.. Cape and St. Helena
Jan. 5	Portsmouth	.. Boyne	.. Lawson	.. Madras and Bengal
Jan. 5	Portsmouth	.. Rockingham	.. Beach	.. Madras and Bengal
Jan. 5	Falmouth	.. Palmyra	.. Lamb	.. Bengal
Jan. 6	Liverpool	.. Cornwall	.. Morrison	.. Bombay
Jan. 8	Deal	.. Vansittart	.. Dalrymple	.. Bombay and China
Jan. 8	Portsmouth	.. Venus	.. Kilgour	.. Cape and Mauritius
Jan. 9	Cowes	.. Echo	.. Dunlop	.. Cape
Jan. 11	Portsmouth	.. Lord Suffield	.. Dipnelt	.. Madras and Bengal
Jan. 20	Portsmouth	.. Lady Campbell	.. Irvine	.. Bengal and China
Jan. 20	Downs	.. Ridley	.. Blair	.. Cape
Jan. 21	Portsmouth	.. General Kyd	.. Nairne	.. Bengal and China
Jan. 21	Deal	.. Hythe	.. Wilson	.. Bengal and China
Jan. 21	Deal	.. Repulse	.. Patterson	.. St. Hel. & Bombay
Jan. 22	Gravesend	.. Elizabeth	.. White	.. Cape
Jan. 23	Gravesend	.. Waterloo	.. Alsager	.. China
Jan. 25	Deal	.. Bridgewater	.. Manderson	.. Bengal
Jan. 26	Gravesend	.. Royal George	.. Timms	.. Bengal and China
Jan. 26	Gravesend	.. Royal George	.. Ellerby	.. Bombay
Jan. 29	Downs	.. Amity	.. Johnson	.. Bombay

SHIPS SPOKEN WITH AT SEA.

Date.	Lat. and Long.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	From whence.	Where bound.
Sept. 12	—	Cumbrian	.. Clarkson	.. London	Bombay
Sept. 24	Off the Cape de Verds	Barkworth	.. Cotgrave	.. Bombay	London
Oct. 23	31 S. 7° 34 W.	Morley	.. Halliday	.. London	Bengal
Nov. 2	15 S. 31 W.	Florentia	.. Wumble	.. London	Bombay
Jan. 4	37 S. 29	Aurora	.. ..	.. Bombay	London
Jan. 5	15 S. 31 W.	Ableton	.. Percival	.. London	Bombay

GENERAL LIST OF PASSENGERS, &c.

PASSENGERS HOMEWARD.

By the *Lonak*—From Bombay: Mr. Russell, Mrs. Cooke, Mrs. Johnson, Capt. Cooke, Madras Rifle Corps, Dr. T. Stuart, Dr. Macintosh, Mr. Metcalf, Mr. Vigoureux, late French Consul at Bagdad; two Misses Russell, two Masters Cooke, Johnson and Russell.

By the *Princess Charlotte*—From Bengal: Lieut. Elton, 13th Regt.; Lieut. Polton, H. M. S. Nephia; Rev. Mr. and Mrs. Jetter, Capt. P. P. Morgan, and Capt. G. Onks.

By the *Atlas*—From Bengal: Lieut. Mends, H. M. Service, Mrs. Wrench, and three children.

By the *Westmorland*—From Bengal: Capt. G. Maxwell, late of the *Wellington*.

By the *York*—From Bengal and Madras: Col. J. Munro, H. C. Infantry; Capt. Cuppage, H. M. 46th Regt.; Lieut. Purcell, 46th Regt.; Lieuts. Forster and Gateshill, Madras Light Cavalry, Ensign Mellish, Ditto; Ass. Surgeon Gibson, 13th Light Dragoons; Rev. W. Reeve;

Mr. Griffiths and Family; Mr. Waddell and two Children, Mrs. De Carteret and Child, Mrs. Griffiths; two Misses Griffiths, Lieut. Mudgo (died December 5).

By the *Clyde*—From Bengal: D. Bryce, Esq.; Mrs. Bryce and Child; Mrs. Gabb and two Misses Gabb; Capt. Bourdieu, H. C. S.; Mrs. Bourdieu, and Miss J. Swinton.

By the *Atlas*—From the Mauritius: Mrs. Wranch and two Children; Mrs. Hawes and Child; Ensign R. Mend, 87th Regt. (died at sea)

MISCELLANEOUS.

The *Lord Suffield*, Dipnelt, from London to Bengal, arrived off Newhaven the 5th January, with loss of her fore-top-mast, having run foul of a ship in the Downs during the night. It is supposed she has three or four timbers broken.

The *Huntress*, Mallady, from Canton, arrived at New York 13th December; none of the Company's ships had arrived there, to the 1st of August.

LIST of SHIPS trading to INDIA and Eastward of the CAPE of GOOD HOPE.

Destination.	Appointed to SAIL.	Ships' Names.	Owners or Constructors.	Captains.	Where Loading.	Reference for Freight or Passage.
Cape and Madras. Cape, Madras, and Bengal	1825:					
	Gravesend. Jan. 25	General Palmer	George Truscott	George Truscott	E. I. Docks.	Capt. T. 4, Birchin-lane.
	Portsmouth. Feb. 1	Enterprise.	R. J. Saunders, Agent	James H. Johnston	Deptford.	R. J. Saunders, Agent, Old South Sea House.
	Gravesend. Jan. 31	Coromandel	George Joad	Thomas Boyes	W. I. Docks	John Lyncey, jun. 24, B-rchin-l. Sea House.
	Portsmouth. Jan. 31	John	And. Longman & Co.	Thomas Poppewell	City Canal.	Austice & Thornhill, Old South Sea House.
	Gravesend. Feb. 7	Marland	Thomas Ferguson	Michael O'Brien	City Canal.	Edmund Read, 1, Rones-court, Rones-street.
	Gravesend. Feb. 10	Madras	Rickards & Co.	Robert John Faver	Portsmouth	Capt. F. Jerusalem Coffee-house.
	Gravesend. Feb. 15	Lady Flora	Cockrell, Trail & Co.	Thomas Mac Douvel	Blackwall	John S. Brinley, 14, Birch-lane.
	Gravesend. Feb. 20	Lady Nugent	Tuo P. Macqueen	Charles P. Corpin	City Canal.	Buckles & Co. 33, Mark-lane.
	Gravesend. Feb. 28	Hope	John T. E. Flint	John T. E. Flint	E. I. Docks.	Gleclasters & Co. Old S. Sea Hse.
Madras and Bengal	Portsmouth. Mar. 1	Thalia	Fancy Robinson	William Henry Biden	City Canal.	R. F. Wade, 1, London-street.
	Portsmouth. Mar. 1	Phosol Merchant	Charles Stewart	James G. Stewart	City Canal.	Edmund Read.
	Portsmouth. Mar. 1	Eliza	Johnston & Macalpin	Thomas A. Watt	City Canal.	William Abercromby, 4, Birch-lane.
	Gravesend. April 3	Oront	David Sutton	David Sutton	E. I. Docks.	Barber & Neate, 21, Birch-lane.
	Gravesend. April 3	Royal George	S. Marjoribanks & Co	Thomas White	W. I. Docks	S. Marjoribanks & Co. 16, King's
	Gravesend. April 3	Malcolm	Joseph Soames	James Eyles	E. I. Docks	Edmund Read. [Atlas Yard.
	Gravesend. April 3	Neptune	Watts and Heath	William Reynolds	E. I. Docks	John S. Brinley.
	Gravesend. April 3	Woodford	J. C. M. vellege, jun.	John A. Cumberland	E. I. Docks	John Lyncey, jun. [Hall-street.
	Gravesend. April 3	William Miles	Alfred Chapman	Alfred Chapman	E. I. Docks	John Chapman & Co. 2, Leaden-st.
	Gravesend. April 3	Kingson	Samuel Beadle	Samuel Beadle	E. I. Docks	Capt. B. Jerusalem Coffee-house.
Bengal	Gravesend. April 3	Sir Edward Paget	George Green	William A. Bowen	City Canal.	Austice and Thornhill.
	Gravesend. April 3	Glennore	Hunter and Co. & Co.	Robert Henry Lane	E. I. Docks	Edmund Read.
	Gravesend. April 3	Recovery	John Chapman	Henry C. Chapman	City Canal.	Hunter & Co. 24, Old Broad-st.
	Gravesend. April 3	Bombay	Alexander Greig	William Luke	City Canal.	Isabster & Horsley, 11, Leaden-st.
	Gravesend. April 3	Cambridge	Palmer, and Co.	James Butler	E. I. Docks.	Barbet and Neate.
	Gravesend. April 3	James Sibbald	William Tindell	James Ralph	City Canal.	John Lyncey, jun.
	Gravesend. April 3	Orpheus	Henry Blanshard	Thomas K. Forbes	E. I. Docks.	H. Blanshard, 1, Old Broad-st.
	Gravesend. April 3	Tiger	William Terrington	Thomas Finlay	City Canal.	John Lyncey, jun.
	Gravesend. April 3	Africa	Buckles and Co	Henry Kent	City Canal.	Buckles and Co.
	Gravesend. April 3	Pero	William Tindell	John Skelton	W. I. Docks	John Lyncey, jun.
Batavia and Singapore.	Gravesend. April 3	Guardian	William Rutter	George Rutter	City Canal.	Edmund Read.
	Gravesend. April 3	Mary	W. D. Dawson	James Rutter	City Canal.	W. D. Dawson, 39, Old Broad-st.
	Gravesend. April 3	Norman	James Hunter, jun.	James Hunter	City Canal.	Cookes and Long, 60, Mark-lane.
	Gravesend. April 3	Minstrel	James Hunter, jun.	James Hunter	City Canal.	Edmund Read.
	Gravesend. April 3	Rosella	Brown & Arkelon	Charles Atkinson	City Canal.	Buckles and Co.
	Gravesend. April 3	Spring	South and Co	Thomas Atkinson	City Canal.	Edmund Read.
	Gravesend. April 3	Spring	South and Co	Thomas Atkinson	City Canal.	John P. & Co. 3, Freeman's
	Gravesend. April 3	Spring	South and Co	Thomas Atkinson	City Canal.	John P. & Co. 3, Freeman's
	Gravesend. April 3	Spring	South and Co	Thomas Atkinson	City Canal.	John P. & Co. 3, Freeman's
	Gravesend. April 3	Spring	South and Co	Thomas Atkinson	City Canal.	John P. & Co. 3, Freeman's

THE ORIENTAL HERALD.

No. 15.—MARCH 1825.—VOL. 4.

A DAWN OF HOPE FOR INDIA, IN THE SPECULATING SPIRIT OF THE AGE.

AMIDST the universal agitation created by the speculating spirit of the times, every spot on the surface of the habitable globe seems to have been ransacked, in order to discover data and materials for some new adventure in pursuit of wealth. Every county of England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, has its canal, its rail-road, its mining, banking, or other Associations. Every state and province on the continent of Europe has its loans, its alliance-insurance, its gas-light and other public companies; the almost-undiscovered and yet undefined shores of Africa have their Gold Coast mining adventurers; the extreme ends of the earth, in Canada and Australasia, their agricultural undertakings; and the new world of South America, from Mexico to La Plata, its countless Associations, to disembowel equally the depths of earth and ocean—to dive for pearls at the bottom of the sea—to bring up gold and silver from shafts a thousand fathoms deep—to develop the vast resources of all the new republics, and to give to the exuberant fertility of wild and uncultivated nature, all the aid of science, industry, and art. Since there are no longer devastating wars to devour the accumulating capital produced by active and persevering industry, the growing wealth of England seems to hang like a burthen around the neck of its possessors; and no scheme that human ingenuity could invent would seem too wild and extravagant for them to embrace, rather than lose a single chance of increasing that, of which the universal complaint is, that there is already too great an abundance!

In a late enumeration of the several public companies recently formed in England, there appears to be more than a hundred in number, and the nominal capital of these to make about a hundred and fifty millions sterling. Had general poverty been the characteristic feature of the times in which such Associations arose, it could not excite surprise to see that the end and aim of all was uniformly the amelioration of that state of poverty by the accumulation of wealth. But when a redundancy of capital is the evil complained of—when thousands, nay, tens of thousands, have more wealth than they can either enjoy themselves or tell what to do with, and risk its total loss with a hardihood of speculation that savours often of desperation and insanity,—it is, we confess, not merely remarkable, but melancholy and humiliating, to see how few of these Associations appear to have any other object in view than the selfish and exclusive advantage of the parties engaged in their formation. Collateral

benefits may perhaps spring from many of them ; but whether these or injuries are the probable result to the great mass of mankind, seems not to have entered for a moment into the contemplation of the projectors ; and we have not the smallest doubt but if two public companies were formed, the avowed and direct object of one of which should be to support tyranny, bigotry, and all that could enslave and degrade the human race, and the object of the other to liberate and exalt the dignity of our species, that the shares of each would be saleable in exact proportion to the supposed return of interest on the capital embarked ; and that millions of individuals, even in England—the fabled country of philanthropists and philosophers!—would, without a moment's hesitation, transfer their capital from the latter stock, if it yielded only four per cent., to the former if it yielded five.

This inordinate love of wealth is not perhaps difficult to be accounted for : debasing and corrupting as its influence undeniably is. The old countries of Europe in general, and England not less than any among the whole number, have grown grey in the service of Mammon. In all of them, rank or wealth is almost the only passport to distinction. Splendid talents will, it is true, now and then force their way up to the surface ; but the thousands which are held fast by the entangling weeds of poverty, and never escape from the oozy bottom of the ocean of life, are only known to those who make the depths as well as the heights of society the scene of their researches and study. Splendid virtues, however, which are far more deserving of homage and honour, will never effect the elevation of those who have no other claim to distinction. Men of rank stand first in the catalogue of human estimation ; men of wealth succeed ; men of talents follow : but “ a man of exemplary virtue ” is a phrase which has no heraldic value, and which does not enter at all into any classification of modern degrees. This is, however, the only important distinction which wealth will not obtain for those who desire it : the two principal ones of rank and talents are more within its reach. Baronetries, earldoms, marquisates, and even dukedoms, are all attainable by a due admixture of great wealth and conditional subserviency, judiciously and perseveringly applied. A *reputation* for talents is also to be secured by the same means, though exercised in different channels, and in somewhat a different manner. Since, then, the love of distinction is universal, and since wealth is now by far the most powerful, if not the only sure and certain agent by which to attain this universal object of human desire, it is not so much a subject of wonder as of regret, that the pursuit of wealth should be the devouring passion by which all others are literally swallowed up.

If the people of England were really overburthened with riches, as it is pretended whenever these wild adventures for employing their surplus capital are proposed, there would be a thousand ways in which they could advantageously relieve themselves from the oppressive weight of their cumbrous and unmanageable fortunes. To say nothing of the national debt, the payment of which would absorb the surplus wealth of all the world for ages to come,—could not some portion of their overflowing riches be applied to the maintenance of public institutions for the gratuitous education and maintenance, until able to maintain themselves, of all the male and female children of the kingdom whose parents were unable to spare, from a pittance of 12s. or 14s. per week, the sums neces-

sary to rescue their offspring from the state of savage ignorance and crime in which the poor of every country must remain as long as they are poor, and the rich will not assist them? Could not some *one* Company have been formed, amongst the hundred that are now afloat, which should have for its object the emancipation of some oppressed class of our fellow-creatures at home; the civilization of some savage and barbarous people abroad; the feeding the hungry, the clothing the naked, the instructing the ignorant, the helping the weak to defend themselves against the aggressions of the strong? Alas! the shares in such a Company would yield no *profit*. They would be at a discount on the Stock Exchange instead of at a premium; and while a Guadalaraja Company for improving the manufactures of Spain, and helping the infuriated tyrant and bigot Ferdinand to regain his strength, and swell the triumph of priestcraft and despotism, would be filled in a day,—a Company, whose sole object should be to promote the freedom and happiness of the human race, without reference to immediate pecuniary profit from the Association, would not be filled in a year.

The real truth is, that in England no man has money *enough*. It is notorious that the very richest of our peers and commoners,—men who possess incomes of from 50,000*l.* to 100,000*l.* a year, are among the number of those most deeply interested in the various speculations now afloat. Their fortunes are already immense; and the useful appropriation of such portion of their wealth as they themselves could not possibly consume in the increase of their personal pleasures, might, to a rational and benevolent mind, afford the most delightful of all occupations. But this is too sober and unfashionable a pursuit for the present day. The greatest personage in the kingdom, “the most polished gentleman of the age,” sets the example of building and pulling down, of decorating and destroying, of furnishing and unfurnishing, castles, pavilions, and palaces, till the union of the architect and the upholsterer is so complete that one knows not which predominates. Another distinguished personage has his chief delight on the turf, and wins and loses thousands on the issue of a race. Mr. Beckford spends a million in building an Abbey, in which he shuts himself up from all the world for years, to spend another million in the collecting of toys, till all its useless baubles are scattered by the winds, and dispersed in a thousand directions. Scottish Dukes begin castles which they can never finish, having neglected the wise rule of first sitting down to count the cost; Irish Earls squander at the gaming-table fortunes wrung from a starving and suffering peasantry; and English noblemen dissipate, in the most trifling and enervating pursuits, wealth that would make the poorest nations great, and countless millions happy.—And yet they have not enough! for so closely does the extravagance of their expenditure press upon their means of sustaining it, that any new scheme brought into the money-market which promises a return of one or two per cent. beyond the ordinary standard of interest, is grasped at with the avidity of the keenest hunger: and the most important interests of the nation, as well as the most sacred duties of life, are not merely neglected, but absolutely trampled under foot, to add a few hundreds more to the sums which *they* pass their whole lives in striving to increase; not as an engine of power to benefit their fellow-men, but for the mere selfish gratification of the lowest and most degrading passions. An extremely unequal division of wealth is the greatest curse that can afflict a country; and no

state in which it is progressive can preserve its virtue, its strength, or its greatness, beyond a certain period. It was this, indeed, and the corresponding amount of luxury and corruption which is sure to follow in its train, that brought the greatest nations of antiquity to destruction; and it is this which, sooner or later, unless a total change in her existing institutions arrest and avert the evil, will assuredly bring the pride of England to the dust. The day of her greatest elevation is perhaps already past; and her decline may even now be visible to some whose powers of vision can penetrate the surface of things. But that decline may be accelerated or retarded by the influence of example on example, and the power of mind upon mind. If the heartlessness and selfishness of the richer classes should continue their successful career, it will not be long before the few embers of public and private virtue that still exist be extinguished for ever. If the voice of Philanthropy, pleading for the enslaved, the helpless, and the poor, be heard, some hope may still be indulged of the evil day being at least removed. Time alone can unfold the result.

These reflections had been forcibly impressed on our minds by all that we have seen passing around us of late; but were revived with great force, by our having witnessed, within a very recent period, the most striking illustration of the spirit of the times: first, in the ardour with which two or three of the most pernicious and revolting Associations *for private profit* have been supported by men enjoying the reputation of honest and honourable characters, yet willing to risk hundreds on the slightest chance of gain, with a certainty of great evil: and, secondly, in the apathy, or rather aversion, with which two or three of the most useful and benevolent Associations *for public good*, have been turned from, by the same class of men, because the rate of interest per cent. on returns could not honestly be put down at so high a standard! Have the West Indian slave-holders a point to carry in Parliament?—a hundred of them are sure to be found at their posts; for their pecuniary interests are to be influenced by the issue of the question.—Is the recognition of the Independence of a new American Republic to be pleaded?—hundreds of merchants and monied men are sure to be in the House; they are deeply interested as traders to that country, as holders of shares in gold and silver mines, pearl fisheries, &c. And thus, questions that would never even be agitated, much less carried, on *principle*, are secure of both, when *pecuniary profit* is likely to result therefrom.

It is for this reason, and, we believe, for this alone, that India and its concerns occupy so small a share of the public attention, either in the senate, the newspapers, or on the Stock-exchange. The striking facts connected with the history of Singapore, involving, as they do, the greatest considerations that can engage the attention of the statesman or the philosopher, have never once been adverted to in either House of Parliament. The great question of the Freedom of Discussion in India, has never been even alluded to by one of the "public spirited" English Reviews. The banishment, without trial, from India, the Cape, and the West India Islands, of innocent men from their friends and connexions, as well as from lawful and honourable pursuits, in which they were deriving happiness for themselves, and doing much to secure it for others, excites but a momentary sensation. The Burmese war, and all the evils it has already entailed by the loss of lives and treasure, is hardly deemed

worthy of more than a casual notice. The destruction of a vast commercial establishment in the interior of India, under circumstances of the most aggravated cruelty and oppression, has attracted a little more attention: and this, principally, because the active exertions of several individuals, deeply interested in a pecuniary point of view, have been added to those of the few who took up their cause on the ground of principle alone, without any personal interest in the issue of the question. But still the affairs of India, including even this transaction at Hyderabad, cannot be said to occupy any thing like that portion of the public attention of England which they really ought to enjoy.

As a test of the accuracy of this assertion, let any man watch the proceedings in Parliament throughout a session, or follow the course of the topics treated of in the newspapers throughout a year, and he will be convinced beyond all doubt. And yet, India is an infinitely more interesting country than others which fill a larger space in the public mind. It is one of the most extensive on the globe, united under one supreme government; early civilized; remarkable for highly interesting associations, historical, literary, and political; rich in the wreck of former greatness, and materials for philosophical investigation; exuberant in all the productions of the most fertile soil; curious in costly, and, until lately, inimitable fabrics of manufacture; abounding in all the sources of natural wealth; and adding, to old mines of the richest gems and the most precious metals, certain indications of other mineral wealth in great abundance: so as to contain within its vastly extended surface, and varied climate and elevation, all the materials that mountains, plains, hills, valleys, lakes, and seas, can furnish for the sustenance and enjoyment of man.

From whence, then, can spring this indifference to its affairs? It cannot be its distance: La Plata and Peru are nearly as far away; New Holland and Van Dieman's Land are even farther. But mark the contrast.—A disputed battle between Bolivar and Canterac, on the shores of the Pacific, shall set the whole civilized world in motion; forged despatches from the United States are transmitted to Liverpool by the fastest-sailing vessel that can be procured; an express, with relays of the fleetest horses, brings the intelligence to London; second and third editions of the evening papers spread the news throughout the metropolis; the morning papers of the following day are full of the same subject; the geography of the varied route is analyzed with the most minute and searching severity; every ford and brook in the whole way is known; the calculations of the one party show the extreme practicability of the event: of the other its utter impossibility. By both, however, the public mind is agitated: and the prices of Mexican, Colombian, and Peruvian, stock, with the shares of the Real del Monte, Guadalaxara, Pasco Peruvian, and Talpuxahua Mines, rise or fall accordingly.

It has been said by some, that the hardness of Indian names offers a constant obstacle to any continued attention to the study of its affairs. Can the whole of the annals of India produce a word like that we have given above; which none, we presume, but a Talpuxahuan himself could pronounce? Compared with such a name as this, the sounds of Aurungzebe and Nadir Shab, appear to us melodious. But there are no such words as premium, scrip, and dividend, connected with Indian politics. The prosperity of India may be brought to the highest pitch of productive-

ness, as was the case, indeed, under the administration of Lord Hastings; but it excites no public interest, because India stock does not rise in consequence, nor are the dividends paid to its stock-holders at all increased. That prosperity may be not only entirely defeated, but the treasury be wholly exhausted, and the country brought to the brink of ruin, as has been done by Mr. Adam and Lord Amherst, and no one asks even *how* this has been brought about; so complete is the public indifference: because India stock does not fall in consequence, nor are the dividends paid to its stock-holders, in the slightest degree diminished.

This is the true key to the mystery.—The people of England, and their oracles of the press, who are sure to discover what most deeply interests them, and to dwell on it accordingly, will ring the changes, day after day, for months in succession, on the slightest variations of affairs in South America, in recognising the independence of which, all parties agree; because there are large pecuniary interests closely interwoven with every question relating to the new republics of that vast continent: while India, a portion of our own empire, shall never once engage their attention for a moment, because, as far as pecuniary interests are concerned, they have nothing to gain or to lose by any changes which can happen to it.

If there were no other fact than this to be urged as an argument in favour of the immediate Colonization of India by Englishmen, it would be a sufficiently powerful one; and enough to make the Legislators of the country pause before they give every possible encouragement to the employment of English capital, English science, and English industry, in speculations, which, whether they benefit the original adventurers or not, are sure to advance with rapid strides, the civilization, strength, and national importance, of the several republics into which they are introduced, and so to increase their force, as to make the despots of the old world tremble for their fate: at the same time that they discourage, nay, positively prohibit, the introduction of English capital, science, industry, and skill, into British India, whose interests it is our duty to advance as rapidly, at least, and whom we should, by such means, bind to us more firmly than ever, by mutual and reciprocal interchange of benefits, until the period may arrive for her separation and self-government, when she would part from us as a powerful friend, and be a second North America to us in language, principles of government, and paternal feeling, without the recollection of those injuries which America has hardly yet forgotten.

We have, it is true, already a much greater number of Englishmen in India than are to be found in the whole continent of South America: and this itself, one would imagine, should cause the scale to preponderate on the side of the former country; as all the numerous families and relatives of such individuals ought to take a deeper interest in the fate of the one country than of the other. But, in point of fact, it is not so; and the reason is this: the English in India now are, as they were in the days of Burke, mere birds of passage, who go to acquire a fortune, and to return and give place to others who may succeed them with the same views. No man has an estate, or, indeed, can possess one, throughout the whole country: and when he quits it, he brings away with him, generally, whatever fortune he may have amassed. The West Indies, with all the horrors of its slave system, are sure to find advocates, because

the planters in England are bound to defend them for the sake of their estates. The republics of South America are equally sure of friends and defenders, because thousands of men in England have property in their mines and their soil. The interests of Canada and Australasia will be defended by its Agricultural Association-share-holders in England; while India, presenting no such bond of interest, and having no such hold on the affections of the people of England generally, will continue, as long as this is the case, to be regarded with comparative indifference.

It gives us sincere pleasure to learn that a conviction of this important truth, namely, the necessity of exciting a pecuniary interest in the good government and welfare of India, has led some few public spirited and benevolent individuals to think of the formation of a Company for investing capital in the cultivation of sugar by free labour in that country, primarily with a view to undersell the produce of the same article by slave-labour in the West. That they will succeed in their noble and philanthropic object, there can be no doubt: for, though the most humane and disinterested motives prompt the leaders of the undertaking, there will be thousands ready to take shares in it, because it *must* yield a profit, and that not an inconsiderable one. It is a matter of the highest congratulation to those who feel an interest in the abolition of Western slavery, and Eastern despotism, to find that these great objects can be conjointly effected by an Association that will yield its supporters a handsome return for their capital,—the only sure and certain ground on which to obtain general co-operation. We shall reserve for a future article, probably in the present Number, if we obtain the details sufficiently early for that purpose, an examination of the Prospectus of the Company, and the data on which their calculations are founded. In the meantime, we shall not fail to watch with anxious interest every indication of an increased attention to India and her welfare; and, as we stand alone in this respect, we shall be the more desirous of rigidly fulfilling our duty.

Europe has her thousand tongues and pens to defend her rights, and to demand a full participation for her people in all the benefits of civilization and science. The rising republics of America, in the south, though but nations of yesterday, have hundreds of intelligent pleaders in the productions of the English press: Even savage and untutored Africa has Associations to promote the discovery of its unknown regions, to emancipate its sons from slavery, and to spread the blessings of freedom and knowledge over districts yet unexplored. Asia, the earliest civilized, the wealthiest, the most productive, the most tractable and governable of all the quarters of the earth, is alone destitute of advocates and friends, of associations and journals, to plead her cause. That other nations should disregard the interests of an empire, from which they have been successively driven by the arms of a powerful and all-conquering rival, is not to be wondered at: but that England, which boasts herself so much on her Eastern possessions,—which proudly pronounces these to be the brightest jewel in her monarch's crown,—which sends so many thousands of her sons and daughters to realize fortunes in her conquered territories, and drains from thence, in the form of revenue, tribute, and accumulated private wealth, a treasure sufficient to maintain a state: that England should not possess one public association, one established publication, one advocate even, exclusively devoted to watch

over and defend the true interests of India, must be a subject of wonder to all who reflect on the magnitude and importance of that distant country itself, and the considerations arising out of its numerous and well-founded claims on the protection of this.

We have an East India Company, whose professed and avowed object it is to drain from India the last shilling that can be wrung from its oppressed and impoverished people; who publicly proclaim that the Government of that country, while in their hands, shall never be any thing but an absolute despotism; and who will neither improve the condition of the people they govern themselves, nor suffer more benevolent individuals to do it for them. We have an Asiatic Journal, published under the auspices and patronage of the India Company, echoing all its sentiments, and opposing every thing that can advance the freedom or elevation of the people subject to their rule. We have a Tory Review—the Quarterly—from which no one can expect the advocacy of improvement in India, since it is the enemy of improvement every where else. We have a Whig Review—the Edinburgh—from which every one might expect the advocacy of freedom in the East as well as in the West:—but, to its shame be it spoken, it has remained silent on all the publications that have appeared in England on the Colonization of India, and the Freedom of Discussion, during the last three years,¹ though the destruction of that freedom created a stronger and more general impression in Edinburgh, where the families and personal connexions of the parties effecting it, resided, than in any other spot in Great Britain, so that these Northern Reviewers *must* have known the facts as well as consequences of their share in enslaving the Indian Press. We have a Retrospective Review—excellent in its department, which casts its eye over the past productions of every age and country,—but no Prospective advocate of improvement in the country of all others the most needing, and most capable of receiving it with safety and benefit. Even the Westminster, from which so much might have been expected, has, not much to its honour, maintained a profound silence as to Indian mis-government, and suffered even French Reviewers to be before them on the subject. We have Magazines of every shade and complexion, in which every thing is treated of by turns, but not one of which is devoted to the interest of our distant dependencies;² and for our public Newspapers, when we see one leading Journal, the avowed friend of freedom, refusing to insert communications exposing the misdeeds of Governors in India;³ and another, pretending to outvie even the leading Journal in its hatred of oppression, declaring that it dreads nothing so much as seeing the government of India *ever* taken out of the hands of the East India Company;⁴ to say nothing of the advocacy of Oriental tyranny in its most odious forms, by all the public writers on the side of Government at home, who consider it a part of their vocation to defend all the iniquities of its crea-

¹ 'White on the Colonization and Free Press of India.' 'Wheatley's Letter to Mr. Wynne, on the Colonization of India.' 'On the Expediency of applying the Principles of Colonial Policy to the Government of India.' 'Letters to Sir Charles Forbes, on the Suppression of Public Discussion in India,' &c. &c.

² We must again repeat one praiseworthy exception in the excellent article on the Colonial Press, from the New Monthly Magazine, quoted in a preceding Number. Still, however, in general terms, the position assumed above is strictly true.

³ Times.

⁴ Morning Chronicle.

tures abroad,—what hope is there left for India, but in the devotion of some one Publication to the constant and fearless exposure of all the defects of the system, and misdeeds of the men, by which and by whom it is governed?

There is absolutely none; and it is for this reason the more indispensable that every available means should be used to erect such a Work as a barrier against the further encroachments of arbitrary and irresponsible power; as a shield under which the weak and helpless may find some hope of protection from the violence of their oppressors; and as a channel through which at least Truth may be spoken, without fear of personal ruin and destruction, and the People of England informed, while the Rulers of India are kept in check, by its audible and frequently reiterated appeals to the Public Opinion of Europe and the World.

It will be a pleasing relief to the task of denouncing the evil that is sure to need exposure abroad, to be enabled from time to time to draw attention to acts of benevolence and virtue, intended to counteract these evils, and originating with philanthropists at home. To these joint purposes we shall gladly devote the greater portion of our Journal, at the same time that we may endeavour to win, by other attractions, a fresh accession of readers to the consideration of these important branches of inquiry and consideration. Mr. Cropper's exertions in Ireland, which have an intimate connexion with the development of Indian resources, as well as the employment of the numerous population of the former country, will also claim attention at a future period. But, for the present, having prepared the mind of the reader for the due appreciation of the benefits that must result to India by the establishment of a Company for the employment of capital in improving and increasing the agricultural productions of its soil—we content ourselves with announcing so cheering a prospect, and shall enter fully into the details when the materials are in our possession.

LOVE AND FRIENDSHIP.

WHEN sunk in brief forgetfulness
Th' exhausted senses sleep,
Will Love its vigils o'er distress,
So constant, hallowed keep,
As Friendship's pure devotedness
Wakes q'er the troubled dream
Of him, whose morning happiness
Passed like a meteor's beam?

When by the world forgot, forsook,
Will Woman linger still,
And o'er his scene of sadness look
With love's consoling smile?
When bleeds the heart, that long hath pined,
O'er broken vows, and withered youth,
Friendship alone a balm will find,
The gloomy mourner's grief to soothe.

TRACES OF CHRISTIANITY AMONG THE YEZEDEES, A PEOPLE
OF MESOPOTAMIA, WHO WORSHIP ONLY ONE GOD, BUT RE-
VERENCE THE DEVIL ON THE AUTHORITY OF THE GOSPEL.

IN the relations of eastern travellers, we meet very frequently with accounts of singular religious sects, the true nature of whose opinions and practices it is not easy to comprehend. Among these sects few have been made to appear in a more disadvantageous light than the Yezedees. These people inhabit a portion of the frontier of Turkey and Persia, encamped partly along the rivers, or settled in villages in the mountain of Singiar;¹ which, rising in the middle of an immense plain directly south of Mardin, and stretching towards the south-east, nearly parallel with the river Khabour, the ancient Chaboras, terminates a little to the east of Seccat-el-Abbas.² It is not very lofty; but its sides are rugged, full of caverns, and almost inaccessible. Its whole length may be about forty-two miles. The summit of this mountain is level and fertile, being watered by innumerable murmuring, meandering rivulets. It produces millet and barley in great abundance, as well as raisins and figs, which are celebrated for their exquisite flavour. The plain it overlooks assumes, in the months of March and April, the appearance of a charming meadow, carpeted with verdure, variegated with odoriferous flowers, and watered by many springs, increased very frequently into impetuous torrents by the melting of the snows.³

The greater number of the Yezedees dwell in black tents, made of cloth of goats' hair, which they surround with hurdles of reeds and thorns closely twisted together. Their form is square, and sometimes parallelogram; differing in this from those of the Turcomans, which are round like a tower. Like the Arabs, they move about in tribes for greater safety, and pitch their tents in a circle when they encamp, leaving its interior open for their cattle and flocks. By this means, neither thieves nor wild beasts can molest the animals in the night, without passing between the tents.⁴ In the winter they prefer the mountains; but as soon as the first signs of summer appear, they may be seen moving down the hilly slopes, like swarms of bees, and seeking the rich pastures of the Asiatic plains. Commonly they choose the banks of large rivers and streams, where the grass is more luxuriant for their cattle; but seldom remain above a fortnight in one place, before they remove in search of fresh pasture, which they sometimes cannot find for six or seven days, during which they stroll along while the sun is above the horizon, pitching their tents towards the evening. In this manner, a little nation, consisting of about two hundred thousand persons, subsists in the heart of Asia.⁵

They have the reputation of being robbers, and are said to be cruel, fierce, and inhospitable, particularly the tribe inhabiting the mountain of

¹ Description du Pachalic de Bagdad, p. 93 — 99. Garzoni, Notice sur les Yézidiés. Niebuhr, Voyages, &c. t. ii. p. 279, et seq. Olivier, Voyage dans l'Empire Ottoman, t. ii. 342, &c.

² D'Auvville, Géographie du Tigre et de l'Euphrate.

³ Rousseau, Description du Pachalic de Bagdad, 96, 97.

⁴ Michel Febvre, Théâtre de la Turquie, 4to, Paris, 1682.

⁵ Idem.

Singiar, which can send into the field a force of six thousand musqueteers, besides a body of cavalry armed with lances. Scarcely a year passes in which some large caravan is not pillaged by this tribe.⁶ They have even maintained several wars against the Pasha of Bagdad, which are said, however, to have been concluded oftener by gold than steel. Whatever prisoners they take, or rather, whomsoever they overcome in battle, they kill without mercy; and should any descendant of Mohammed, or Musulman doctor, fall into their hands, he is put to death with barbarous and excruciating tortures. This Father Garzoni asserts very positively, although he is not ashamed to tell us at the same time, that they are always in the habit of keeping in their villages one of these very Musulman doctors, to interpret and write answers to the letters they receive from the Turkish Pashas and other public functionaries, as the Yezedees themselves neither read nor write.⁷ Olivier agrees with the last-mentioned traveller, that the Yezedees are a wicked, cruel, and inhospitable people, differing in religion and manners from the other inhabitants of Mesopotamia. He says, that besides their settlement on Singiar, they possess a few villages on the east of the Tigris, where they maintain a species of independence. On each side of the river Zab, the Yezedees have also a great number of villages, and being given to agriculture, are rich in cattle, and less sanguinary than the Singiar tribe. These are governed by their own Agas, and belong to the pashalics of Mousul and Bagdad, according as they are situated in the territories of each. Many of these Yezedees live by ferrying over the Zab, in their kelleks, the numerous caravans that pass from Mousul, and Gezirah, to Erbil, Kerkouk, Sheurzour, and Bagdad. These kelleks, and the method of passing the river, are described by Niebuhr: they are composed of thirty-two sheep-skins, sown up in the form of a bladder, and inflated with air; four of these are placed lengthways, and eight in breadth:

⁶ Rousseau, Garzoni, &c. "The whole of this district of Sinjar, both the mountains and the plain, is under the power of the Yezedees, who call this their own peculiar home, and scarcely suffer strangers to live among them. There are, however, a few Jews who reside in the town of Cottoneeah, or the Island in the Lake, and act generally as brokers, for the sale and purchase of the plunder which they bring in from their predatory excursions."—*Manuscript Journal*.

⁷ This is doubtful, as the reader will perceive by the following curious relation: "The Holy City of these Yezedees is said to be in the mountains of Kourdistan, on the east of the Tigris; and another of their celebrated religious places is one called Sheikh Khan, (where their chief, Adi, is interred,) between Mousul and Amadia, to which they make an annual pilgrimage for the performance of some religious rites. The people of the country say, it happened on one occasion, that a Turkish military commander surprised them at this place, while engaged in worship, by coming suddenly on them at night, and that his force being too powerful for them to make any successful resistance, they fled with great precipitation, leaving one of their sacred books behind. This the Turkish officer took possession of, and even had the patience to read some of it, so that it was most probably written in Arabic; but finding it, as he said, to be full of infidelity and profaneness, he destroyed it, in the same way, and on the same principle, that instigated the Caliph Omar to order the burning of the Alexandrian Library, and Father Sicard to destroy the Papyrus MSS. of the old Egyptians, found by him in Egypt, explanatory of their hieroglyphic or sacred language. The general opinion is, that these Yezedees have no sacred book; but this, when said by Mohammedans, simply means that they have neither the Bible, the New Testament, nor Koran. If the anecdote of the Turkish officer be well-founded, however, it is clear that they once did, and, it is probable, still do, possess some written records."—*Manuscript Journal*.

upon the oblong square thus formed, a covering of planks is fastened. Such is the raft that bears travellers across the Zab. The traveller and his baggage are placed upon the kollek, and two Yezedees steer it across the stream, which is extremely rapid and troubled. It is said, that on taking offence at the passengers, they have been known to upset the kollek, and drown those who were passing, in the river. Niebuhr observes, that when he crossed, the air had escaped pretty much out of the skins, and the raft sunk considerably, which obliged him to throw a portion of his baggage into the river. The cattle were swam over the stream, three or four of them being tied together, and a Yezedee, with a sheep-skin under his breast, swimming before, and pulling them after him by a rope.⁸

Their dress resembles that of the Turks, except that their inner garment is not slit in front; it has merely a round hole sufficiently large to admit the head, which arises from a superstitious persuasion that there is something mysterious in the circle, for they say that a large ring of gold and light descended from heaven upon the neck of Sheikh *Adi*, the restorer of their religion, *after he had fasted forty days*. Their fakirs, or monks, (who marry, however, like the rest, and have sometimes two wives,) are dressed in black; and their women, until late years, wore the blue shift in use among the Bedouin women, and preferred to white because it keeps clean longer. The cause of its falling into disuse was as follows: The chief of the Yezedees maintains a kind of domestic minister, called *Kotchek*, with whom he consults upon all occasions. The *Kotchek* affords his advice also to any of the sect who may stand in need of it; and sometimes entertains the ambition of being the oracle of his nation. He pretends to be favoured with particular revelations in his dreams; and on one occasion it was revealed to him (by the Devil, according to Father Garzoni) that *blue shifts* were of evil omen, and displeasing to Satan. This was sufficient to cause it to be signified to all the tribes that *blue* was a proscribed colour, and that persons hoping to be saved must immediately wear white linen. The obedience of the Yezedees has been ever since so exact, that should any one of them lodge by chance in the house of a Turk or Christian, he would suffer any extremity of cold rather than sleep under a blue counterpane.

Their external appearance, it must be owned, is hideous; for as they never cut their hair or shave their beards, it is no unusual thing, in the market-place of Mousul, to see one of them with his lips completely hidden by his mustachios and beard, which often curl into the mouth.⁹

⁸ This river, the Zab, is the ancient Lycus, near which stood the village of Arbela (hod. Erbil), where Darius left the greater part of his baggage when marching against Alexander.—“*Agmen Mesopotamiæ campos impleverat.—Jam pervenerat ad Arbela, vicum nobilem sud clade facturum. Hic commeatuum sarcinarumque majore parte deposita, Lycum amnem ponte junxit, et per dies quinque, sicut antè Euphratem, trajecit exercitum.*”—*Quintus Curtius*, l. iv. c. 35.

⁹ The different notions which travellers have formed of the Yezedees, as to their personal appearance, may be accounted for by supposing that some saw the mountaineers, and some those who dwell in the plains. Febyre says, “*Ils sont assez beaux hommes, fort blanc, et bien proportionnez.*” Elsewhere they have been noticed as of a dark olive colour. Both descriptions are correct. “The difference I had noticed in the physiognomy and complexion of the party of these Yezedees whom we met at the Khan in Orfah, must have been occasioned by their residing, some in the mountains, other in the plains. In the one there is snow for a great portion of the year; on the other, the heat is equal to that of any part

Some of them cultivate the ground, as has been said, and others are herdsmen and shepherds; but all, whether stationary or wandering, are kept in great poverty by the oppression of the Turks, with the exception of those few who preserve a precarious independence beyond the Tigris.¹⁰ The grain and fruits of Singiar are unknown to the wandering tribes, who subsist chiefly on flesh and milk. Wheaten bread is not known among them, and their little thin cakes of rye or barley are baked on round iron plates, and eaten hot, when they entertain a guest. At other times they bake in the morning what may serve the whole day, although when cold this bread is very insipid. Either through superstition or from experience of some noxious qualities, they abstain from gourds and lettuces. Of wine they are extravagantly fond, and are said to drink it to excess to show their contempt for Mohammed and his precepts. When intoxicated they are not mischievous, and do not blaspheme, says Michel Febvre, like the greater part of Christians; but only sing aloud, embrace each other, and utter protestations of affection. He observes, however, that they are great gluttons; and when they are invited to any man's table, rush in and seize the first place, lest it should be full before they are able to reach it. When once they are seated, no consideration can induce them to stir; they eat till they are tired, and drop to sleep where they sit. When they awake they begin again to eat, continuing thus very often for four and twenty hours together. Nor do they ever go away before their host convinces them with oaths that every mouthful of wine and victuals in his house are exhausted. 'Then every man goes' away, wishing him all manner of prosperity, and looks out for another invitation. It is remarkable that they frequently bestow on their wines the name of "Christ's Blood," as the Italians have their *Lachryma Christi*; and the person who invites another to drink, encourages him with these words:—"Come, take this cup of Christ's Blood!" The person receiving the cup, however superior to him who presents it, kisses his hand, and all those who are present rise while he drinks, and make a profound obeisance, with their arms crossed upon their breasts; afterwards they again seat themselves. Niebuhr adds to this account of Febvre's, that if by chance a drop of wine should be spilled, they carefully scrape up the earth on which it falls, and put it in some place where it may not be trodden on.

Hyde also relates this particular respecting Christ's blood, without appearing to draw from it the conclusion, that they are an heretical sect of Christians, descended very probably from the Arians, as Febvre suspected, who tells us he had often witnessed this curious ceremony. That they are Christians, however, there can be little doubt, although

of the world: so that fair complexions, light hair, and blue eyes, might be produced under the same degree of latitude with the Indian colour, dark hair, and black eyes, as I have seen them."—*MS. Journal*.

¹⁰ "There is no great head or chief of the Yezzeedes as a nation; but the people of the towns on the plains, and in the hills, have their own governors, distinct from the wanderers on the mountains. The people of the towns live by agriculture, and such trades and manufactures as are suited to their wants. The mountaineers are in tribes, with Sheikhs at their heads, and live chiefly by the plunder of the caravans, to obtain which they descend on the plain, and intercept the passage of the high road. There are also tribes scattered about the plain, even near Mardin, and these lead the same kind of life. The mountaineers are said, however, to be the most savage and barbarous of the whole."—*MS. Journal*.

travellers have accused them of strange and abominable superstitions. In the first place, it is said that they worship the Devil; and, while they acknowledge his being, pay no adoration to the Almighty.¹¹ They are accused also of paying divine honours to the sun, because, when his first rays strike into their tents in the morning, they have been observed to rise up, show a profound reverence, and other tokens of adoration. It is likewise reported, that they use no prayers, nor sacrifices, nor any religious rites; and only abstain from pronouncing the name of Satan. Others relate that they submit to circumcision, but whether through any ordinance of religion, or merely as a custom prevailing immemorially in the countries they inhabit, is not decided. It is further added, that in the interior of their houses, every person has certain images of serpents and rams, in memory of the serpent which tempted Eve, and the ram given to Abraham to offer up instead of Isaac; and that they worship these as the Romans did their Lares and Penates. Hyde imagined that their favourite idol was a statue of the patriarch Seth, whom, it appears, they look upon as the founder of their religion, and whose works (for he was an author) they pretend still to possess.¹² This volume, it seems, is preserved and hidden with as much care as the statue; and if any member of the sect should venture at any time to show either of these sacred things to a stranger, he would be slain immediately by his brethren. The same learned author, as well as Garzoni, had moreover heard that in a certain season of the year, all the members of this diabolical sect congregate together in the neighbourhood of Sheikh Adi's tomb, in the principality of Amadia, where they hold an assembly during a whole day and a night. In crossing the plains of Mesopotamia to reach this sacred spot, these pilgrims very often plunder the caravans in the country round Mousul and the mountains of Kourdistan. Garzoni asserts, that the unmarried women are not allowed to be present at this festival; but Hyde, on the authority of a companion of a certain Syrian friend of his, tells us of a virgin who mingled in these orgies. Be this as it may, it appears that all the men and women present feast and drink together, until late at night, when suddenly the lamps are extinguished, and the whole assembly rushes into the indulgence of indiscriminate lust. "These sacred festivals of theirs," exclaims Hyde, "are therefore nothing but profane works of darkness!" He could not have been ignorant, that the the self-same accusations were preferred against the primitive Christians, not only by the Pagans, but by many believers in the Gospel, who were denominated heretics; and that the orthodox in turn, accused them of like practices, apparently on very slender foundations. Upon what grounds did this learned man admit the above story to the disadvantage of the Yezedees? Why, he knew something of a certain Syrian, Andrew Pharah by name, who it seems had heard it from the mouth of some acquaintance of his—*socius aliquis ei narravit*, &c.; and upon the

¹¹ The author of the description of the Pashalic of Bagdad, seems very contradictory on the religion of these people. He says, "They are barbarians, who know neither laws, nor *manners*, nor *fasts*, nor *festivals*, nor *prayers*." Three or four lines further on, however, he observes, that "they *adore* one God under different emblems, especially under that of the sun." But how can a people *adore* God, who have neither prayers nor festivals? The error about the sun is sufficiently exposed by Fevre.

¹² This corroborates the story of the Turkish commander, related in note 7.

strength of this "certain person," we are to believe such an unaccountable tale of prostitution. But Garzoni relates the same thing: grant that he does, his testimony is good for nothing, all he says being built upon an "on dit." What if the other accusations against this people should be no better supported? There are very contradictory accounts. The safest course seems to be, if we are anxious to arrive at truth, to confide in those whose opportunities of being well informed have been most ample, who have lived and conversed familiarly with persons of this sect, and whose relations bear most marks of freedom from prejudice.

Father Garzoni, a friar, who lived eighteen years in Kourdistan, has published a short notice on these singular people, which, in M. Silvestre de Sacy's translation, we have now before us. It is curious, and in some measure, valuable; but few would judge from reading it, that the author had passed eighteen years in the near neighbourhood of the Yezedees, for it is exceedingly incomplete. Its writer seems to have been a man almost totally unaccustomed to reason on what he saw, nor does he seem to have possessed any extraordinary tact for observation, or to have known what portion of his narrative required illustration and extension, and what did not. Hence arises his wondering at trifles, while he passes by the most extraordinary things without a remark. For example, he observes that they never eat wheaten bread, and that he was at a loss to know why; he might have satisfied himself very easily, if he had reflected that the lands they cultivate, do not produce wheat so well as rye and barley, and that therefore they sow such grains as appear to thrive best in the soil. In another place, upon remarking that they never fasted or prayed, he gives as a reason for an omission which must have appeared wonderful to a Roman Catholic Friar, that the *Sheikh Yezid* had offered up satisfaction for all such as should profess his religion to the end of the world. In giving this account, it seems never to have occurred to him that *Sheikh Yezid* was no other than *Jesus Christ* himself, as the Yezedees themselves assert; "for they call the Christians their brethren," says Michel Febvre, "in the belief that *Jesus Christ* and their *Sheikh Yezid* was one and the same person."¹³ Garzoni himself relates that they believe in all the prophets and saints who are revered by the Christians; only, he adds, they couple with this belief the persuasion that all those holy personages were more or less distinguished from other men by their virtue, in proportion as they were more or less possessed by the Devil; who, according to them, was especially manifest in Moses, *Jesus Christ*, and Mohammed. In a word, says he, they believe that it is God who commands in this universe, confiding, however, to the Devil the execution of his orders.

The vast respect of the Yezedees for Christianity is shown by their kissing the very walls and doors of the monasteries in their neighbourhood, and also by their taking off their shoes when they enter them, in the hope of rendering the presiding saint more propitious thereby. If they happen to dream, during illness, of any of these holy places, it is their practice, on recovery, to bear little offerings of incense, wax, or honey, to the monks, believing them of course to have been instrumental in their restoration. By Garzoni's own account, therefore, if they do not pray, they are grate-

¹³ Beausobre, a careful and critical historian, and, besides, the most learned man who has ever noticed the Yezedees, is positive that *Jesus* and *Yezid* are the same person.—*Hist. Crit. de Manichéisme*, t. ii. l. ix.

ful. Another circumstance which ought to have reconciled this worthy friar to these poor ignorant people, is their vast veneration for relics; he himself telling us that they value so highly the "old shirts," which are thrown aside by the chief of their religion, that they will often give forty piastres for one of them, to use as a winding-sheet, as in that case they are sure of a good reception in the other world.¹⁴ In default of a whole garment, however, they will put up with a piece: so that we suspect this Chief carries on a very considerable traffic in old clothes. It is indeed said, that he now and then condescends to send persons one of his shirts as a present; in recompense for which, as well as for the hospitality he exercises towards his brethren, the Yezedees send him secretly a portion of all the plunder they take in their depredatory wars.

To return to the authors who have given an account of this sect:—Sestini, an Italian abbe, makes mention of them in his *Voyage to Bassorah*; but his information, according to M. de Saoy, is very inconsiderable. As we had occasion formerly to consult his work on another subject, we readily believe this; for he appeared to us a mere trifler. Olivier, likewise, in his *Voyage dans l'Empire Othoman, l'Egypte et la Perse*, takes notice of them, but in a cursory and unsatisfactory manner. M. Niebuhr, in his *Journey from Bagdad to Mousul*, has occasion to speak of the subject, as he was ferried over the Zab by persons of this sect. As far as his situation afforded him any opportunity for observation, he would doubtless be correct and full; but he saw little of the Yezedees, and gathered most of his notions of them from their enemies. In spite of this, he discovered many errors in the prevailing notions of the sect, which we shall hereafter notice. The fullest and most authentic account, however, is to be found in the 'Théâtre de la Turquie' of M. Febyre, published at Paris, 1682. This author had actually lived for some time with the Yezedees, and was evidently a man of much curiosity and research. By his assistance and that of a MS. Journal, of a route from Orfah and Mardin to Bagdad, we hope to be able to remove some few errors which have hitherto prevailed amongst the learned on this curious subject.

Niebuhr was assured that they did not invoke or worship the Devil, but, on the contrary, adored one only God, whom they believed to be the creator and benefactor of all men. Nevertheless, he observes, they were averse to mention the name of Satan, or to be present when it was mentioned by others. In illustration of this fact, he relates that when they repair to Mousul, to dispose of their eggs and butter, the common people in the market-place endeavour to get their goods in their hands before payment, when, under pretence of quarrelling about the price, they curse and abuse the Devil to that degree, that these superstitious people run away without their money, which is the thing aimed at. Hyde likewise informs us, that when the Christians or Musulmans of Mousul happen to meet a Yezedee in the market-place or in the street, they draw a circle

¹⁴ The Fakirs of the sect also visit the sick, "Quand on les appelle, auprès d'un malade, ils lui imposent les mains sur le cou et sur les épaules, et sont bien récompensés de leurs peines. Si ils sont mandés pour assurer à un mort le bonheur dans l'autre monde, avant de vêtir le cadavre, ils le dressent sur ses pieds, et lui touchent légèrement le cou et les épaules; ensuite ils le frappent de la paume de la main droite, lui adressant en même temps ces mots en langue Kurde, *aru bëhescht*, c'est à dire *vas en paradis*. Ils sont chèrement payés pour cette cérémonie, et ne se contentent point d'une modique rétribution."—*Garzoni*.

on the ground round about him, and his superstition being so great that he believes it impossible to go out of it before some one breaks the charm of the circle, while he stands enclosed, taunt and mock at the name of Satan, to his great torment and mortification. In the MS. Journal before mentioned, we have the following illustration of the manner in which they listen to abuse of Satan:—

In the expressions naturally drawn forth by such a recital as we heard from the Yezedees, of the depredations and cruelty of the Arabs who now obstructed our way, all kinds of maledictions were mingled, and more particularly the common one of calling them 'devils and sons of devils, and fit only, as some added, to live with devils in the lower regions of hell.' The Yezedees, who honour Satan as a prince and servant of the Most High, executing only his sovereign will upon the earth, are shocked beyond measure at any disrespectful mention of his name; and they themselves avoid even the use of certain words in Arabic which may have any affinity in sound to that of *Sheitan*, that they may not take the name of this lord in vain. They were angry beyond expression, therefore, at that which they now heard from almost every mouth of our assembly, and sullenly shunned all reply to our questions, and all communication with us afterwards; and it was thought, that had their numbers been equal to the task, they would have vented their anger in a more hostile way.

From what I could observe of their physiognomy and general cast of appearance, they looked more like Indians than either Arabs or Turks. Their figures were lean and lank; their features small, but sharp and expressive; their colour not a glowing sun-burnt brown, but a deadly or sickly olive of the deepest cast; their hair long, black, silky, and glossy; their mustachios and beards full.

They venerate the Christian religion, and kiss the hands of the priests, when they visit them in the neighbouring towns. They receive the sacrament of the Lord's supper, also, from them; and believing the wine to be the real blood of Jesus, are careful not to suffer a drop of it to fall on the ground, or even on their beards, while drinking.

The reason they assign for the respect they pay the Devil, is singular enough, and bespeaks the form of government under which they lived, when the practice arose among them; they look upon him as a vizier in disgrace, who may yet, however, be pardoned and received into favour; and for this reason they consider it exceedingly impolitic, as well as ungenerous, to heap injuries on his head. Who knows, say they, but, when he shall be restored to his post, he may remember the maledictions poured out against him by mankind, and retaliate upon them with interest? Or, supposing he should never be forgiven, but continue sovereign of the place of torment to all eternity, is it not possible that your sins may put you in his power, where all your injurious expressions would be remembered to your confusion?

But it no where appears that they worship the Devil; or refuse due homage to the Almighty. On the contrary, it is observed by Febvre, that their bowing before the rising sun, the practice which many have taken as evidence of their idolatry, is nothing more than their matin prayer; for the assertion of Garzoni, and the Consul Rousseau, that they have neither prayers, nor fasts, nor any religious rites, is altogether erroneous. They pray, says the same Febvre, with their faces towards the east, like the Christians; and fast, according to Niebuhr, three days in the year. When any of them choose to be interred near some place of devotion, it is their practice, while the body is lowered into the grave, to chant certain hymns in praise of Jesus Christ and the Holy Virgin, accompanying them on the guitar. These songs are more agreeable than those of the Turks, and suit better the above-mentioned two-chorded instrument, which is very common, even among the shepherds, in the

Ottoman empire. It is ~~not~~^{is} permitted them to lament or weep at the death of a fakir, as it is understood he is sure of heaven; wherefore, instead of tears and sorrow, to indulge which would be considered especially criminal, they put on a face of gladness, and leap and dance as on occasions of extraordinary mirth.

Garzoni and Niebuhr say that they practise circumcision; but, from their inveterate hatred of the Musulmans, we should have suspected the correctness of this statement, even had we not seen the positive testimony, to the contrary, of Michel Febvre and the French Consul Rousseau. The former observes, that nothing but the violence of torments can force them to submit to this rite, which they abhor; and this is consonant with the fact of their being Christians, which those, who speak of their circumcision, of course did not believe. The same writer contradicts the opinion of their being cruel and inhospitable: "They are," says he, "extremely charitable to travellers, and never refuse to share their provisions with them, when they happen to call at their tents to inquire the way. Without waiting to be entreated, they invite strangers to eat in the most civil manner, presenting them, most commonly, with bread and cheese, and onions, or oil. I have been a hundred times surprised how they could find wherewith to support such extensive liberality, and that their patience was not exhausted by continual importunity; the more so, as those asking charity of them are most commonly complete strangers, from whom it is impossible they should expect any return."

It seems, therefore, that common opinion respecting the Yezedees is completely wrong; for we think we have proved, 1st, that they do not worship the Devil; 2dly, that they do worship God; 3dly, that they practise prayer, fasting, and thanksgiving; 4thly, that they do not submit to circumcision; and 5thly, that, instead of being universally cruel, fierce and inhospitable, they are kind, charitable, disinterested. We are far, however, from denying that they are a warlike people, who bear inveterate hatred against the Turks, their persecutors and oppressors: but this fact by no means makes against their being Christians; for the Greeks, who are acknowledged believers in the Gospel, indulge the same feelings towards the Musulmans. It would, indeed, be a small compliment to Christianity to say, it inclined men to submit to tyranny without repining or feeling indignant at their wrongs, but this would in fact be said by those who should deny the Yezedees to be Christ's disciples, *because* they would willingly cut off the despots who trample on humanity in their persons. If it should be inquired how it has happened, if there be no truth in it, that almost all men who have spoken of them set forth their doctrines and practices as exceedingly abominable, although hardly any two agree in the particulars; it may be replied, that travellers of observation and experience are the first to allow how difficult it is to get at the dogmas of an obscure people, by questioning those by whom they are surrounded. In illustration of this, it may be said, that if a Chinese, passing through this country, should be struck by the appearance of the Jews, (supposing he knew nothing of them before,) and upon this make inquiries respecting their opinions and rites, of the persons he would generally meet with, he would undoubtedly go back to Pekin very ill informed. It is, moreover, well known that every singular religious sect that has yet arisen, has been grossly and wilfully calumniated.

The Manicheans were accused of opinions and practices very similar to those objected to in the Yezzeedees; they were said to worship the Evil Principle, the Sun, and many other things: but the learned and moderate Beausobre has shown, that although they acknowledged an Evil Principle, God alone was the object of their adoration; and he has convicted Saint Augustine, who was a Manichean renegade, and consequently their bitterest accuser, of wilful falsehood and prevarication. Incidentally mentioning the Yezzeedees, he agrees with Michel Febvre that the stories of their solar worship were calumnies, and going further than that author, agrees with us that they are Christians. It is not pretended that they have no absurd superstitions; few Oriental sects are free from them; but we contend that the Gospel is the basis of their faith. One of the strongest proofs that can be offered of this, is, that even in their veneration of Satan, they pretend to be guided by the expression of Christ, in the Gospel, who, according to their version of it, admitted the truth of Satan's remark, during the temptation on the mount, namely, that God had given unto him (Satan) all the kingdoms of the earth, and all their glory, to bestow on whomsoever he pleased.¹³ Michel Febvre asserts, indeed, that they believe the Old and New Testaments and the Koran, thinking with the Turks, that all three descended from heaven: but he adds, that they are not satisfied with the legitimate miracles only, and therefore add many more than are, or ever were, says Febvre, in the New Testament. For example, they say that Jesus Christ spoke from the day of his birth, and restored to life a man who had been dead a thousand years, in order to deliver his holy mother from the calumnies of men, and to prove to them that she had conceived him without any human co-operation, by the sole breath of God, and that therefore he had no earthly father.

In one or two of their practices they certainly resemble the Brahmins: a fakir is not permitted to shed the blood of any animal, or insect, not even of a flea. In walking they endeavour to avoid treading on ants or other insects. They, however, make no scruple of eating animal food that has been killed and prepared by other persons. They have some knowledge of the doctrine of transmigration, and believe in the resurrection of the dead.

They purchase their wives; and the average price of a young lady among them was about two hundred crowns, in Febvre's time. He observes, however, that they commonly endeavour to buy their wives of their own relations, in the hope of having a better bargain; and a man who had a sister usually gave her in exchange for a wife. Divorce may be obtained by any man desirous of becoming a hermit, or about to reach the dignity of Chief of the Fakirs; the other religious men being permitted, as we have observed, to have even two wives, if they think it necessary.

Many more particulars might be collected concerning them, but the above appear to be the most important. Very little can be learned from copying all the accounts of those who have written on them: and having compared the principal, we have given, perhaps, as fair a picture of the Yezzeedees as is to be wrought out of the materials at present accessible.

¹³ St. Luke, iv. 6.

TO OPPORTUNITY.

THOU, Opportunity, unlock'st the tongue
 Of eloquence, and givest it hint to speak.
 Without thee Wisdom stands in darkness, mute,
 Waiting thy influence, as fables old
 Tell us swart Memnon did, on Egypt's sand
 Watch for his mother's light to speak in stone/
 Thou dost make rich Invention's ample scrip,
 And oil the subtle tongue with rhetoric;
 Evil and good are twins of thy dark womb,
 And blindly thou bring'st forth. Thy mocking eye
 Oft turns from genius to refresh some fool,
 Who, with inordinate and thriftless hands,
 Drops all thy golden favours unapplied.
 Man lies in wait for thee his whole life long,
 And starves, oft, like a tiger in his den.

Most without thee are nothing, like the hags
 Of Syria, who possessed an only eye
 For all the sisterhood, where two were blind
 While t'other saw the sun. Thou art the eye
 Of millions, who, till thou shinest forth, are blind.
 Thou windest, like a serpent, round the tree
 Of knowledge, picking oft the withered fruit,
 While thousand ruddy apples 'mid the leaves
 Lie hidden, wet in vain by morning dew.
 Thou art not like the sun who loves his track
 Up the steep orient, greeting early looks
 From the same pinnacle, from year to year:
 But while thy worshippers adore the East,
 And, dew be-dabbled, seek the dawning hills,
 Like a swift meteor, through the western sky
 Thou shootest, leaving them to endless night.

I woo thee, fickle power! and crave thine aid
 To place in fitting dress before the world
 A crowd of thoughts which hitherto have been
 Shrouded; as long, in the vast wilderness,
 Oaks huge and doddered rear their spreading fronts
 To meet in midway-heaven the tempest's couse,
 Or the fierce blanching sun; yet see beneath
 Nought but the cumbrous elephant, or hear
 Rustling the thicket or the thick fall'n leaves:
 And as the wary woodman comes at length
 With searching eye, and views their hoary height
 Not without awe, so I approach my thoughts,
 Piled by vicissitude and scraping time,
 Whose treasures, like a miser's, lie close hid,
 Till o'er his hoary head the insatiate grave
 Closes—how soon to open! to engulf

The fresh young minutes that come tripping on,
 His palsied track pursuing rapidly;
 And growing old, like lightning, when it darts
 O'er the long, heavy, bending ears of harvest,
 In sultry autumn-nights. 'Tis much to be,
 To catch the full, rich burden of the Hours,
 Which down they pour, in passing, from their urns,
 Fairer than gold, prepared; to be the casket
 Of one's own thoughts, and boarded there to find
 A few sweet gems, treasured for being our own!
 No matter through what alchemy they came,
 Whether from Nature's outward stores distilled,
 Mountains, rains, winds, caves, solitudes, and seas,
 Or that epitome of all—the mind.

All other minds I couple with the world,
 In my thoughts' map, and look on them as part
 Of nature, shook by passion's ebb and flow,
 And swayed and led by interest, as the sea
 Coils its huge back t' attend the magic moon.
 Meantime, nor knightly trappings, nor the smile,
 Of Fame, gilding the names of other men,
 Raises my envy—I am that I am;
 And know my station in this vast of things,
 And my mind's track, without the finger-post
 Of others' thoughts; my soul would what it is
 Have been, had Nature placed me all alone
 On her reposing bosom; she to me
 Hath still been all in all, whether I viewed
 Her tokens venturing forth on human face,
 In unmasked childhood, or enthusiast youth,
 Before opinion, pride, and ignorance
 Had mail'd the visage; or her steps pursued
 By the lone shore, wide plain, or dusky wood.

Now, therefore, Opportunity! be thou
 'The midwife to my thoughts, whether they take,
 Driven by enthusiasm, the sybil note
 Of poetry, in sacred numbers clothed,
 Shaking from their steeped wings the sparkling dews
 Of Aganippe: or, with lower pitch,
 Spread calm, like gentle rivers, o'er the mind
 In reason's dialect:—all one to me!
 My spirit would go forth upon the wings
 Of strong renown, gathering the suffrages
 Of men for truth; content if, when the stubble
 Of error be consumed, the spiry smoke,
 Like a black serpent, winding to the skies,
 Should snatch it from the minds of men for aye.

BION.

THE JUSTICE, POLICY, AND SAFETY OF GIVING IMMEDIATE
FREEDOM TO EVERY SLAVE IN THE WEST INDIES.

THE subject of West Indian Slavery seems to have for some time past lain dormant, and to have lost its hold on the public sympathy and attention. It is the fate of all great questions, to be subject to fluctuations in the degree of interest excited by them in the public mind; to have their ebb and flow; and after agitating the whole country, from one extremity to the other, to sink for a period into complete oblivion. The policy and practice of the press of England generally, is to watch this flux and reflux of the public feeling; not for the purpose of applying the stimulus of censure or applause, when really needed, or of rousing and sustaining public attention when it is sinking into apathy; not for the purpose of leading the public mind to topics especially deserving its consideration: but for the purpose of following the bent and current of the popular feeling of the moment, whatever that may happen to be; of adding fresh fuel to the fire when its flames are at their height, and when they begin to abate, of assisting to break the bruised reed and quench the smoking flax, so as to extinguish altogether the few embers that might by a contrary course have still been kept alive.

It is now no longer a secret, that on the persecution of the late Queen of England, the journal that distinguished itself above all others, by its violent advocacy of her cause, trimmed and coquetted on the first mention of the subject, with indications of a leaning to the other side, until the public feeling became manifestly in favour of the injured party, when it assumed a more confident tone, and became as bold and decided as it was before timid and undetermined. The character given of this journal in the *Edinburgh Review*, is recognized by those most intimately acquainted with the facts, as faithful in the extreme;¹ but though meant to be an individual portrait, it will, unhappily, suit as well for the *Review* itself, of which any one who has read the masterly exposure of its "see-saw," in the articles on Periodical Literature, published in the Westminster, must be satisfied. Whether this last, even, is not laying itself open to suspicion of unworthy truckling to private interests, and the sacrifice of great public questions to fears of individual implication, by its continued silence on the subject of Indian misgovernment, and more especially the oppressions connected with the total extinction of the liberty

¹ *The Times* is not a classical paper; it is a commercial paper, and it is conducted on principles of trade and business. It floats with the tide,—it sails with the stream. It has no other principle, as we take it. It conforms to the changes of the time;—it bears down upon a question like a first-rate man-of-war, with streamers flying, and all hands upon deck; but if the first broadside does not answer, turns short upon it, like a tri-remed galley, firing off a few paltry squibs to cover its retreat. It takes up no falling cause; fights no up-hill battles; advocates no great principle; holds out a helping hand to no oppressed or obscure individual. It is ever strong upon the stronger side. Its style is magniloquent; its spirit is not magnanimous. It is valiant, swaggering, insolent, with a hundred thousand readers at its heels; but the instant the rascal rout turn round with the whiff and wind of some fell circumstance, *The Times*—the renegade, inconstant *Times*, turns with them! Let the mob shout, let the City roar, and the voice of *The Times* is heard above them all with deafening clamour; but let the vulgar hubbub cease, and no echo of it is ever after heard of in *The Times*.—*Edinburgh Review*, vol. 38. p. 364.

of the press in that country, remains to be seen. We would hope better things; but such rumours are afloat, and it is well that they should be explained if well founded, or contradicted by a bold and fearless line of conduct, if entertained without sufficient grounds.

Be this as it may, we conceive it to be one of the most sacred duties of the press, to rouse the attention of the public to the consideration of subjects to which they are indifferent, as well as to sustain that attention when already highly excited: and if there be one period rather than another, when the press should be most active in its exertions to keep the public mind alive to the consideration of great public questions, it ought to be when symptoms of listlessness and indifference manifest themselves in other quarters. The advocates of slavery, like the advocates of all other existing abuses, being satisfied with things as they are, are content to remain silent: for it is their policy never to have these abuses questioned or discussed at all. They, therefore, are wise and consistent in coming into the field only when public indignation is at its height, to soften it by all they can urge in favour of the abuses condemned; and when the tempest subsides, not uttering a breath to disturb the calm.

It is in this state that the question of West Indian Slavery may be considered to have remained for many months past; and nothing, perhaps, but some fresh insurrection will again revive it. We deem it, therefore, our duty to embrace the present moment for presenting to our readers the substance of two highly interesting works on the subject, which, though briefly adverted to among our literary notices, have not been analyzed by any of the popular reviews, nor made known beyond the very limited range to which the circulation of works published in the pamphlet form is confined, seldom passing beyond the precincts of the metropolis.

The first of these publications is entitled 'An Essay on Slavery; by an Eye-witness.'² The author is, we understand, a German traveller, of considerable literary reputation and attainments, who had occasion to visit the West Indies in the course of his travels, and who profited by this circumstance to obtain the most accurate information on the spot. The first portion of his work is devoted to the task of proving, in opposition to those who justify the holding their fellow-creatures in slavery, from the example of Abraham and others, mentioned in the early history of God's own chosen people, the Jews,—that "on a critical examination of the Scriptures, it will be found that there is not a single word in the original text, even of the Old Testament, of which it can be said that it implies the full meaning of slavery, or that it is the accurate symbol of its idea as before explained." The passages offered in confirmation of this position deserve to be given at length.

The two Hebrew words שָׂכָר and עֶבֶר, the only expressions used in the Old Testament to denote a man of the labouring class, are far from implying slavery. The word שָׂכָר evidently means a day-labourer, or a labourer engaged in the accomplishment of some work within a limited time. We often find it connected with the word יוֹם, signifying *day*, in order to denote a day-labourer. Deut. xxiv. 14, 15. As to the word עֶבֶר, which is certainly of the most extended meaning as

² 'An Essay on Slavery: its unjustifiableness proved from the Old and New Testament; the state of the Negro Slaves investigated; and an equitable plan for their gradual emancipation proposed. Together with some miscellaneous observations on the Climate and Inhabitants of Jamaica. By an Eye-witness.—London, 1824; Printed for John and Henry L. Hunt, Tavistock-street, Covent-garden.'

it regards servitude, it must still be allowed, that it does not imply the principal features of slavery which have been enumerated. For we find that when God revealed to Abraham the allotment destined for his descendants during their stay in Egypt, a state which, as to its nature, was like that of slavery; that state is not expressed by the word *עבדים* (a derivation from *עבד*) alone, but is joined with the word *אָנִי*, to express the miserable state of that servitude; and we also find that when the word is wanted to express any great durability in time, it is joined with another word, or other words, as in the text just quoted, and in various others. From what has been stated with regard to the accurate meaning of these two words, *שָׁכַר*, and *עָבַד*, and which will be convincing to all those who have any knowledge of the Hebrew language, and even to the impartial reader of the Old Testament in the English version, it follows that there is no ground whatever for the assumption that Abraham, the friend of God and the father of the faithful, was a proprietor of slaves.—p. 4, 5.

Let us now examine the Mosaic law, in regard to servitude in general. We find here again that the word *עָבַד*, though certainly it means a servant of all kind of work, still it does not imply a state of actual slavery. For the word is applied even to an Israelitish servant (Exod. xxi. 2), who, as will soon be seen, could not become the absolute slave of a human master; for his service, though purchased with money, was limited to seven years; and he was only allowed to remain a longer time with his master when he himself desired it: but even then only till the period of *יובל*, which took place every fifty years. To be perfectly convinced of the divine jealousy of holding an individual of his people in a state of bondage, we need only refer to Lev. xxv. 42, where it is written: "For they are *my* servants, which I brought forth out of the land of Egypt, they shall not be sold as bondmen."—p. 7.

To prove the great clemency evinced by the divine lawgiver Moses, towards bondsmen of whatever nation, we need only refer our readers to Deut. xxi. 15, 16, where it is written: "Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant which is escaped from his master unto thee. He shall dwell with thee, even among you."—p. 8.

That slavery is uncongenial to the redeeming and beneficent dispensation of the Gospel, intended for the benefit of the whole human race, scarcely demands a comment. It must be obvious, that as the Saviour of the world repeatedly declared that his kingdom was not of this world, and that there was no greater commandment than this, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself," there was no necessity for him expressly to forbid slavery, or the keeping of their fellow-creatures in a state of bondage, to those who professed to believe in him by following his precepts and examples.—p. 9.

The whole tenor of the Christian system is so directly opposed to the very idea of slavery, that it is matter of astonishment how any persons calling themselves Christians, can suffer themselves to be participators in its support. It is quite impossible to preach to slaves the doctrines of Christ, and not at the same time encourage them to demand their freedom. It is for this reason that Christian missionaries are so hated and persecuted by the slave-holders, whenever they do their duty: and the appointment of Bishops to teach them Christianity of another description was, perhaps, a politic stroke on the part of his Majesty's Ministers, who know well that the orderly and well-bred piety of a right reverend dignitary of the Church of England is widely different from the devout and holy zeal of an evangelical messenger, who considers himself called to his ministry by a higher power than the Archbishop of Canterbury or York.

To return to the Essay before us: The author having disposed of the argument as to the existence of slavery being repugnant to the spirit of the Old as well as the New Testament, though the last should be a sufficient authority for all who call themselves Christians, enters on the considerations of the actual state of slavery as it exists in the islands which

he himself visited. He asserts that one of the uniform physical effects of this condition of 'miserable servitude,' is to deprive the individuals subjected to it, of the means of sustenance and comfort, to such a degree, as to check among them the natural progress of reproducing even their own numbers, and sustaining a stationary position; though the certain consequence of even an ordinary competence of food and rest, is the increase of the species, or an excess of births above deaths. In illustration of this position he gives the following striking facts:—

In order to establish the assertion, that the slaves even decrease in population, we will at once refer to incontrovertible data. In the year 1790, the number of slaves in Jamaica is stated by Bryan Edwards to have been two hundred and fifty thousand, considered by that writer as underrated. In 1810, from calculations founded on the Report of the Assembly of Jamaica, they must have been about three hundred and twenty thousand. In 1817, they were rated more accurately at three hundred and forty-five thousand two hundred and fifty-two, being an addition of only ninety-five thousand two hundred and fifty-two in the whole of that period; but in this number is included the number of imported negroes, amounting to no less than one hundred and eighty-eight thousand seven hundred and eighty-five, imported from Africa during the years of 1787 to the year 1808, at which latter period the slave-trade was abolished by an act of the British Legislature. In 1820 the number was nearly the same as in 1817, and from that time to the present, those who have the best means of information, assert, that they are still more on the decrease, and that they have during the last three years decreased at the rate of two and a half per cent.; making the total amount of the decrease eighteen thousand.

As population in general can double itself in the space of twenty years at least, as affirmed by writers on that subject, and supported by practical observations; and, moreover, as it is an established fact, that the negro population in North America has been increasing during the same period of time, at the rate of 28 per cent., it becomes an object of important investigation as to the causes of such a decrease in the population of the negroes in Jamaica, as it must furnish the true criterion by which to judge of the nature of their slavery.

The general and most effectual causes which check the increase of a population in any country, are considered to be, want of sufficient food, which commonly becomes the originating cause of diseases and mortality;—severe labour, which must be understood as being beyond the relative strength of the individual;—promiscuous intercourse;—frequent abortions, produced naturally or artificially;—the bad method of rearing children;—particular diseases affecting that population, and particularly infants, and consequently their greater mortality. If we examine the situation of the negroes on a sugar plantation, we shall find all these causes combined, in a greater or less degree, to impede their increase.—p. 12, 13.

To this succeeds an account of the nature of the labour performed by the negro slaves on the sugar plantations of the West Indies, of which it may be sufficient to say, that, "during the crop season, which lasts six months in every year, they have to labour twelve hours in the day, and either the half of every night, or the whole of every alternate night besides! and that all this labour is performed under the terror and influence of the punishment of the whip, which is put into the hands of the drivers, and ready to be applied in case they are slack in their labour." Their food is principally yams, plantains, and salted fish; and their sustenance is as deficient as their labour is excessive. The following passages will exhibit some of the revolting features of this abominable system:—

Promiscuous intercourse is certainly very prevalent amongst the negroes; and though there is not any positive impediment on the part of the planter to their being married, yet, owing to their apprehensiveness of being separated from each other and sold to different masters, which frequently takes place when the estates are sold for the benefit of creditors; and also that few of the negroes on

an estate are provided with huts, and necessary ground for providing for their families, but few of them are willing to attach themselves to each other by marriage.

Abortions but too often happen to the female negroes on sugar plantations, owing to their being obliged to labour in the field during pregnancy, and to their carrying heavy loads; sometimes also it is the consequence of severe flogging, which is inflicted on account of their aversion to labour in the field during the time of gestation.

As to the way of rearing their children, there are two things which operate unfavourably: their protracting the time of suckling, and their subsequent separation from their mothers, the latter being obliged to labour in the field; and their being placed under the care of an old negress during the day, who but ill supplies the place of a mother. It should also be observed, that the negro children, as soon as they have attained the age of three or four years, are employed in different kinds of labour, which, though easy in itself, is still exhausting on account of the length of time they are employed, which is the same as with the adult negroes.—p. 16, 17.

The peculiar diseases to which the negroes are subject, arising from their degraded condition and treatment, are described at length, and present a most afflicting detail of suffering: to which the following remarks succeed:—

From what has been stated regarding the causes which serve as a check on the increase of their population, and which operate so powerfully in ruining the slave-holder, it will be seen that the two other physical consequences resulting from slavery, are fully realized in the condition of the negroes in the West Indies; for being obliged to sacrifice their whole time in the service of their masters, and being kept in a state of ignorance as to all useful knowledge and employment, it is impossible for them to acquire any degree of affluence; nor can they be said to be in the possession of any secure property; being liable to be sold and removed from the estate, where they might have found it advantageous to remain. Whether the condition of an English peasant, or that of a peasant in any country, or at any period, is, even in a political point of view, to be considered as equal to the state we have just described, in which the negroes are hopelessly kept in the West Indies; or whether, as we have stated above, the difference between them is radical and absolute, must be left to the impartial reader to determine.—p. 19.

Although it may be said, that the British Government and Legislature have sufficiently evinced their serious attention to this great object during the last and the present session of Parliament, and that even some of the West India proprietors, resident in this country, have agreed to the measures which Ministers have proposed for the gradual amelioration of slavery in the West Indies; yet considering that these measures, in their direct execution, are restricted to those islands only where the legislative power is vested in the Crown, and that the other islands of the British West Indies are left to be induced by the example set to them by their neighbours; and considering that the legislative bodies of those islands have opposed every measure suggested to them by this country; but, above all, considering that there are concomitant circumstances in the West India system which prevent the best-disposed proprietor from lightening the burden of his slaves, it must be acknowledged, that as long as the whole system remains unaltered, there is but little hope that the negro race will ever be relieved from their bondage.—p. 21, 22.

The benevolent writer then proceeds to offer his suggestions as to the best means of procuring the emancipation of these unhappy beings from their present state of misery and degradation. The basis of his plan is, that the liberty of the slaves should be purchased, partly by a fund to be created by Parliament, and partly by the labour of the slaves themselves. The price he would have paid for each, would be the actual cost of a slave on the coast of Africa, with five per cent., from the date of his purchase to that of his emancipation, suffered to accumulate at compound interest; as well as the amount of the annual expense incurred by

his owner in clothes, medical attendance, &c. As a set-off to this, he proposes that the labour of the negro should be *fairly estimated*, and its amount, per diem, fixed for the same period, and computed also at compound interest to his advantage. These sums being placed opposite each other, a draft is to be made for the balance, from the fund to be created by Parliament: and when the negro has, by his extra labour, paid this amount, he is to be considered free.

There is an evident desire of justice mixed with benevolence in this plan. But the author has been strangely deluded in his estimate of the value of labour; or he could never have made such a proposition. It must be clear to every one, that the value to the slave-holder, of his negro's services, must be greater than the cost of purchase and maintenance, or he would not retain possession of him as his slave. If the *fair estimate* of the negro's labour were to be made by his master, it would, no doubt, be low enough to make a balance apparently due to him. But if this estimate were to be made, as it ought to be, by reference to the wages received by free negroes hired to work for pay, there would be a large balance due from the master to the slave. The very essence of slavery is this: that the master compels the slave to work for his bare food, clothing, and medicine; while, if he were free, he would demand wages, and not only find himself more amply in all these comforts, but have a surplus fund of money to lay up; from which, in time, he might even become rich. If the value of the labour rendered by the negro were not equal to his cost and maintenance, (and it is in such a case alone that any balance could be due from him to his owner,) the planter would, no doubt, emancipate him immediately: because even planters do not like to retain unprofitable servants. But even supposing it equal,—then, according to the plan of the author, every slave would be entitled to his freedom immediately. If, as we contend it ought to be, the *fair estimate* of labour were made according to its actual value among free men, in the market, there would be a large balance due to every slave who had been seven years in his master's service; enough, indeed, to set him up in some trade for himself: and neither Parliamentary, nor any other interference, would be necessary to accomplish this great work. Under any circumstances, however, we do not think the slave-holders entitled to the smallest compensation whatever for the emancipation, any more than for the death, of their slaves. They are bought at a small cost, say 50*l.* per head on an average, and their maintenance does not cost half the value of their labour; so, that in five years, at the utmost, every individual must repay his first cost and sustenance: after which he becomes a source of profit to his master, in giving him his labour for mere food and clothing; and helps, by this sacrifice, to increase his ill-gotten wealth. It would be no more than an act of bare justice to emancipate the whole of the slaves in the West Indies at once: their masters have been already amply repaid for their outlay: and even were it not so, we can see no more reason why a planter should forcibly possess himself of the just wages of another man's labour, than the keeper of a brothel should forcibly receive the wages of female prostitution. The one is not a whit more unholy or unjust than the other: and the same law which would punish the latter as a crime, ought not to extend its protection to the former for a single hour.

For ourselves, indeed, we have long been persuaded, from an intimate

acquaintance with, and personal examination of, most of the West India islands, that not only would the slaves be made more happy, and, consequently, less dangerous by immediate emancipation; but that the planters themselves would, in the end, find it to their benefit to grant that emancipation at once; substituting free labour for slave labour throughout their estates: when they would find that the maxim is, as mutually beneficial as it is strictly just, which says, "The labourer is worthy of his hire." We shall, perhaps, find another opportunity to explain more at large the sentiments here hastily and briefly disclosed: and conclude our notice of the Essay before alluded to, by the following closing remarks of its author, as to the benefits which the abolition of slavery would produce; in which we entirely and heartily concur:—

The advantages resulting to the negroes from such an arrangement need no comment. From perpetual and abject slavery, they will by degrees be raised to that of free subjects of England; from a wretched condition as to their poverty and ignorance, they will be enabled by their industry, and by the friendly aid of Europeans, to advance in the scale of rational beings, and to obtain a tolerable degree of ease and affluence.

The advantage to be derived from the adoption of such a plan by the mother country is, that the negroes, in becoming possessed of more wealth, will be able to increase their comforts and enjoyments of life, such as dress and other commodities, which will increase the demand for various articles of English manufacture. It will moreover gain an increase in the number of its subjects, in those who are at present merely the subjects of its subjects. Further, the negro population, by becoming attached and interested in the soil of the West Indies by the advantages they will derive from it, the mother country could rely upon their fidelity and attachment, even in defending the West India islands from invasion, so as to render the keeping up a military force in the West Indies ultimately dispensable, by which the sacrifice of so many European lives would be prevented: and, lastly, the more this system approaches to free labour, the more will the proprietors of the West Indian estates be willing to compete with the sugar manufacturers in other colonies: the bounty therefore allowed to them now might be gradually taken off; the price of sugar will be lowered; more will be consumed; and, consequently, the revenue will be benefited.—p. 25, 26.

The second Work to which we desire to draw the attention of our readers, is a bold and powerful appeal to all reflecting minds, entitled, 'Immediate, not Gradual Abolition; or an Inquiry into the shortest, safest, and most effectual Means of getting rid of West Indian Slavery.'³ The author of this Address is in earnest: his heart is evidently in his subject,—a testimony which can be borne but to few of those who are the loudest in their declamations; and his benevolence and indignation alternately beam and burn through every page. We could hardly do any thing more congenial to our own feelings than to reprint the whole Work; but our limits preclude the possibility of doing this. We shall select, however, the principal passages, and connect them as closely as we can. The author opens with the following unanswerable but humiliating appeal:

It is now seventeen years since the *Slave Trade* was abolished by the Government of this country,—but *Slavery* is still perpetuated in our West India colonies, and the horrors of the Slave Trade are aggravated rather than mitigated. By making it felony for British subjects to be concerned in that inhuman traffic, England has only transferred her share of it to other countries. She has, indeed, by negotiation and remonstrance, endeavoured to persuade them to follow her example.—But has she succeeded?—How should she, whilst there is so little consistency in her conduct? Who will listen to her pathetic declamations on the

³ London: J. Hatchard & Son, Piccadilly; and Thomas Combe, Leicester.

Injustice and cruelty of the Slave Trade—whilst she rivets the chains upon her own slaves; and subjects them to all the injustice and cruelty which she so eloquently deplores when her own interest is no longer at stake? Before we can have any rational hope of prevailing on our guilty neighbours to abandon this atrocious commerce,—to relinquish the gain of oppression,—the wealth obtained by rapine and violence,—by the deep groans, the bitter anguish of our unoffending fellow-creatures;—we must purge ourselves from these pollutions:—we must break the iron yoke from off the neck of *our own slaves*,—and let the wretched captives in our own islands go free. Then, and not till then, we shall speak to the surrounding nations with the *all-commanding eloquence of sincerity and truth*,—and our persuasions will be backed by the *irresistible argument of consistent example*. But to invite others to be just and merciful whilst we grasp in our own hands the rod of oppression,—to solicit others to relinquish the wages of iniquity whilst we are putting them into our own pockets—what is it but cant and hypocrisy? Do such preachers of justice and mercy ever make converts? On the contrary, do they not render themselves ridiculous and contemptible?

But let us, *individually*, bring this great question closely home to our own bosoms. We that hear, and read, and approve, and applaud the powerful appeals, the irrefragable arguments against the Slave Trade, and against slavery—are we *ourselves* sincere, or hypocritical? Are we the true friends of justice, or do we only cant about it?—To which party do we really belong?—to the friends of emancipation, or of perpetual slavery? Every individual belongs to one party or the other; not speculatively, or professionally merely, but practically. The perpetuation of slavery in our West India colonies is not an abstract question, to be settled between the Government and the Planters,—it is a question in which we are *all* implicated,—we are all guilty,—(with shame and compunction let us admit the opprobrious truth) of supporting and perpetuating slavery. The West Indian planter and the people of this country stand in the same moral relation to each other, as the thief and the receiver of stolen goods. The planter refuses to set his wretched captive at liberty,—treats him as a beast of burden,—compels his reluctant unremunerated labour under the lash of the cart whip,—why? because we furnish the stimulant to all this injustice, rapacity, and cruelty,—by *PURCHASING ITS PRODUCE*. Heretofore, it may have been thoughtlessly and unconsciously,—but now this palliative is removed;—the veil of ignorance is rent aside;—the whole nation must now divide itself into the *active supporters*, and the *active opposers* of slavery;—there is no longer any ground for a neutral party to stand upon.

But is all this knowledge to end in exclamations, in petitions, and remonstrances?—Is there nothing to be *done*, as well as said? Are there no tests to prove our sincerity,—no sacrifices to be offered in confirmation of our zeal?—Yes, there is *one*,—(but it is in itself so small and insignificant that it seems almost burlesque to dignify it with the name of sacrifice)—it is *ABSTINENCE FROM THE USE OF WEST INDIAN PRODUCTIONS, sugar, especially, in the cultivation of which slave labour is chiefly occupied*. Small, however, and insignificant as the sacrifice may appear,—it would, at once, give the death-blow to West Indian slavery. When there is no longer a market for the productions of *slave labour*, then, and *not till then*, will the slaves be emancipated.—p. 3—7.

It is stated that this experiment was actually resorted to about thirty years ago, previous to the abolition of the Slave Trade; and it might probably have had its share of influence then: but it being conceived that the abolition of slavery itself would necessarily follow that of the Slave Trade, the object was deemed to be accomplished, and the expedient laid aside as no longer necessary. The author proceeds to answer the objections as to the supposed injury to the planters by such a step:

“But, (it will be objected) if there be no market for West Indian produce, the West Indian proprietors will be ruined, and the slaves, instead of being benefited, will perish by famine.” Not so,—the West Indian proprietors understand their own interest better. The market, though shut to the productions of *slave labour*, would still be open to the productions of *free labour*,—and the planters are not such devoted worshippers of slavery as to make a voluntary sacrifice of their own interests upon her altar;—they will not doom the soil to perpetual barrenness rather than suffer it to be cultivated by free men. It has been abundantly proved

that voluntary labour is more productive,—more advantageous to the employer than compulsory labour. The experiments of the venerable and philanthropic Joshua Steele have established the fact beyond all doubt :—But the planter shuts his eyes to such facts, though clear and evident as the sun at noon-day.—None are so blind as those who *will* not see. The conviction then must be *forced* upon these infatuated men. It is often asserted, that slavery is too deeply-rooted an evil to be eradicated by the exertions of any principle less potent and active than *self-interest* ;—if so, the resolution to abstain from West Indian produce would bring this potent and active principle into the fullest operation,—would *compel* the planter to set his slaves at liberty.—p. 8.

The question is further argued at considerable length; and after observing, with great truth, that too much time has been already wasted in declamation, argument, petition, and intreaty, recommends that something more efficient than words be applied to break this iron yoke of bondage. The objection so perpetually raised to all schemes of benevolence, as to the inefficacy of individual examples, is also well answered; and the author attacks in its stronghold the great fallacy of immediate emancipation being dangerous, and gradual emancipation alone safe or practicable. His observations on this head are worthy of deep attention:

“ But (it will be objected) it is not an *immediate*, but a *gradual* emancipation, which the most enlightened and judicious friends of humanity call for, as a measure best calculated, in their judgment, to promote the real interests of the *slave*, as well as his master; the former, not being in a condition to make a right use of his freedom, were it suddenly restored to him.” This, it must be admitted, appears not only the general, but almost universal sentiment of the abolitionists;—to oppose it, therefore, may seem a most presumptuous, as well as hopeless attempt. But truth and justice are stubborn and inflexible;—they yield neither to numbers or authority.

The history of emancipation in St. Domingo, and of the conduct of the emancipated slaves for thirty years subsequent to that event, (as detailed in Clarkson's admirable pamphlet, on the necessity of improving the condition of our West Indian slaves,) is a complete refutation of all the elaborate arguments which have been artfully advanced to discredit the design of *immediate* emancipation. No instance has been recorded in these important annals, of the emancipated slaves (not the *gradually*, but the *immediately* emancipated slaves) having abused their freedom. On the contrary, it is frequently asserted in the course of the narrative, that the negroes continued to work upon all the plantations as quietly as before emancipation. Through the whole of Clarkson's diligent and candid investigations of the conduct of emancipated slaves, comprising a body of more than 500,000 persons, under a great variety of circumstances—a considerable proportion of whom had been *suddenly* emancipated,—with all the vicious habits of slavery upon them;—many of them accustomed to the use of arms; he has not, throughout this vast mass of emancipated slaves, found a *single instance of bad behaviour*, not even a refusal to work, or of disobedience to orders; much less, had he heard of frightful massacres, or of revenge for past injuries, even when they had it amply in their power. Well might this benevolent and indefatigable abolitionist arrive at the conclusion, “ that emancipation (why did he not say *immediate* emancipation?) was not only practicable, but practicable without danger.” All the frightful massacres and conflagrations which took place in St. Domingo, in 1791 and 1792, occurred during the days of slavery. They originated too, not with the slaves, but with the white and coloured planters,—between the royalists and the revolutionists, who, for purposes of mutual vengeance, called in the aid of the slaves. Colonel Malenfant, in his history of the emancipation, written during his residence in St. Domingo, *ridicules the notion that the negroes would not work without compulsion*,—and asserts, that in one plantation, more immediately under his own observation, on which more than four hundred negroes were employed, *not one in the number refused to work after their emancipation*.

In the face of such a body of evidence, the detaining our West Indian slaves in bondage, is a continued acting of the same atrocious injustice which first kidnapped and tore them from their kindred and native soil, and robbed them of

that sacred unalienable right which no considerations, how plausible soever, can justify the withholding. We have no right, on any pretext of expediency or pretended humanity, to say—"because you have been made a slave, and thereby degraded and debased,—therefore, I will continue to hold you in bondage until you have acquired a capacity to make a right use of your liberty." As well might you say to a poor wretch, gasping and languishing in a pest-house, "here will I keep you, till I have given you a capacity for the enjoyment of pure air."

You admit, that the *vices* of the slave, as well as his miseries,—his intellectual and moral, as well as corporeal degradation, are consequent on his slavery;—remove the cause then, and the effect will cease. Give the slave his liberty,—in the sacred name of justice, give it him at once. Whilst you hold him in bondage, he will profit little from your plans of amelioration. He has not, by all his complicated injuries and debasements, been disinherited of his *sagacity*;—this will teach him to give no credit to your admonitory lessons—your Christian instructions will be lost upon him, so long as he both knows and feels that his instructors are grossly violating their own lessons.—p. 12—15.

The writer contends, and we fully concur with him in the view he has taken, that the enemies of slavery have hitherto ruined their cause by the senseless cry of *gradual* emancipation, by which many even of the wise and the good have been deluded,—though never was fallacy more apparent than in this. The admirable chapter in Mr. Bentham's Book of Fallacies on "Graduality"—"the snail's-pace argument,"—"one thing at a time,"—"slow and sure"—might be read with profit by thousands even among those who are the enemies of all fallacies, but are themselves often deluded by some of the most common. The author of the work before us goes into this subject with a zeal and ardour that does honour to his heart: and he shows that the influence of this delusion, even on well-disposed minds, has been such, that it has brought many of the abolitionists to the absurd conclusion, that the interests of the poor, degraded, and oppressed slave, as well as that of his master, will be best secured by his remaining in slavery. On this he continues to remark:—

It has, indeed, been proposed to mitigate, in some degree, the miseries of his interminable bondage, but the blessings of *emancipation*, according to the propositions of the abolitionists in the last session of Parliament, were to be reserved for his *posterity* alone,—and every idea of *immediate* emancipation is still represented, not only as impolitic, enthusiastic and visionary, but as highly injurious to the slave himself,—and a train of supposed apt illustrations is continually at hand, to expose the absurdity of such a project. "Who (it is asked) would place a sumptuous banquet before a half-famished wretch, whilst his powers of digestion were so feeble that it would be fatal to partake of it?—Who would bring a body benumbed, and half frozen with cold, into sudden contact with fervid heat? Who would take a poor captive from his dungeon, where he had been immured whole years, in total darkness, and bring him at once into the dazzling light of a meridian sun? No one, in his senses, certainly. All these transitions from famine to plenty,—from cold to heat,—from darkness to light, must be gradual in order to be salutary. But must it therefore follow, by any inductions of common sense, that emancipation out of the gripe of a robber or an assassin—out of the jaws of a shark or a tiger, must be gradual? Must it therefore follow, that the wretched victim of slavery must always remain in slavery?—that emancipation must be *so* gradual, that the blessings of freedom shall never be tasted by him who has endured all the curses of slavery, but be reserved for his posterity alone?

There is something unnatural, something revolting to the common sense of justice, in reserving all the sweets of freedom for those who have never tasted the bitter cup of bondage,—in dooming those who have once been compelled to drink it, to drain it to the very dregs. Common equity demands that relief should be administered first to those who have suffered most;—that the healing balm of mercy should be imparted first to those who have smarted most under the rod of oppression; that those who have borne the galling yoke of slavery should first

experience the blessings of liberty. The cause of emancipation loses more than half its interest, when the public sympathy is diverted from its natural channel,—turned from the *living* victims of colonial bondage to their unborn progeny.

It is utterly astonishing, with such an object as West Indian slavery before us, rendered palpable, in all its horrors, almost to our very senses, by a multitude of indubitable facts, collected from various sources of the highest authority, all uniting in the same appalling evidence ;—with the sight of our fellow-creatures in bondage so rigorous,—in moral and physical degradation so abject ;—under a tyranny so arbitrary, wanton and barbarous ;—it is utterly astonishing, that our compassion and sympathy should be so timid and calculating,—so slow and cautious.

Under the contemplation of *individual* suffering, comparatively trifling, both in nature and duration, our compassion is prompt and quick in its movements, —our exertions, spontaneous and instinctive ;—we go the shortest way to work, in effecting the relief of the sufferer. But, in emancipating *eight hundred thousand* of our fellow-creatures and fellow-subjects from a worse than Egyptian bondage, we advance towards the object by a route the most indirect and circuitous.—p. 19—22.

The practice of petitioning the Parliament is shown to have been productive, not merely of delay, but of the absolute loss of adherents to the cause, as a consequence of that procrastination, and its attendant indifference. It is shown also, that petitions for *gradual* emancipation, even if successful, would leave a long period of suffering to be still endured : and it is asked, with becoming emphasis, “ Why petition Parliament *at all* to do that for us which, were they ever so well disposed, (which it is known they are not,) we can do more speedily and more effectually ourselves ? ”—The Author proceeds :

It is no marvel that *slave-holders* should cry out against immediate emancipation, as they have done against all propositions for softening the rigours of colonial slavery. “ *Insurrection of all the blacks,—massacre of all the whites,* ”—are the bug-bears which have been constantly conjured up to deter the British Parliament from all interference between the master and his slave. The panic was the same, the outcry just as violent, when an attempt was made, about forty years ago, to abate the horrors of the middle passage, by admitting a little more air into the suffocating and pestilential holds of the slave-ships ; and a noble duke besought Parliament *not to meddle with the alarming question*.⁴ Confident predictions, from this quarter, of rebellion and bloodshed, have almost uniformly followed every proposition to restrain the power of the oppressor, and to mitigate the sufferings of the oppressed.

The simple inquiry, What is meant by emancipation ? might have dissipated, at once, all these terrible spectres of rapine and murder. Does emancipation from slavery imply emancipation from law ? Does emancipation from lawless tyranny,—from compulsory, unremunerated labour, under the lash of the cart-whip, imply emancipation from all responsibility and moral restraint ? Were slavery in the British colonies extinguished, the same laws which restrain and punish crime in the *white* population would still restrain and punish crime in the *black* population. The danger arising from inequality of numbers, would be more than counteracted by the wealth and influence, the armed force, possessed by the former. But independent of such considerations, the oppressed and miserable, corrupt as is human nature, do not naturally become savage and revengeful when their oppressions and miseries are removed. As long as a human being is bought and sold,—regarded as goods and chattels,—compelled to labour without wages,—branded, chained, and flogged at the caprice of his owner, he will, of necessity, as long as the feeling of pain, the sense of degradation and injury remain,—he will, unless he have the spirit of a Christian martyr, be vindictive and revengeful. “ Oppression (it is said) will make (even) a wise man mad.” But will the liberated captive, when the iron yoke of slavery is broken, when his heavy burdens are unbound, his bleeding wounds healed, his

⁴ See the Debate on this subject in 1823.

broken heart bound up,—will he then scatter vengeance and destruction around him?

Should the wretched African find the moment for *breaking his own chains, and asserting his own freedom*, he may well be expected to take terrible vengeance,—to push the law of retaliation to its utmost extreme. But, when presented with his freedom,—when the sacred rights of humanity are restored to him,—would that be the moment for rage, for revenge, and murder? To *polished and Christianized Europeans*, such abuses of liberty may appear natural and inevitable, since their own history abounds with them: but the history of negro emancipation abundantly proves that no such consequences are to be apprehended from the poor *uncultivated and despised African*.—p. 23—26.

The question of probability as to success, and the maxim that too much must not be asked, for fear nothing should be granted, are both examined minutely: and the consideration of the planter's property in the slave, elicits from the Author's pen the following passage:

It matters not at all how, or when, the planter acquired his pretended right to the slave;—whether by violence or robbery,—by purchase or by inheritance. His claim always was, and always will be, ill-founded, because it is opposed to nature, to reason, and to religion. It is also illegal, as far as legality has any foundation of justice, divine or human, to rest upon. His plea for protection against the designs of the abolitionists, on the ground that his property has been embarked in this nefarious speculation, on the faith of Parliament,—in the confidence that no change would be effected in the laws which sanction the enormous injustice and wickedness of slavery, is childish and futile. Are not commercial speculations of every kind subject to perpetual vicissitudes and revolutions? Are not human laws perpetually undergoing new modifications and changes, in accommodation to the ever-varying circumstances of the times,—to increasing light and civilization? It is absurd to imagine that the progress of humanity, of moral and political improvement, is to be arrested, because some individual prerequisites, derived from institutions of brutal ignorance and barbarism, would be curtailed. A great deal more reasonably might the industrious artisan, whose daily subsistence depends on his daily labour,—whose only property is his labour,—and who, in many cases, has no means, like the West Indian capitalist, of transferring it from one channel to another,—with a great deal more reason might he exclaim and cry out for protection against all mechanical improvements, which diminish his labour, which deprive thousands of the labouring classes of their wonted resources, and drive them to beggary.—p. 30, 31.

Our space compels us to hurry on to the conclusion; though there is much in the remaining portion of the work that we would gladly have noticed more at length. We give the concluding paragraphs entire, not to diminish their justice or their force:—

An *immediate* emancipation, then, is the object to be aimed at;—it is more wise and rational,—more politic and safe, as well as more just and humane,—than gradual emancipation. The interest, moral and political, temporal and eternal, of all parties concerned, will be best promoted by *immediate* emancipation. The sooner the planter is obliged to abandon a system which torments him with perpetual alarms of insurrection and massacre; which keeps him in the most debasing moral bondage; subjects him to a tyranny, of all others the most injurious and destructive—that of sordid and vindictive passions; the sooner he is obliged to adopt a more humane and more *lucrative* policy in the cultivation of his plantations; the sooner the over-laboured, crouching slave, is converted into a free labourer—his compulsory, unremunerated toil, under the influence of the cart-whip, exchanged for cheerful, well-recompensed industry—his bitter sufferings for peaceful enjoyment—his deep execration of his merciless tyrants, for respectful attachment to his humane and equitable masters; the sooner the Government and the people of this country purify themselves from the guilt of supporting and tolerating a system of such monstrous injustice, productive of such complicated enormities; the sooner all this mass of impolicy, crime, and sufferings is got rid of, the better.—p. 39, 40.

Since the preceding pages were written, the sentences passed upon the insurgents of Demerara and Kingston have reached us. Some had been hung; others

had received corporeal punishment—to what extent—let those who have ears to hear, and hearts to feel, deeply ponder. Some had received, others were yet to receive—ONE THOUSAND LASHES; AND WERE CONDEMNED TO BE WORKED IN CHAINS DURING THE RESIDUE OF THEIR LIVES!! The horrid work has probably by this time been completed; human interposition, therefore, with respect to these individual victims of WEST INDIAN JUSTICE, will now be of no avail.

But shall such sentences as these be suffered to pass the ordeal of public opinion? Shall they be established as precedents for future judgments on future insurgents? Forbid it, every feeling of humanity, in *every bosom*! Let every principle of virtue which distinguishes the human from the brute creation,—the professors of the benignant, compassionate religion of Christ, from the savage and blood-thirsty worshippers of Moloch,—raise one united, determined, and solemn protest against the repetition of these barbarities, which blaspheme the sacred name of justice, and seem to imprecate Almighty vengeance.

Will the inhabitants of this benevolent, this *Christian* country, *now* want a stimulant to rouse their best exertions, to nerve their resolutions, against all participation with these human blood-hounds? Will the British public *now* want a “spirit stirring” incentive to prohibit, and to interdict, henceforth and for ever, the merchandize of slavery? Let the produce of slave-labour, henceforth and for ever, be regarded as “*the accursed thing*,” and refused admission into our houses; or let us renounce our Christian profession, and disgrace it no longer by a selfish, cold-hearted indifference, which, under such circumstances, would be reproachful to savages.

What was the offence which brought down this frightful vengeance on the heads of these devoted victims? What horrible crime could have instigated man to sentence his fellow-man to a punishment so tremendous?—to doom his brother to undergo the protracted torture of a THOUSAND LASHES?—to have his quivering flesh mangled and torn from his living body?—and to labour through life under the galling and ignominious weight of chains? It was insurrection. But in what cause did they become insurgents? Was it not in that cause, which, of all others, can best *excuse*, if it cannot *justify*, insurrection? Was it not in the cause of self-defence from the most degrading, intolerable oppression?

But what was the *immediate* occasion of this insurrection? What goaded these poor wretches on to brave the dreadful hazards of rebellion? One of them, now hanging in chains at Demerara, was sold and separated from his wife and family of ten children, after a marriage of eighteen years,—and *thereby made a rebel*. Another was a slave of no common intellect, whose wife, the object of his warmest affections, was torn from his bosom, and forced to become the mistress of an overseer. His domestic happiness, thus destroyed for ever, he became (how should it have been otherwise?) disaffected and desperate. Such provocations, added to their common and every-day wrongs, seem beyond human endurance, and might instigate “the very stones to mutiny.”

How preposterously partial and inconsistent are we in the extension of our sympathy, our approbation, and our assistance, towards the oppressed and miserable! We extol the resistance of the *Greeks*; we deem it heroic and meritorious. We deem it an act of virtue, of *Christian charity*, to supply *them* with *arms and ammunition*, to enable them to *persist in insurrection*. Possibly, in the long list of munificent subscribers to these *Greek* insurgents, the names of some noble lords and honourable gentlemen may be found, who sanction and approve the visitation of WEST INDIAN SLAVE INSURGENTS, with the GIBBET, and the infliction of ONE THOUSAND LASHES!!

But let us, whose moral perceptions are unblinded by interest or prejudice,—whose charity is unwarpd by partiality or hypocrisy;—let us pursue a more rational and consistent course. Let us not overlook our own urgent duties in the pursuit of such as are less imperative. Let us, *first*, *mind our own business*,—“pluck the beam out of our own eye.” Let us, *first*, extend the helping hand to those who have the *first* claim to our assistance. Let us, *first*, liberate our own slaves, which we may do, without furnishing them with *arms or ammunition*. Then we shall have *clean hands*, and the Divine blessing may then be expected to crown our exertions for the redemption of other captives.

Should the weak objection still haunt some inconsiderate reader, of the little good which can reasonably be expected to result from *individual* abstinence from West Indian produce, let him reflect, that the most wonderful productions of human skill and industry, the most astonishing effects of human power, have been

accomplished by combined exertions, which, when individually and separately considered, appear feeble and insignificant. Let him reflect, that the grandest objects of human observation consist of small agglomerated particles; that the globe itself is composed of atoms too minute for discernment; that extended ages consist of accumulated moments. Let him reflect, that greater victories have been achieved by the combined expression of *individual opinion*, than by fleets and armies; that greater moral revolutions have been accomplished by the combined exertion of *individual resolution*, than were ever effected by acts of Parliament.

The hydra-headed monster of slavery will never be destroyed by other means than the united expression of *individual opinion*, and the united exertion of *individual resolution*. Let no man restrain the expression of the one, or the exertion of the other, from the apprehension that his single efforts will be of no avail. The greatest and the best work must have a *beginning*; often, it is a very small and obscure one. And though the example in question should not become *universal*, we may surely hope that it will become general.

Think, but for a moment, at what a trifling sacrifice the redemption of *eight hundred thousand of our fellow-creatures from the lowest condition of degradation and misery may be accomplished*. Abstinence from *one single article of luxury* would annihilate West Indian slavery!! But *abstinence*, it cannot be called;—we only need substitute *East India*, for *West India* sugar,—and the British atmosphere would be purified at once, from the poisonous infection of slavery. The antidote of this deadly baue; for which we have been so many years in laborious but unsuccessful search, is most simple and obvious,—too simple and obvious, it should seem, to have been regarded. Like Naaman, of old, who expected to be cured of his leprosy, by some grand and astonishing evolution, and disdained to wash, as he was directed, in the obscure waters of Damascus;—we look for the abolition of British slavery, not to the simple and obvious means of its accomplishment, which lie within our own power,—but through the slow and solemn process of Parliamentary discussion,—through the “pomp and circumstance” of legislative enactment;—most absurdly remonstrating and petitioning *against* that system of enormous wickedness, which we voluntarily tax ourselves to the annual amount of two millions sterling, to *support*!!⁵

That abstinence from West Indian sugar alone, would sign the death warrant of West Indian slavery, is morally certain. The gratuity of two millions annually, is acknowledged by the planters, to be insufficient to bolster up their tottering system,—and they scruple not, to declare to Parliament, that they must be ruined, if the protecting duties, against East India competition, be not augmented.—p. 43—50.

To this nothing need be added. Whoever can read such passages as these, and not be moved to ACTION, must be destitute of all benevolence, not to say, honourable feeling. We rejoice that the suggestion of the philanthropist, from whose work we have drawn so largely, is about to be followed up by the formation of a Company for the importation of East India sugar, on terms which shall make it practicable for every individual in the kingdom to substitute it for West India sugar;—and thus benevolence and pecuniary interest will be so closely united, that while the zealous may adopt it from principle, the lukewarm and indifferent may do so with the hope of profit; and Slavery and Slave-labour be swept, as they deserve, with all their crimes and impurities, from off the face of the earth for ever!

⁵ Every reader may not be aware, that such is the amount of duty laid on *East India*, to keep up the unnatural price of *West India* sugar.

ADVENTURES OF FIROOZ, THE FIRE-WORSHIPPER, AND
HIS LOVE, PERIZADE.

IN the city of Candahar there once lived a very rich Jew ; the front of his house overlooked the ramparts, just where the valley, bending gently round, affords a prospect of the enchanted lake, and of the pomegranate grove which fringes its farthest shore. Ben Issachar, the Jew, was a lapidary, and, in the forty years during which he had dealt in gems, had amassed immense riches, and reared a very numerous family. Of these, the youngest only, a very beautiful daughter, remained with him, at the end of that period ; and in giving her a name, he had fallen into the practice of the Persians, who frequently name their children from some qualities which they are supposed to be endowed with—bestowing on her that of *Perizade*¹, that is, fair as a Peri.

Their mansion did not display that profusion of magnificence which commonly reigns in the great houses of the east ; but there was an air of antiquity and stability in its ornaments and furniture, which communicated to its possessor a consciousness of home that is totally unknown to those who, through fashion, are perpetually changing the articles of domestic economy. Perizade reclined at evening to peruse the *Tales of Inatulla*, upon the same couch of rich crimson damask which her great-grandmother, Rebecca, had pressed a century before, for the purpose of enjoying the heroic poems of Ferdusi : and Ben Issachar counted his gold into a coffer that had held the coin of the family from the time of the dispersion of the ten tribes ; and which vied in strength with those in which the treasures of the pre-Adamite sultans are deposited.

The daughter of Ben Issachar drew near the age in which the heart desires a sharer in that felicity which seems too much for one single bosom. She looked wishfully at the calm blue sky that bent its arch over her, as if she expected that some one of those genii who swim upon the sunbeams, would stoop from his charge to commune with her high thoughts ; but they all sullenly kept their stations.

One morning before there was a sound abroad, awakening her servant Rachael, who slept in the same chamber, she desired her to bring her favourite volumes after her to the bower of woodbines, which was planted on the house-top. Here she sat, dreamingly reading, for the hundredth time, the loves of Leilah and Mejnoun ; now and then looking at the eastern sky, which was hastily cladding itself in the hyacinthine robe of dawn. The song of the nightingale was gradually hushed in the matins of the early birds, who were eager to resume the thread of delight which "death's half-brother" had snatched from them for awhile.

Rachael leaned her head among the roses upon the parapet, and her eyes wandered insensibly to the enchanted lake. The stately swans were breasting the cool fresh wave, and chasing each other among the tufted reeds which seemed to float upon the water. To look at these was amusement enough for her ; but she had not feasted upon it long,

¹ This was the real name of the mother of the younger Cyrus, whom the Greeks call *Parysatis*.

before something more interesting presented itself. This was a young man in the habit of a fire-worshipper, pursued by a mountain boar. He rushed forth from the pomegranate grove; and there seeming to be no other mode of escape, for the beast gained ground upon him rapidly, he plunged from the precipitous shore into the lake, and disappeared. A shriek uttered by Rachael, on the first appearance of the youth, drew the attention of Perizade to the scene, and her eye was raised time enough to perceive the fire-worshipper sink into the water. The boar did not follow him; but standing on the extreme edge of the land, seemed to await his re-appearance. In a short time he rose in a distant part of the lake, and then the ferocious animal springing into the water, made rapidly towards him. Perizade started from her seat, and, with beating heart, riveted her eyes upon the lake. The stranger awaited with great coolness the approach of his enemy, till there was but a short distance between them; but then, plunging down again, he left him glaring furiously at the barren waters. This was many times repeated; yet the beast, so far from being wearied out, seemed only the more enraged and determined eventually to become master of his prey. Being of opinion that this expectation was but too likely to be fulfilled, Perizade began to reflect how she could possibly save the youth from destruction.

While she was in this perplexity, a party of hunters from the city chancing to pass by the lake in their way to the woods, beheld the scene; and discharging a shower of arrows at the boar, and setting up a loud shout at the same time, they drove him on shore, and instantly commencing the chase, left the youth to land in safety.

Though Perizade saw that the stranger was now delivered from immediate danger, she was still desirous of lending him some assistance, if by chance he should stand in need of it. For this purpose she despatched a slave to bring him to the house; and in the mean time continued on the house-top observing him swim to land. He betrayed every mark of extreme exhaustion, throwing himself in his wet garments upon the grass, and remaining in a kind of lethargy. When roused by the slave, it was with difficulty that he comprehended and obeyed his kind invitation; his faculties seemed steeped in forgetfulness: he resembled those newly dead bodies, which are animated by the enchanter's art, and made to perform all the functions of life, to the terror of the living.

When conducted into the presence of Perizade, he related, at her request, the simple story of his life. There was no mystery about him; he was simply a youthful Ghebr, or Parsee poet, whom a love of the fields and woods had induced to wander from his home. He had scarcely any other aim in his journeyings than pleasure; and wherever *that* presented itself, *there* was his country and his home. Upon hearing this, Perizade exerted all her influence with her father, to induce him to retain the Ghebr in his service; who, on his part, was content to become the secretary of a Jewish merchant that had a fair daughter. After much hesitation, the old man consented to burden his establishment with a secretary — a convenience he had all his life dispensed with, from prudent motives; but fathers who have a beloved child may easily be persuaded that they want a secretary. Firooz, the young fire-worshipper, being now installed secretary to Ben Issachar, found that his time still continued his own; for the old man could not prevail upon himself to initiate the youth into the craft and mystery of a business which he had

made his study for nearly half a century. He, therefore, addressed himself to his former studies, composing songs, and singing them to his vina, in some sequestered corner of the garden.

The daughter of Ben Issachar herself possessed an imagination, which surpassed in vividness and fertility that of a poet. Her life was little more than a bright succession of dreams. The past, like exquisite music, had left nothing but impressions of delight upon the folded map of memory; the present was busily employed in making the same traces; and the future was looked forward to, as something which was to come and pass away, like the moments that had come and gone before it. But she had never yet found a dreamer like herself. There were very good people in Candahar: there were even poets there; but their imaginations were satisfied with viewing the beauties of the earth, when life and business were stirring upon the face of it. But Ben Issachar's daughter loved the matin hour, "when earth and heaven are still;" or the yet calmer season of starlight, when the influences of the spheres come down like inspiration upon the mind. Her maid Rachael commonly attended her, when she chose to enjoy her visions upon the terraced roof. But she sometimes went alone, a book in her hand, and her whole frame quivering with delight, as the cold rays of the moon crept over the mystic page.

One night, having ascended the roof without her maid, she saw the harmless Ghebr leaning in the moonlight, upon the eastern corner of the parapet, with what she supposed to be the manual of his superstition in his hand. At first she hesitated to approach him; but as he had ever appeared a gentle creature, she at length prevailed upon herself to speak, and question him upon the cause of his solitude.

"Pray, Firooz," said she, drawing near, "what volume do you thus prefer to rest, and the forgetfulness of care?" "The Tales of Inatulla of Delhi." "Surprising!—Do you love the night, Firooz; or is it only because you are unhappy that you watch?" "Beautiful lady!" replied the poet, "I delight to wear away the moments in the enthusiasm of study, and to pore upon the mystery of yonder deep sky, when few eyes are unclosed save my own. My bosom overflows with a hushed delicious melancholy, which cannot find vent in words; and is only to be expressed by a smile moistened by a tear."

This tone of feeling so strictly corresponded with her own, and, because new and unexpected, was so delightful to her, that she resembled at that moment, a traveller who, lost for months in the solitudes of the desert, meets at length the cheerful face of man. She became enamoured of his enthusiasm, and they frequently met upon the terrace. The nights, the mornings which chased them from the sky, were lovely; nor were the souls of these two, who noted their vicissitudes, less lovely or pure than they.

Love is seldom a weak or a childish passion in an oriental breast. It does not evaporate in the whining of sentiment, or attach itself to infamy; but, when built up of beauty and correspondent qualities in the mind, it rolls on, like fate, over obstacles and dangers, and, if it does not triumph, dies but with its possessor.

Firooz, the fire-worshipper, was beloved by Perizade; but these young people were peculiar in their passion. They eluded observation, and passed together whole nights upon the terrace; sometimes con-

versing of other things than themselves. Perizade, no less than her lover, was strongly agitated by a desire of knowledge; but the elements of their minds, like the confused principles of the primitive chaos, vainly hungered after creation and beauty—there was no directing spirit—and the flashings of their imaginations resembled the coruscations which we may fancy sometimes to have trembled over the dark face of the abyss.

While they thus lived and loved, the great Khan of Tartary laid siege to Candahar.—It is the strongest fortification of the eastern world; and the army which now surrounded it, might have grown old before the ramparts, had the city contained sufficient provision for the garrison and inhabitants. But famine soon began to prowl about the city; and the inhabitants were seen to gather in vast crowds at evening before the Governor's house. 'Tis true they were as yet silent; but they resembled the black clouds, which, from the summit of Caucasus, deluge down the champaign of heaven, bearing the hurricane in their bosoms. The Governor was a good man, and a brave soldier; but he dreaded the bursting forth of the people's anger, and wearied himself incessantly in endeavouring to relieve their necessities. While they were in this strait, an Indian merchant contrived to pass into the city, bringing an offer of corn at a certain price. The sum was enormous; but the citizens were not now in a situation to lose time in bargaining, so they raised it by great exertion, and began to cast about them for the means of conveying in the corn.

This difficulty was obviated by the merchant's promising to convey it to the gates by night, at the hazard of his life, when the money was to be paid him on its delivery. How wishfully did the citizens watch the decline of next day's sun; how did they gaze on the thickening of the shades in the west! Hunger was buried up in hope; and they promised themselves that midnight would cheer them once more with the sight of bread. At length the evening star was seen, twinkling like the herald of life in the sky. They were become idolatrous, and worshipped the stars, as, one by one, they put on their crowns of light, and smiled down upon the earth. Crowded upon the ramparts, they cast forth hopeful and contemptuous looks upon the besieging camp, signifying that let bread come, and it might be there till the tents crumbled in the wind. Now and then the slow footstep of the camel seemed to break the breathless silence, and their eyes began to brighten, and their tongues almost burst forth in exultation. But anon the sound melted away, or only tingled in the ear of fancy.

About an hour before midnight, however, the Indian, true to his engagement, came stealing along a secret pathway, with a long train of camels; and the people rushing from the battlements, almost deafened him with blessings. Snatching the corn from the backs of the beasts, and running away to prepare food, they left the governor to settle how he could with their black preserver. Having thus unexpectedly been snatched from starvation, they delivered themselves up to joy; and, in spite of their Prophet, many a deep goblet was drained in Candahar that night. But with the morning came terror and consternation inexpressible—half-deranged men and women, with livid and ghastly countenances scoured the horrid streets, proclaiming that the whole city was poisoned. Forth rushed the remaining people, bearing about their dearest friends in the agonies of death, and in their frenzy threw open the gates

to their enemies. Having foreseen this, as the Indian was of course their emissary, the Tartars poured into Candahar, and by their cruelty made the survivors envy the everlasting insensibility of the dead.

From this scene of carnage Ben Issachar and his daughter escaped, through the bold ministry of the Parsee; who alone, of all their slaves, remained faithful to them in this their terrible calamity. It was night when they got out of the city; and the feeble old man, bending beneath the weight of years and affliction, moved along with much difficulty. The Ghebr, who took upon him the office of guide, chose a path which winded away to the left, in the direction of the Himalaya mountains. A little after midnight the peaceful moonlight streamed upon their way. No sound came after them from the city: none from the rivers or the groves, except now and then the deep growl of the hungry animals of the forest, pealing up terribly from some sequestered glen.

Thus they began to think, that if they could escape the wild beasts, morning would place them beyond the reach of their enemies. Before the sun was very high, however, they were overtaken by a party of Tartarian horsemen; who robbed them of what little they had saved in their flight, and carrying them to the next city, sold them to a slave merchant, who was then going with some fair Circassians to Delhi.

The merchant treated them very humanely; but, being willing to rid himself of the old man as soon as possible, he sold him to a jeweller of that place, who wanted such a person to look after his shop. The extreme grief of Perizade at seeing her father torn from her, cannot be expressed. She refused, for several days, the food which was placed before her; but nature at length overcame her resolution, and she consented to live. As to Firooz, he was placed with other slaves, to take care of the camels; and being attached to the merchant's suite more by the love of Perizade, than fear of punishment, did not attempt to run away.

When they arrived at Delhi, the merchant thought fit to grant them a few days repose; after which, dressing her very elegantly, he carried Perizade to the Bazaar, reserving Firooz till a slave of his description should be inquired for. She stood among the Circassians, and by the beauty of her features, and the brilliant tint of her complexion surpassed them all; inasmuch, that those who came to buy, were sure to begin with asking what price the merchant demanded for her. Seeing this, he asked of each inquirer more than of the last; till her price at last amounted to twenty thousand sequins. Such a sum was not to be paid by any common man; and indeed she would have remained a long time on his hands, had not the chief eunuch of the palace happened to pass that way, who, after bargaining for some time, purchased her for the emperor.

When this began to be whispered among the remaining slaves, they all turned their eyes upon the unfortunate young man, who, as soon as he learnt the truth, became nearly insane with sorrow.* However, his destiny was not to be shunned; and gathering up resolution from amidst the wreck of hope, his mind calmly bent itself to the current which was sweeping over it.

In a short time after this, Firooz himself was disposed of, to the emperor's physician, who had apartments allowed him in one of the imperial villas. This villa was situated on the banks of a distant river, and a very wild and desolate country was to be crossed in reaching it. After travelling by land for some days, the persons in whose company he was sent,

stopped beside the edge of a very beautiful lake, whose shores were thickly studded with aromatic reeds in blossom. The wind, lazily creeping amongst the tufted flowers, came cold and fragrant to them, as they sat down on the soft grass. About the second hour of prayer, they perceived a beautiful Chinese boat with sails of flexible and painted cane, shoot lightly over the lake, and approach the place where they sat. It contained only one man, but he was quite sufficient to inspire them with terror. Over his shoulders was thrown the striped skin of a huge tiger; on his head he wore a high scarlet Tartarian bonnet, shaded by a mingled plume of heron's and eagle's feathers; and from his belt depended a cluster of pistols, and a silver-sheathed dagger. When this boat had floated nearly up to the spot where they were, he laid hold of the branch of a tree which drooped over the water, and stopped its course to gaze on them.

When he had indulged his curiosity or impertinence for some time, he desired them to step into the boat. They obeyed without replying, and with lowered sail were paddled away hastily in the teeth of the wind. Presently the boat struck into a river which flowed out of the lake; and after having for many hours passed through a fine plain, towards evening the river entered a dark and fearful valley. Its banks were now no longer shaded by trees, or enamelled by flowers; but ruins and ancient sepulchres threw their gloomy shadows over its waters. Now and then, as the twilight gave way before the face of night, the owl was seen flitting through the deserted domes; occasionally uttering a shrill preluding shriek. The sharp eye of the chacal, likewise, glanced forth from behind the capital of some overthrown pillar, to observe how nearly the hour of prey had approached.

Amid this sepulchral scene they were overtaken by the night; but still the indefatigable Tartar urged on his boat in imperturbable silence. Before morning, however, they began to observe a sensible change in the scenery. Gentle hills came softening down with an easy slope to the edge of the stream; and tufts of trees waved here and there their heads in the dappled dawn.

Just as the sun rose, they came, by a winding in the river, in sight of what they took at first to be a temple, so stupendous and gloomy was its architecture; but when they were carried by the stream close under its dark and overtopping battlements, it became clear that it was no less than an imperial palace and fortress. The outer wall, which was crowned at short distances by slender minaret-like towers, so high that they trembled in the wind, rose up out of the water, which in that place was extremely still and deep. It likewise possessed the property of rendering all those melancholy who looked into its black waves. In the centre of this long façade, flanked by two towers of black granite, was a very lofty gateway, through which a whole army might have been rolled out into the river. Before this gateway the Tartar stayed his boat; and, taking from under his garment that curious instrument by which the Kurd-shepherds advertise each other of an enemy's approach, he blew a shrill blast, and the ponderous portcullis was updrawn. Firooz now cast in a suspicious glance at this building, and saw two files of black eunuchs drawn up from the gateway to the body of the palace. Two or three of their officers came to the top of the stairs to see who was coming, and no sooner perceived the Tartar, and his boat-full of slaves, than clapping their hands and setting up a hoarse pealing laugh, they rushed down

the stairs, and taking out Firooz and his companions, hurried them up to what they termed initiation. Passing over this ceremony, and the introduction of Firooz to his master, the old physician, we come to the manner in which the young Ghebr was raised to be his confidant.

Ibrahim Misnah was by birth an Arab, and in order to attain perfection in his art, had travelled through all the principal countries of Asia, still conferring with the most learned physicians wherever he came. He was now old, childless, and a principal favourite with the Sultan Mahmood. Being fond of poetry and music, he took much pains in teaching such of his slaves as discovered the least sign of genius, to write verses, and play upon the vina. In Firooz, he thought he perceived a more than ordinary enthusiasm, when he sung those exquisite lyrical productions, which the taste of the old Arab never failed to select. Firooz was in fact an exquisite musician, as well as poet; and seeing that Ibrahim had no intention to be a tyrant over him, not unfrequently gave way to his imagination, and united to the sweetest melody, the still deeper sweetness of his wild erotic song.

By these means Ibrahim gradually became fond of him; and confiding much in his probity, would have rendered him happy, if the image of Perizade had not been at every instant present to his soul,—adding softness to his music, and passion, regret, and pathos to his song. Whenever he could obtain permission, he pleased himself with rowing across the river in the Tartar's boat; and, having gained some unobserved nook, with lamenting in secret the loss of his mistress. His was not a common misfortune, for he had lost the only high intellectual being with whom he could share the secret purposes of his soul; and added to this loss was the reflection that she had passed involuntarily into the power of another. But the kindness of Ibrahim did render his mode of life more tolerable than it could have been with a less indulgent master; for he not only amused him with relations of his youthful adventures, but sometimes, also, with the curious cases which occurred among his patients at the palace. Among such anecdotes as a physician in so singular a situation might be supposed to be acquainted with, he one day related to him the adventure of a female slave, who had poisoned herself at Delhi, to avoid the emperor's lust. He described her so exactly, that Firooz could not doubt that it was Perizade; and being much moved, he inquired whether she had died. The old man, wondering at his sensibility, replied that she had not; but added, that her life was still in imminent danger. "Where is she?" "My son!" answered the physician, "thou art affected at the fate of this obstinate woman—moderate thy feelings; for were any other person than myself witness of them, it might go ill with thee. Passion is a suspicious judge."

Firooz was taught by this reply, that his master's position at the court of Delhi was far from being void of danger; but he imagined that Perizade was confined in that remote palace, and set himself on the watch to discover her. Eagerly measuring, therefore, every tower, window, and kiosk with his eye, he sometimes fancied that he saw her fair form glance along the marble galleries, or flit across the loop-holes of the turrets. But, day after day passing without any thing farther occurring, he concluded his eyes mistaken.

Some time after, the physician having forgotten their former conversation, he learned from him, that the slave of whom he had been speaking

was confined in the tower standing over the eastern angle of the wall ; and that the emperor would arrive at the fortress in twenty days, in order to visit her. Firooz was too wise to interrupt his information by questioning ; so he arrived at all the knowledge which the old man could impart to him respecting his mistress. Knowing Perizade's custom of rising very early in the morning, he now crossed the river every day, before any other than the sentinels was stirring ; and these observing him constantly in the boat, took no notice of him. Arrived opposite the tower, he sat down, keeping his eyes fixed upon the windows. He was here one morning when Perizade came out upon the slender balcony which ran round the whole tower. Seeing a man, she was about to turn back ; but a sudden recollection flashed upon her mind, and throwing up her veil to observe more minutely, she found that it was indeed Firooz. Being deeply absorbed in thought, though his eyes were turned that way, he did not immediately perceive her ; which made her believe that he was become insane with grief. Being, however, willing to attract his attention if possible, she called aloud, in spite of danger—"Firooz ! Firooz of Candahar !" At this voice he started up, and seeing her lean towards him from the giddy balcony, he trembled lest she should drop into the river, which flowed so wide and deep far below. As he was about to speak, a black eunuch seizing her by the arm, dragged her into the tower, and closed the window.

Persuaded that he had been seen by the cunuch, he nevertheless returned hastily to his master's apartments ; and set himself about his ordinary employment. He heard, nothing, however, of this adventure ; nor, though he every morning went to the same spot, did he again see Perizade.

And now the day of the emperor's arrival came ; and pomp and magnificence proclaimed his presence. Firooz saw his mighty rival lifted up like a god by the homage of mankind, and scattering splendour and happiness among those who surrounded him ; while his heart meditated crime, and his understanding crouched beneath his passion. Mahmood had not been many minutes at the palace, before he escaped from the eyes of his followers to repair to the apartments of Perizade. He found her, as he had always found her, cold, haughty, and resolved to oppose her most desperate efforts to his passion. He suffered her to be guided by her own will for that day, fully determined, however, that with its close should terminate his forbearance. The old physician, after having been closeted for some hours with the emperor, returning to his apartment, indulged himself in unusual invectives against the obstinacy of women ; and at length imparting the reason to Firooz, demanded whether the audacious slave did not deserve to be thrown into the river for her pride ? The Ghebr, personating calmness as well as he could, replied, in a manner calculated to allay the old man's fury, that he believed the physician had not met in his youth with many repulses of that kind. "By the Prophet ! thou speakest truth," said the old man, pleased with the flattery, "Ibrahim was more successful : " and stroking his long white beard, he sank into a reverie on the gallantries of his younger days.

Escaping in this manner from the garrulity of his master, and springing into the boat, he flew to that spot which of all others he should most have shunned. Persons who have been condemned to death, and who have seen the grisly phantom lurking behind the back of a few vain hours, may imagine the hell which took possession of the breast of Firooz during the

interval between noon and evening. Hiding himself in the thicket of a little wilderness which shaded the bank of the river, with his eyes fixed upon the sky, he seemed to be watching for the dissolution of heaven and earth. He appeared plunged into an abyss of suffering, and was mute, and would scarcely breathe, as if any evidences of his existence would accelerate the footsteps of Time.

As the sun sank towards the west, he felt as if the power of darkness were usurping the dominion of nature for ever. He looked up earnestly at the clouds which were thronging round the departing sun; and saw his last rays playing amongst their darkening, broken, and fantastic masses. How did he wish to sink to rest, calmly as that everlasting minister of God glided from the sky! but his breast was harrowed up by the turmoil of all the passions—he felt no serenity; he experienced no resignation to the degrees of fate—his soul was immersed in the earthliness of worldly love.

Presently it was night, and as the darkness grew more thick, he started up from his lair in the thicket; and drew near the brink of the river. The lights in the tower-windows burned bright and serene, as if illuminating some festival of virtue; and their splendour playing upon the river, discovered the scaled alligator plunging down the stream. It was with violence that he thrust from his soul the wish for self-destruction; and it was with equal violence that he grasped the skirts of Hope's mantle, as she spurned him, and was on the wing towards heaven. He looked about him upon the dark unsympathizing universe; and though he seemed to feel the solid world steal away from beneath his feet, he yet clung desperately to existence, as if Hope were every thing.

With the advances of the night his imagination became gradually wrought up to a pitch approaching madness: he forgot his bodily existence—the scene of things which surrounded him—and piercing upon the wings of horror the chambers of the fatal building before him, he beheld the quenching of his hopes in the dishonour of the woman he adored. He stood upon the extreme edge of the river's over-hanging brink, with his body somewhat projecting over it; his eyes, his mouth, his hands open, in the attitude of wild expectancy. On a sudden the rush of flames, and piercing shrieks of distress, recalled him to himself. He observed the light from the windows grow every moment more intense. It was certain, wherever Perizade might be, that the tower was on fire; and that those in its upper apartments must inevitably perish in it. If, before, he was racked by keen jealousy and terrible regret, and believed that he would rather have seen her the prey of death than of the Sultan, he instantly became undeceived; for now, that her life was in real peril, he would have relinquished all hope, so that she might merely live. Looking earnestly at the windows, he thought he perceived a shadow pass upward before the mounting flames. Presently it was followed by another; and then both were lost in the darkness of the upper stories. These, then, he concluded, were Perizade and the Sultan; and there he stood, divided from her by a wide river, and a circle of upspringing fire. There was not in the tower a creature but themselves; for the Sultan had dismissed his attendants, who took care he should be obeyed to the letter; and thus the fire might go on without interruption.

The increase of the conflagration was too rapid to be followed by description; for the greater part of the building being wood, before the fugitives could reach the top, it was sheathed in flames, whose pyramidal

points, like tongues, darting here and there, seemed animated with a thirst of destruction. The whole pile was now illuminated : and every little loop-hole and gilded crescent became apparent; and now Perizade stood upon the little painted gallery, which projected from the top of the tower ; and, leaning over for an instant, as if to measure the height which separated her from the reddening waves below, plunged off, and was precipitated into the depth of the river.

All this was acted so rapidly, that Firooz had not time even to utter an exclamation ; and when Perizade sank down into the waters, thinking her dead, he sprang in, to bestow one last kiss upon her lips. By the time he had swam to the spot, the body had risen to the surface ; and seizing it passionately in his grasp, he made towards the shore. Before he had reached it, he heard the dash of the Sultan's fall into the stream ; but this only incited him to make the more effort at landing. When he was quite on shore, kissing the body, he retired with it to the little nook where he had drawn up his boat, out of sight of the imperial gardens. There he laid it along upon the cold sward, and devoutly kneeling beside it, besought heaven, either to restore it to life, or to annihilate him on that spot.

But in reality life had not flown ; and though every instant, the cries of the slaves, who by this time were in search of the emperor, were heard nearer and nearer to where he stood, he did not remit for a moment what exertion was in his power to recal the spirit. By slow degrees she at length recovered, and recognized the dear hands which flung back her damp tresses, and fanned her with the broad leaf of the plantain. What words could depicture their joy, dashed even as it was by uncertainty and fear ! As soon as Perizade could bear it, he lifted her into the boat, for it was necessary they should escape from that spot ; and hoping the river would bear them to safety, even though it were in a desert, they committed themselves to the current.

Floating along therefore, by the mere force of the stream, they indulged for a moment the joy inspired by recent freedom, united with the intense delight of meeting with those we love. A thousand anxious inquiries were made on both sides ; and as many others repeated without waiting for a reply. Man experiences the most exquisite pleasure in the lap of danger ; for all the hidden powers of his soul are then concentrated in the feeling. He seems to wrest what he enjoys from the grasp of fate—to be beforehand with the enemy of life—to mingle in the draught of one moment the scattered drops of happiness which sparkle far apart upon the desert of human life. Firooz and Perizade were indulging the flow of long repressed sensibility, when the distant roar and dash of waters warned them that they were nearing either the sea or a cataract. Being startled by the idea, Firooz began to push the boat towards the shore, but found to his confusion, that the bed of the river being considerably inclined, the waters rushed forward with such inconceivable force and rapidity, that no power of oar could extricate them from the current. He looked up at the stars, and seeing them fly back like arrows, his fear and anxiety were considerably increased. " Ah ! Perizade," said he, " I have snatched thee from death, only that I might plunge thee in one more dreadful ! I cannot thrust this accursed boat out of the stream—we are lost, we are lost ! Come, bend thy head

over the side: see, we fly as if some demon were harnessed to the boat—observe how we shoot by the dusky shore! Would to God that it were day! or that even the moon shed her faint light over us! There might then be some hope. But no! heaven hath deserted us. The very stars dispense their light grudgingly. Ah! heavens! Perizade, we approach trees—they bend over the stream—quick, assist me to snatch at them!—Oh, they were too high!” “Commend we ourselves to God, my Firooz,” replied Perizade, “if we perish, we perish together!”

After they had done so, the enthusiasm of suffering was strengthened in their souls; they felt roused to meet their fate with dignity. But this passionate stoicism gave way as the thunder of the cataract seemed nearer and nearer. Yet they were silent; being, indeed, afraid to give vent to their growing terror; and hand in hand, leaned forward over the prow of the boat, awaiting the moment of being dashed down into the abyss of waters. Their eyes, now and then, were raised towards the sky; imploring, in silent agony, the assistance of heaven. Then, again, turning them upon the mighty river, upon whose dark bosom they were borne towards death, they endeavoured to steep memory, consciousness, and foresight, in the abstraction of a dream—to merge reality in forgetfulness—to stop the fury of imagination, which a thousand times hurled them down the terrible precipice, which they were approaching. Sometimes they cast a yearning look at the rugged shores of the river, and once or twice beheld the light stream through the trees from the window of some peasant's cottage. Upon this they would call aloud on the blest inhabitant for assistance; but already their voices began to be drowned in the crash and boiling of the falling waves; and no other sound arose to break the terrible monotony.

In the eagerness of horror they now leaned forward, endeavouring to discern the edge of the cataract—but it was still far off. While they were thus agitated by extreme fear, the moon began to thrust up her bright horns from behind the mountains; but her light, far from dispersing a portion of their terror, only served to render it more oppressing; for now they saw clearly that nothing stood between them and fast rushing destruction. The moments, though lengthened out to their utmost bourne by pain, seemed to hurry by on the pinion of the lightning; and, at length, the broad tremendous cataract itself appeared. The painfulness of expectation became, at that instant, heightened to suffocation; till unable any longer to look death in the face, they both dropped down nearly insensible in the boat. And now, every fierce instant flew with them towards the brink; imagination was at a stand, and a lingering pause of awful pregnancy prepared them for destruction; but just as the rushing bark approached the bend of the waters, which seemed to curve round like the neck of a proud steed, before they resolved themselves into foam and spray in their tremendous fall, it was arrested by an invincible force, and lifted nearly out of the water.

Here, then, they hung, as if by invisible agency, in the very throat of death; and their frail boat seemed as stable, as if it had been part of the everlasting rock, over which the roaring and incessant waters rolled forwards. • Fearful it was only stopped for a moment by some transient obstacle, they could scarcely prevail upon themselves to rise, and look out. At length, however, Firooz ventured to give a glance over the

proW, and the splendour of the scene caused him to prolong it for a moment; for the moon shining through the spray, which was thinned and beaten into vapour in its fall, gave birth to a thousand night Irises, which seemed to revel on the dancing foam. It would have required more force of mind than man has ever been gifted with, to have observed minutely the wonders of such a view; but Firooz was not unfamiliar with danger, and therefore was soon able to call up a portion of his self-possession, and to examine the tenure upon which he held existence. Observing the edge of the cataract, he perceived a species of net stretching from one end of it to the other, and putting forth his hand to feel it, he found that it was composed of enormous chains, which the weight of the largest ship could scarcely have broken. They were then in safety, and the only difficulty was to free the boat, and get on shore.

In a short time they perceived a light on the left bank, and felt themselves attracted towards it. As they came very near the land, they perceived an old man, in the habit of a Brahmin, turning an engine which commanded the net on the river. Having drawn them quite to the shore, the sage came up to them, and inquired by what adventure they had come into his net. Firooz gladly confided the whole truth to this venerable priest, and, in return, asked who might be the author of so excellent an invention. Replying that it would be too long to explain the matter then, the Brahmin led them into a spacious cottage of cane-work, where he set food before them, and prepared them beds.

It was beyond the middle of the next day when they arose from sleep and met together in the outer chamber. The Brahmin, whom they had taken for an old man, now proved scarcely to have reached the middle age, and was of a peculiarly muscular and robust make. He was rather grave; and after a slight repast, requested that Firooz would favour him with the story of his life. The young man complied; and while he was relating it with delicate ingenuity, the Brahmin seemed to be agitated by no ordinary emotion; but he suppressed it, and listened to the end. When that came, he started up, and shaking off the loose habit of a Brahmin, stood before them in the imperial robes. Perizade shrieked, and instinctively caught hold of Firooz. Mahmood smiled. "By the Prophet!" he exclaimed, "ye surprise me with your passion. But I forgive you the pain ye have occasioned me. I have loved thee, Perizade, as I never before loved woman; but thy heart has preferred this youth to me and my throne. Be it so—ye have my pardon—come to my palace, and be happy together. An old man, now at my palace in Delhi, employed in assorting the royal gems, bewails himself as having lost a daughter—thou answerest his description—go, and soothe his latter days. Ye, doubtless, wonder by what magic I was transported hither:—know that the device of the Brahmin, the iron net, and the cottage, is mine. The slave who welcomed you to this cottage, has it in charge, on peril of his life, to suffer none, who claim his hospitality in the manner you did, to escape. He administers to every one, as he did to you, a soporific draught, and has those at his nod who fly to inform me of every thing. When I came here, it was the determination of my soul to decide on your pardon or death, by the relation of your story; and I listened to it in disguise that you might speak ingenuously. What I have heard suffices to extinguish my passion, or, at least, to quench

desire in my breast—I will turn the stream of my affection into another channel;—but enough of this—come with me and be happy.”

The lovers, after thanking the Sultan, followed him to Delhi, where they indeed found Ben Issachar, delighted to be once more in the company of his daughter, and surrounded by gold and jewels; and respected by the courtiers, and protected by the monarch, they passed their days in the enjoyment of honest splendour and mutual affection.

BION.

ON THE COMMEMORATION OF THE BATTLE OF ASSYE.

WHILE Britannia, elate, was triumphantly viewing
The deeds of her sons, in the bright page of fame,
And Memory's magic each joy was renewing,
As she paused on the glories of Wellington's name,
To far distant fields her fond fancy had strayed
Where her favourite so often victorious had been,
When sudden a maid,
In splendour array'd,
Like a vision of rapture illumin'd the scene.

"Twas the Genius of Asia, fair land of the sun!
"To me," she exclaimed, "you your Wellington owe!
'Neath my fostering clime his proud race he begun,
And matured was his fame by its cherishing glow;
In the morn of his life all refulgent he rose,
Like the orb which emblazons my region's clear sky,
Dispersed are his foes,
And Victory throws
Imperishing rays o'er the plains of Assye.

But think not, Britannia, thy children alone
Have my kingdoms subdued, and my subjects laid low:
With my own turbaned sons the great deed has been done,
I myself," said the maid "have inflicted the blow;
To anarchy's horrors my realms were a prey
When first on my shore thou thy banners unfurled:
I welcomed thy sway,
"Twas the morn of a day
Bringing freedom, and knowledge, to light a dark world.

"O Britannia!" she said, as all radiant she shone,
Her countenance beaming with beauty divine,
"O'er the hearts of my people establish thy throne;
In one wreath bid the lotus and laurel entwine.
Once the star of the East shed its lustre afar;
And again o'er the earth shall its lustre be spread;
While my sons, round thy car,
The foremost in war,
Rise to fame by such heroes as Wellington led."

ON THE CONSTITUTION ADOPTED AND PUBLISHED BY
THE GOVERNMENT OF MEXICO.

Nothing can be more delightful to the philanthropist than the spectacle at present afforded by the successful termination of the various struggles in South America, in favour of independence over Spanish despotism. We say termination, for to all practical purposes we must consider, more or less, that all the different states are now freed from that yoke. The independence of two of these states has been recognized by the British Government—these are Columbia and Mexico. Every thing connected with the latter has become peculiarly interesting to this country, arising from the extensive dealings in which it has engaged with our capitalists, who have contracted to work its rich and innumerable mines. Few things can be more satisfactory than to learn that no sooner was the country at all settled, than the thoughts of its rulers were turned towards framing a body of constitutional law: this has been done by the Mexican Government, and certainly great credit is due to them for their prompt attention to a subject of such vital importance to the interest of the nation. This is the best evidence that could be given of the comparatively settled state of the country; while this remained undone, no assurances to the contrary could entirely remove the doubts of some, who might imagine that when freed from the presence of their former oppressors, after so many ages of bondage, every thing must be necessarily in a state of confusion and anarchy. The Government have, however, promulgated a constitution,¹ to give a general idea of which, to our readers, will be the object of the present paper.

All new countries, that is, regenerated countries, such as Mexico, possess a great advantage over old countries in framing a work of this nature; we allude to prejudices in favour of old institutions, and prejudices against the formation of new ones, and indeed against all innovation. Where institutions are already established, considerable numbers must profit by them in some way or other: here then will be a host of interested prejudices. Others again, who are not, or who do not conceive themselves injured by them, and who have been taught by their ancestors to look up to them with respect, by mere force of habit have contracted such a veneration for them, that they would view their removal with pain, although it were clearly for the interest of the community that they should be done away with, and others substituted in their place. Such a mass of opposition as these two classes present, seldom fails of preventing the adoption of any important innovation. No such obstacles as these will clog the road to improvement in these regenerated states. The only thing, therefore, to be apprehended is, that those at the head of affairs will keep more power in their hands than is consistent with the interest of the people; but even here, as the eyes of the people are steadfastly fixed upon them during the progress of so vital a work as their constitution, this apprehension is reduced to its minimum. In a work of this nature, it was not to be expected that the Mexicans should tread out of the

¹ Acta Constitutiva de la Federacion Mexicana. Mexico, 1824. Imprenta del Supremo Gobierno en Palacio.

Oriental Herald, Vol. 4.

beaten path ; we allude to the total absence in this, as in every other established constitution, of the reasons for the various enactments. The necessity of such an accompaniment was first pointed out by Mr. Bentham.² The uses of a rationale are manifold : it will serve as a constant check to the framers of the constitution, by obliging them to compare and show in what way each article, as they go on, is conducive to the general object of the work ; and more than this, it will enable the people to judge of the validity of these reasons in each particular instance. By its means many will be made to understand the real use of any article, of which they might otherwise have doubts ; and it will serve to make the meaning of the terms employed understood.

We should premise that the Mexican Constitution at present before us must be considered merely as the outline of what the constitution is to be, and the caution which is here displayed cannot be too much admired : instead of doing, as some other nations which we could name have done, namely, declaring that it should not be altered for a certain term of years, the Mexicans have left many disputed points to be filled up after maturer consideration. The general model which they have followed, it will be seen, is the constitution of the Anglo-American United States, and, undoubtedly, if they took any established constitution at all as a model, they have made the best choice ; for of all constitutions, that is unquestionably the one which has in view, more completely by far than any other, the end which all constitutions ought to have in view, namely, the greatest happiness of the greatest number.

Before we offer any further remarks upon this performance, we shall give a translation of the most important articles :

FORM OF GOVERNMENT AND RELIGION.—Art. 3. The sovereign power resides radically and essentially in the nation : in like manner belongs exclusively to it the right of adopting and establishing, by means of its representatives, that form of government, and those fundamental laws, which shall appear best calculated for its conservation and greater prosperity, and making what modifications or variations may be deemed necessary.

Art. 4. The religion of the Mexican nation, is and shall be perpetually the Roman Catholic Apostolic. The nation will protect it by wise and just laws, and prohibits the exercise of any other whatsoever.

Art. 5. The nation adopts, as its form of government, a representative, popular, federal republic.

Art. 6. Its integral parts are independent states, having sovereign power in that which exclusively belongs to their internal administration and government, according as it is detailed in this act, and in the general constitution.

DIVISION OF POWERS.—Art. 9. The supreme power of the federation is divided into the legislative, executive, and judicial ; and two or more of these shall never be united in one corporation or person, neither can the legislative be deposited with a single individual.

LEGISLATIVE POWER.—Art. 10. The legislative power of the federation shall reside in a chamber of deputies, and in a senate, which will compose the general congress.

Art. 11. The members of the chamber of deputies, and of the senate, shall be named by the citizens of the states, in the manner provided by the constitution.

Art. 12. The basis for the nomination of the representatives of the chamber of deputies, shall be the population. Each state shall return two senators, as prescribed by the constitution.

EXECUTIVE POWER.—Art. 15. The supreme executive power shall be deposited

² See a Tract of this author's, entitled, "Codification Proposal, addressed to all Nations, by Jeremy Bentham," &c.

with the individual or individuals whom the constitution may designate : they shall be residents and natives of one or other of the states or territories of the federation.

Among the functions to be performed by the executive, are the following :—

v. To declare war, with the previous decree of approbation of the general congress ; and, when it is not sitting, in the manner directed by the constitution.

vi. To dispose of the permanent force by land and water, and of the active militia, for the external defence and internal security of the federation.

vii. To dispose of the local militia, for the same objects ; although to employ it out of its respective states, the previous consent of the general congress must be obtained, who will decide what force is required.

x. To name the diplomatic functionaries, and consuls, with the approbation of the senate, and, until this body is formed, of the actual congress.

JUDICIAL POWER.—Art. 18. Every man who resides in the territory of the federation has a right to the prompt, complete, and impartial administration of justice ; and with this object the federation confers the exercise of the judicial power in a supreme court of justice, and in the tribunals which will be established in each state : it is reserved for the constitution to mark out the powers of the supreme court.

Art. 19. No man shall be judged in the states or territories of the federation, except by laws made and tribunals established before the act was committed for which he is tried. In consequence, all judgments by special commission, and all retroactive laws, are for ever prohibited.

PARTICULAR GOVERNMENT OF THE STATES.—Art. 20. The government of each state is divided into the three powers, legislative, executive and judicial ; and two or more of them can never be united in one corporation, or person, nor the legislative deposited with one individual.

GENERAL PROVISIONS.—Art. 27. No state shall establish, without the consent of the general congress, any right of tonnage, nor shall maintain troops, or ships of war, in time of peace.

Art. 28. No state, without the consent of the general congress, shall impose contributions or duties upon importations or exportations.

Art. 30. The nation undertakes to protect, by wise and just laws, the rights of man and of the citizen.

Art. 31. Every inhabitant of the federation has the liberty of writing, printing, and publishing his political ideas, without the necessity of any license, revision, or approbation, previous to their publication, under the restrictions and responsibility of the laws.

As we before observed, this is merely an outline of what the general constitution will be, and consequently there may be a great many good points in it which we are prevented from pronouncing to be such, from the insufficiency of the information here given respecting them. The general feature of the form of government adopted is decidedly good, namely, the making the executive subordinate and responsible to the legislative, on the supposition that the legislative itself is responsible to those for whose benefit, and to transact whose business, they are appointed, namely, the people. This will depend upon the manner in which the representatives are chosen. In this constitution nothing has as yet been decided on, concerning the mode of election : the population is to regulate the number of representatives returned from each state. When they do decide *by whom* the representatives shall be chosen, we hope they will not make any useless restrictions as to the exercise of the elective franchise. If the population is to be the guide in choosing representatives, it is to the end that the interest of the population be adequately represented, and this can be done only by allowing the whole of

the population (infants excepted) to have a voice in the choice of their representatives.

There are two ways of making this choice. The open mode, and the secret mode or ballot. By the open mode it can be ascertained in whose favour any person has voted. This being the case, it cannot but happen that many will vote, not as their inclination might lead them to vote, but according to the will of some individual or individuals, who have it in their power to render them some essential service, and who, if they did not vote as they wished, would refuse to do them any such service, and withdraw altogether their protection from them.

Where the open mode is in practice, it is notorious that this has place, namely, that tradesmen, servants, labourers, &c. vote in the manner which is agreeable to their customers and employers, howmuchsoever their own opinions may differ from those who force them thus to vote. It is clear that upon such a plan the individuals elected will not be the representatives of the people, but of the masters and influential men, in other words, of the rich. A remedy to these evils is to be found in the secret mode of election, or by ballot; this will put an end to all the oppression, corruption, and insincerity, inseparably connected with the other system; because, it being impossible to know which way any particular person has voted, a rich man will never withdraw his custom or protection from any elector, on a mere suspicion of not having done what he could wish, neither would he be so foolish as to bribe any body to vote in a particular way; for, were it agreeable to the voter's inclination to do so, he would do so without the bribe, and if it were not agreeable to him, the bribe would not make him do so, and if he did, the briber could not possibly have any assurance of his having done so.

Various objections, however, have been urged against the ballot; amongst others, it has been said it is immoral, inasmuch as it will make men break their promises; they will *promise* to vote one way, but will vote another. To this it may be asked in reply, in what way would you have the promise kept? The nature of the case is such as to afford no evidence, either in the one way or the other. Immorality indeed! if a promise were extracted from an elector to vote in a particular way, and this happened to be the way in which he intended to vote, well and good; but if, on the contrary, he wished to vote in a different way, the immorality would consist, as the late Mr. Ricardo justly observed in the House of Commons, in keeping any such promise.

Election by ballot, then, is the only guarantee which the nature of the case admits of, that the individuals elected are the genuine free choice of the people. This is the plan adopted for the most part in the United States, and it is to be hoped that Mexico will do the same.

The article respecting the Liberty of the Press would appear to give the fullest scope to all political discussion, but it is evident that this freedom must depend entirely on the meaning of the last sentence, viz. "under the restrictions and responsibility of the laws:" these restrictions may be such as to reduce the condition of the press to the same footing as that of France: one little phrase would be sufficient, to the effect, that "all animadversions on the government or its officers are prohibited:" but from their having adopted the United States' Constitution as their model, and from the wording of the first part of the article itself, we are

inclined to hope that the restrictions alluded to, merely refer to the prevention of mendacity and defamation.

Of what is absolutely bad in this constitution, the most remarkable article is that relating to religion, prohibiting the exercise of any other except the Roman Catholic ; and then ludicrously remarking, that it will be *protected* by wise and just laws, after all opposition (and therefore need of protection) has been swept away. This intolerance is so inconsistent with their conduct in establishing a government of their own, independent of their former oppressors,—is so contrary to all reason, and exhibits such arrogance and ignorance of their own interests, that we have very little doubt but that this article will be speedily amended ; until it is amended, they cannot expect foreigners in any number, of a different persuasion from their own, to visit their country, and it is only by intercourse with those foreigners among others, that they can expect to turn the natural products of the country to the best account, or bring society there to the level of ordinary civilization. We acquit the enlightened men of Mexico from any participation of the intolerant spirit which is breathed in this intolerant article ; on the contrary, we are convinced it has been forced upon them by the religious prejudices of the people, the natural result of the dominion of a Spanish priesthood ; we are, therefore, the more confident in our expectations, that it will soon receive some modification, and in doing that, we hope they will return to their original model, which on this occasion they appear to have laid aside. There they will find it declared that “ Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof : ” and again, “ no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States. ” Yet a more religious country than the United States is not to be found in the whole world.

In following the United States Constitution, the Mexicans have copied some of what appear to us, to be its imperfections, the most important of which is the division of the Legislative Body into two Chambers. No where is the need of a *rationale* more apparent than in this, and the article respecting religion. Under a government which has for its object the interest of an aristocracy, we can understand the use of such an institution, namely, to put a stop to every thing which might be deemed too popular ; that is, every thing tending to promote the interest of the people, when at the expense of the interest of the aristocracy. This is very plain ; but under a government having for its object the interest of the people, what benefit such an institution can confer on the nation we cannot comprehend. The government is to be for the happiness of the people ; each of these chambers, then, ought to be composed of individuals representing the people. This can only be attained by the people choosing their representatives in a direct manner. If this be true as regards the choosing of members for one chamber, it must be equally true as regards the choosing of them for a second chamber ; in both cases the functions to be performed must, more or less, be exactly the same. In the constitution of the United States, various distinctions are made between members of the Senate and members of the House of Representatives ; a senator must have attained to the age of thirty years, which is five years older than is required in a representative. If it is certain that men understand the business of a legislator better at thirty than at twenty-five, in the instance of those who are to sit in one room, so will it be in the instance of

those who have to sit in another; there is surely nothing in the shape or name of the room in which the members sit, which can make any such distinction of age necessary to the due performance of their legislative functions. There is likewise a difference in regard to the term of service: the senators are chosen for six years, the representatives for two.³

The same reasoning which applied to the former distinction will also apply to this. If it be advantageous that the representatives should be elected every two years, is there any thing in the nature of a senator different from that of a member of the other house, which can make it desirable that he should serve three times as long? These distinctions seem to have been made through sheer caprice, merely for the sake of making a distinction. But with or without these distinctions, what is the use of having two chambers, the one having a veto upon the enactments of the other? For our own parts, we see no use whatever in this. It has been said that the use consists in the one checking any sudden ebullition of the other; that is, that every legislative enactment should undergo two discussions, so that, should any measure be rashly passed by one, it might, after the calm deliberation of the other, be rejected or amended. If by the word rashly is meant quickly, we do not see that it necessarily follows, that because a law is passed quickly it must be bad. Sometimes it will happen that there will be a demand for passing laws with the least possible delay; if it means without sufficient consideration, such a flaw will be soon discovered,—as soon, at any rate, as it would by a senate, and the law would be amended or repealed as the case might require. But supposing a measure thus passed, the having a senate does not provide against the possibility of their being affected in the same way, and at the same time, as the other chamber. It will be replied, perhaps, that the senate being composed of men of more years than the members of the other house, it is not likely their passions will lead them astray. If this were granted, it would be only necessary to choose all the representatives of the same age as the senators, and this would secure all the advantages of a senate, without having two chambers.

Although the senate is useless, it may be asked, is it mischievous? We think it is decidedly so, for various reasons, and first from the veto which it may exercise over the acts of the house of representatives. This is a power which we conceive cannot safely be intrusted to any body whatever, much less to a body who are not so identified with the people as the representatives themselves. If the senate be more capable of judging what is for the interest of the people than the house of representatives, it would be much better to have no house of representatives at all. Add to this, the unnecessary delay which this senate must create in all legislative matters; besides the additional expense to the nation, in having to pay so many useless hands, of which the senate would be composed.

There is another consideration respecting this senate, which should not be overlooked; and that is, that a great many good things are to be given away by the executive, in conjunction with the senate. The effect of this is, to weaken the responsibility of the executive, in regard

³ This would have been reduced to one, had it not been for the great distance which many of them would have to travel before they could reach the seat of government.

to their proper distribution. In speaking of responsibility, we should observe, that it has not yet been settled whether the supreme executive shall be exercised by one or more individuals. Now the grand problem respecting the executive, is the obtaining a complete control over it, by the legislature, by means of the strictest responsibility; but the perfection of responsibility in this case, consists in unity: where there is but one, every thing bad done by him can only be chargeable to him; where there are two or more, it cannot but be doubtful to whom the mischief is chargeable: the greater the number, the less the responsibility;—we would, therefore, recommend the Mexicans to follow the example of the United States, and deposit the supreme executive in one single and responsible person—a president. But concerning the distribution of these good things, namely, all diplomatic functionaries, &c., as by article 16, the division of this necessary patronage between the president and the senate, will most probably cause them to enter into a sort of compromise; the senate ensuring to the president the unshackled distribution of a certain number of places, on condition of his giving the rest up to them. Such a state of things is not conducive to the appointment of apt individuals. Men will be chosen, not on account of their talent, but from their connexion with one or other of the parties possessing the patronage; and the house of representatives will have no thorough hold of the president for having made a bad use of this power, as he will be screened by the senate.

In this senate then, we see nothing but evil, in various shapes, delay, expense, and corruption, a mere nursery-bed for raising an aristocracy, than which nothing can be more inimical to the interests of the community at large. That the Mexicans should have copied this from the United States is not to be wondered at; but what is astonishing is, that the United States themselves should still uphold such an institution, after the evidence they have had of its inadequacy to every good purpose. Indeed, from what we have heard, we have every reason for believing that it will, ere long, be done away with.

As regards the judicial authority, very little has yet been decided upon; there are fair promises, however, inasmuch as it guarantees to every inhabitant of the territory the prompt, complete, and impartial administration of justice. If this promise be strictly kept, we shall see Mexico teaching a lesson even to the United States, for she will be exempt from the bane of that well-imagined instrument for enriching lawyers, at the expense, and to the ruin, of the suitors—their glorious common law,³ with all its uncertainty, delay, expense, and positive partiality, inasmuch as it denies all redress to those who cannot afford to pay for the chance of it, and that too at a high rate. Where the common law is in force, an individual who imagines himself to be wronged, instead of being able to turn to some code or other, in order to see whether or not the case is as he imagines, is obliged to fee a lawyer, not in return for a redress of any grievance, but for telling him his opinion of what the probable opinion of the judge will be, on his particular case.

³ We are perfectly aware that the common law, as practised there, has been considerably modified, in comparison with what it is in this enlightened nation; still the evils which we have pointed out exist there, and must necessarily exist wherever the system is in force.

It is a general rule, not according to the merits of the case, but according to precedent : sometimes, however, a judge decides contrary to all precedent as well as to all reason ; but there is nothing improper in this, it is according to the common law, which has been pronounced to be "the perfection of human reason!"

If the Mexicans wish to escape from a state of judicial thralldom—if they really wish to have good laws—they will have nothing to do with common law ; statute law, and nothing but statute law, is what they will adopt—that sort of law which every body may consult, and every body understand.

EXPRESSIVE SILENCE.

WHEN Flattery's burnished plumes expand
 Rich in the tints of Iris' bow,
 And Falsehood lends a willing hand
 To give those tints a brighter glow,
 Fly, fly the fiend, for every wreath
 That round her flower-crowned brows are twined,
 Conceal, their honied folds beneath,
 The poison of a noble mind.

But oh ! when Truth, in simple lay,
 Pure as the fount from whence she springs,
 The tribute of the heart shall pay,
 And warmly feel whate'er she sings,
 Then, Lady ! even thou may'st hear
 The lisplings of her artless tongue,
 Nor close thy chaste o'ercautious ear
 To strains by Truth and Feeling sung.

But when my soul to thine would turn,
 Invoking all the powers of song,
 I feel the flame so warmly burn,
 That fetters bind my trembling tongue.
 Thus, as Apelles vainly tried
 To paint what sorrowing matrons feel,
 And, finding all his powers defied,
 Drew o'er the mourner's face a veil,—
 So o'er th' emotions of my heart
 Let Silence draw her veil for ever,
 And stifled feeling thus impart
 A tie that shall be broken never !

ON THE EDUCATION OF YOUTH FOR CIVIL OFFICES IN INDIA.

No. VI.

Quod quando, et quomodo, et per quos agendum sit.
CIC. EPIST. AD FAM.

It must be evident that the whole of the proposed changes in the education of Indian Civil Officers depend chiefly upon the third suggestion, namely, that the means only should be provided for acquiring appropriate knowledge and qualifications for an appointment. Whatever has been said in preceding Numbers upon the disadvantages belonging to Haileybury College, the objectionable mode in which appointments are now conferred, and the necessity of withdrawing the patronage from the management of the Directors, connects itself intimately with this part of the argument. Whatever has been urged against Haileybury College, holds equally good not only against every kind of exclusive establishment, but every thing in the shape of studentships or exhibitions secured exclusively to the candidate for a writership. Whatever evils have been shown to attend the present mode of conferring appointments, we have proposed to remove, by making the appointment the prize of competition, and the qualifications voluntary acquirements. Whatever has been brought forward on the question of patronage, involves as its consequence the abolition of every sort of peculiar institution. Therefore, as some preparation is assumed to be necessary for the Indian Civil Officer, our previous reasoning implies that he should only be provided with the means of preparing himself.

We consider it no small benefit that this change would cancel the following absurd regulation of the Haileybury Code: "Every student, and his parent or guardian, will be required to make a declaration addressed to the Court, previously to his admission into the College, that it is with the free consent of the student that he goes to the College, and is ultimately destined for India." We must entreat the reader to recollect that the students are generally admitted at sixteen years old. Imagine, then, a boy at sixteen, escaping from the birch and dirt of some preparatory establishment, with the sounding title of College singing in his ears, and the alluring novelty of a trencher cap and academical gown before his eyes, making a deposition of his *free consent* to go to Haileybury! This is laughable; but it is not laughable that the parent or guardian should make a declaration of his knowledge, that a boy freely consents to that of which the parent or guardian, in nine cases out of ten, must know that the boy has a false conception.

We must also stop a moment to point out the absurdity which vitiates the eleventh of the Haileybury Statutes: "The rank of all students shall be determined by the certificate of the College Council, which shall be granted with reference to the industry, proficiency, and *general good behaviour* of the students." The students are admissible at sixteen, and superannuated at twenty-two. Will any two people exactly agree on what constitutes general good behaviour in a boy of sixteen or eighteen, or in a man of twenty-two? Here are three different ages, at each of which general good behaviour must naturally be of a very different kind.

The pertness which might be tolerated and forgotten in the first, ought not to be borne nor overlooked in the last. Certain offences might fairly be looked on in the one as the accidental effect of bad example, which might justly be considered in the other indications of vicious habits. A separate judgment must be formed of persons at sixteen, eighteen, and twenty-two years of age, on a subject altogether indefinable; for seriousness of demeanour in youth creates a predilection in some and a prejudice in others. To this man's perception, a blunt manner is the sign of a frank and open disposition; to another's, of coarseness and vulgarity, or of a refractory and intractable spirit. I may admire that as vivacity which you may condemn as frivolity. You shall detect an insolence of character in a peculiar gait, which I shall consider an easy graceful carriage. The Principal of College might hold that youth a great criminal who in the quadrangle played "*C'est l'air*," "*Pray, Goody*," or any other air on the key-bugle; while the Dean, perhaps, especially if he were deaf, would frown on the culprit, but laugh at his misconduct. Yet all these particular points, some in a greater, some in a less degree, will affect the judgment of those who grant a certificate which regulates the rank of the writer. Define, as long as you can do it accurately, studies to be pursued, discipline to be observed; but, in heaven's name, when you find the language of definition failing, let your Regulations be silent, especially when an adherence to them is made the condition of preserving or losing, of improving or deteriorating, a valuable property. The phrase just remarked upon, occurring in a statute of such vast importance to the writer, would almost raise a suspicion that it was meant to render nugatory those provisions which fix his rank by a scale of merit beyond the power of evasion.

Let parents or guardians choose public or private schools, or private tuition, as suits their own taste, for the education of the boy. Let them be wholly responsible for the degree of acquirement with which he comes prepared to enter on his University studies. The great object which they propose to themselves, as the return for all their care and expense, will stimulate them to guard against the probability of ultimate disappointment; and as the competition by being more open will be more keen, the preparation will be more complete.

We will first shortly state what, according to our notions, the means of obtaining appropriate knowledge and qualifications should be; and proceed at once, and in few words, to show why they should be provided at the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge rather than elsewhere.

The chief end of all appropriate education for Civil functionaries, is to help the mind to comprehend the character and condition of the Natives; that it may readily discern their good and bad qualities, as instruments to be used for their improvement and their wants, as the guides of benevolence in seeking to promote their happiness. But neither their peculiarities, nor what they have in their nature common to the rest of mankind, can be turned to any account without that medium of communicating ideas which language alone provides. Hence the acquirement of some one or two of the Native dialects is absolutely necessary for the civilian in India. One of the chief duties, therefore, which would devolve upon those who should change the present system of education, would be to preserve so much of it as furnishes the means of learning certain of the Eastern languages. There are at Haileybury a European

Professor of Arabic, Persian, and Hindûstani literature, (who, under our plan, would become a Professor of the Hindûstani, Bengalee, and Persian languages,) and another European Professor of Hindû literature and Asiatic History. Besides these gentlemen, a Visitor, two Assistant Professors, and a Native Persian Writing-master, are provided in the Oriental department. These are the only appointments peculiar to Hertford College. Mr. Mathus has justly said, that when a youth "is applying to the Oriental languages, he is really getting little more than the possession of an instrument;" he is doing little to improve and enlarge his mind. To the above Professors, therefore, should be added a Lecturer on the spirit of Asiatic Governments, and on the Code of Revenue and Judicial Regulations by which the internal administration of British India is conducted. With this addition, the whole should be incorporated with the learned bodies already existing at each of our great Universities.

It will be seen that the Bengalee dialect has been named as a specific duty of one European Professor. We know that this language is included in the studies of Haileybury; but we also know that when the Bengal writer arrives at his presidency, where alone it can be useful, it is at once thrown aside. In a former Number we have quoted from Mr. Adami's Address, as Visitor of the College at Fort William, a passage expressing his displeasure and regret at the total neglect of the vernacular tongue of Bengal; yet we find by the last report, which has reached this country, of the College examinations, that his exhortations and warnings have produced no effect whatever. Lord Amherst says, so late as the 21st of last July, "I observe with regret, that notwithstanding what was stated at the last annual meeting, as well as on former occasions, regarding the great utility of the vernacular language of Bengal to those who have to transact any public business in any part of that province, one student only, Mr. Clarke, appears to have qualified himself in that language during the elapsed year." We will here, therefore, maintain, that the qualifications of a Bengal nominee for an appointment either in this country or in India, ought not to be indefinitely a certain proficiency in two Native languages, but in two, of which Bengalee must absolutely be one.

We had intended to have made a few remarks on the employment of Persian as the judicial language of India; but time and space are both wanting for the most concise notice of the subject. We must, therefore, content ourselves with referring the reader to an excellent little volume of 'Essays relative to the Habits, Character, and Moral Improvement of the Hindoos,' in which the question is admirably handled in an Essay 'On the employment of a foreign language in judicial proceedings.' We will only add, that the use of Persian in public measures ought to be confined to the Durbâr; it ought strictly to be made, what French is in Europe, the diplomatic language of India.

With respect to the degree of proficiency to be acquired in Oriental languages at the Universities, it would be enough if the students were well-grounded in the elements, in order that they might pursue their studies without assistance during the voyage to India: not that higher proficiency should be discouraged and unrewarded, but that such should be the *minimum* of qualification. On reaching their several points of destination, send the young civilians to certain civil stations up the country; there to prepare themselves with moonshees and proper books for periodical examinations—their salaries as now not to be increased, till they have passed certain tests. By this arrangement they would escape the temptations to idleness and

extravagance which surround them at the respective Presidencies, at once get an insight into their future duties, and shorten their term of preparation for the public service. They would find, we are persuaded, that the time gained in England, would not be felt as a loss in India. We will now shortly advert to the advantages with which a university education comes recommended to the Indian civil offices.

A large proportion of our countrymen, and even of Oxford and Cambridge men, are ignorant of the ample means which they possess at the Universities, of cultivating every branch of human knowledge. We would, therefore, earnestly beg the reader to run his eye over the lists of *university* professorships in the Oxford and Cambridge Calendars. These, without including the College tutors and lecturers, amount to the number of twenty-nine at Oxford, and twenty-five at Cambridge; and taking both together, may be said to offer instruction "*de omni scibili*." An opponent will, perhaps, remark, that if so many university men, besides the generality of the world, do not know that the greater part of these professorships exist, an inference may be drawn, that the profession of learning at Oxford and Cambridge is a sinecure; and that to create new appointments *there*, would be to secure the inefficient discharge of their duties. But is it to be objected to our plan, that it yields some advantages to, while it derives many from, the Universities? Many of these professors would be eminently useful to the Indian student, (if the expression be allowable,) and we may boldly affirm, that if certificates of proficiency in their respective classes were required from the professors as indispensable to any set of young men, their lectures would be numerous attended, and their duties diligently discharged. In support of this assertion, we appeal to those, who, as candidates for holy orders, have attended the divinity lectures at Oxford, and call upon them to bear testimony to the distinguished ability and zeal of the lecturer, and the crowded state of the lecture-room. But the success of the late Dr. Clarke at Cambridge, and of the present professor of geology at Oxford, proves beyond a doubt, that the love of knowledge is of itself sufficient to stimulate the student, and through him the professor, to an ardent pursuit of learning and science. Hence, therefore, we infer, that if the help of any one or all the University professors were made necessary to qualify an aspirant merely after scholastic honours, much more than a candidate for a useful, noble, and lucrative profession, their energies would at once be put in action, and their acquirements displayed and admired.

Mr. Malthus, as a Cambridge man, has said of Cambridge, what most Oxford men would say of Oxford, "Cambridge is the best place of education that I know." It would seem by this avowal, and the tone of Mr. Malthus's pamphlet, that nothing, even in his opinion, is wanting at the universities for educating the Company's civil servants, but the means of acquiring appropriate knowledge. This want being supplied, we cannot help flattering ourselves, that we should have Mr. Malthus on our side, for most of the arguments which he uses in defence of Haileybury College are equally in favour of the question which we have in hand. But there is something still stronger than any of those arguments in the following consideration:—Suppose the student, graduated and qualified for an Indian appointment, but failing to obtain it; who can be better prepared for the church, the bar, or the senate? All the liberal professions of the country are thrown open to him; all the open fellowships, as well as those belonging to particular counties, towns and dioceses, at his

own university, are prizes for which he as well as others may contend. We would ask the fondest advocate of Hertford College, whether these are not important advantages, which that institution cannot give? We would further ask him, whether his alma mater, (a mere schoolmistress in academics, and any thing but *alma*.) can place the most distinguished of her sons on such a vantage ground in the world, as that on which he stands, who carries off the honours of the year at Oxford or Cambridge? Besides becoming a partaker in these benefits, the Indian civil officer, as a student, would avoid the uncertain, and undefined discipline of Haileybury College; as a man, he would be prepared to resist the allurements of luxury, and to use with moderation his unrestricted authority; as a Briton, he would escape the risk of living to look on his native land as a land of strangers, and a return to it as a voluntary banishment; as a gentleman, he would establish a connexion, by which he would keep his *caste* in this country, and never be degraded to a Nabob.

It has been said by some, that allowing a person destined for India to enter so much into English society as he may do while pursuing a course of studies at the University, would give him a distaste for his future profession. This may fairly be doubted. Is the prospect of a civilian's life in India made so very repulsive by what is told of it in England? We must take leave to think that the son of a country squire, who wisely keeps his wife and family at home, must be quite as much startled as if he were going on a *secure* appointment to India, at the idea of changing his college-rooms for chambers in Lincoln's-inn or the Temple; his tutor's lectures for the current business of a pleader's or conveyancer's office; and his college cronies for the crowded solitude of London. According to our own experience, we should say, that nothing brings the mind to a practical observation and real estimate of life, easily and with so little danger, as three or four years spent at the University. Let us not be misunderstood to mean that any thing will supply the place of that rubbing about in the world which hardens and polishes, and thus prepares us for its shocks. Certainly not. But at the University, we first determine to be lawyers, without hoping to be Chancellor; we there first turn our thoughts to the church, without aspiring to the mitre: in short, we there first think of serving instead of ruling mankind.

But if civil appointments to India were prizes for competition, and the scene of that competition fixed at the Universities, not only the service, but India itself, would share largely in the benefit of the change. Students are collected at Oxford and Cambridge from all parts of Great Britain, who are ultimately settled over the whole face of the country and its dependencies, in every rank and profession of life, and in almost every station of society. Thus, how widely would be extended, and how greatly would be heightened, an interest about Indian affairs! All who have the means of obtaining a liberal education would be deeply concerned in acquiring a knowledge of India and its inhabitants,—the former assuredly the source of much of our wealth, and the latter, perhaps, the remote parents of our civilization. Then, if an Indian question were brought before Parliament, it would be attended to by others besides the few Directors who have seats in the House of Commons, and the five or six individuals officially interested in the result. Then, such a speaker as Lord Grenville, when pressing the importance of our Indian empire on the Lords, would not be left to waste his eloquence on thirty or forty

sleeping Peers.¹ The duties on opium itself would be discussed without dosing. We feel firmly convinced, that the resources of India have never yet been understood, and that they *never will be*, while that monstrous monopoly of commerce and politics raises its impudent front in Leadenhall-street. The 'per quos agendum sit' of our motto is meant to apply to the Legislature of the country, by which alone the change which we have so nearly at heart, or indeed any change in the government of India, can be carried through and perfected. We can scarcely hope that any thing will be attempted before the expiration of the present charter. The East India Company have established a wide-spreading influence, which any ministry would dread to see opposed to them. When, therefore, they do come to Parliament for a continuance of their charter, it may be doubted whether their tone and language will be that of masters or suppliants. It really appears, that, if the Catholic Association be so anti-constitutional, and the powers which it assumes, and the proceedings which it publishes, be subversive of the very principles of all government, the political existence of associated tea-dealers and indigo-planters is equally contrary to our constitution, and far more dangerous to the state. If monopoly, which is exploded as mischievous in all other branches of commerce, be indispensable to the prosperity of trade in the East, let it flourish; but we trust that the King's Government will prepare and strengthen itself for a great struggle with the supporters of *political* monopoly. We consider Haileybury College² as an outwork of this system, and as such, and for many other reasons, we hope to witness its destruction.

If by this series of Papers we have made one convert to our opinion, or if we have attracted the attention of one intelligent mind not before directed to the subject, we have done much. Many details of our plan are necessarily omitted, while it is yet so far removed from the chance of its accomplishment: we trust, however, that what we have said may lead to discussion on its merits, and ultimately perhaps to some improvement in the education of youth for civil offices in India. B. M. V.

NOTE OF THE EDITOR.

We cannot witness the close of this series of Papers on the important subject discussed in them, without publicly expressing our high estimation of the talent and high tone of feeling which equally characterize them. There are many, we know, who are no friends to what the author of these Papers appropriately calls, "the monstrous monopoly of commerce and politics, which raises its impudent front in Leadenhall-street;" who yet dread the transfer of India from the Company's to the King's Government: because, bad as they conceive the former to be, they hold the latter to be worse. Without being admirers of His Majesty's ministers, however, we must say, that the whole course and tenor of the present administration is so superior to that pursued in India, that we should rejoice to see the transfer made to-morrow. As this is a point of considerable interest and importance, we invite communications on the subject; and pledge ourselves to give as ready an insertion to the arguments of those who dread nothing but evils, as of those who anticipate nothing but benefits, from the change: so that out of the collision of opinion truth may be elicited.

¹ It is believed that Lord Grenville's speech, (so often referred to), which is one of the very few speeches on Indian subjects distinguished by statesman-like and comprehensive opinions, was pronounced before a few Peers, not exceeding thirty or forty in number.

² We have abstained from mentioning the Company's Military Seminary; but cannot help thinking, that the artillery and engineer cadets would be better educated at Woollich.

CABINET OF FOREIGN VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

Books of Travels, when well written, are acknowledged to unite pleasure with instruction in a very great degree, particularly when they treat of countries imperfectly civilized, and relate those shifts and contrivances by which man endeavours to ameliorate his condition, previously to his receiving much assistance from the arts and sciences. They may be said to give in such cases an early chapter in the history of human nature; and to let us see what was the primitive condition of those polished nations who are now the farthest removed from barbarism. It happens very frequently, however, that travellers possessing those qualities of mind which are necessary to the making a judicious distinction between common-place observances, and those traits that give a character to a people or an era, commonly choose for the scene of their observations such countries as have been celebrated in history, and, in consequence, made familiar to their imaginations by their youthful studies. The more obscure tracts of the globe, in which little parcels of humanity lie hidden, as it were, from the eye of history and fame, but which, notwithstanding, may deserve, and might repay, attention,—are abandoned to accidental stragglers, whose perishable memoirs, when they make any, are quickly forgotten, leaving a blank on our minds which it would be profitable to fill up. In such tracts as those of which we are speaking, the present state of manners and appearances of nature are every thing: no mouldering temples, theatres, or palaces, but in their stead the warm farm-house, rustic inn, and neat cottage, are to be seen. The past calls up no regrets; speculation is confined to what may be hereafter; but the future taking very weak hold on the mind, those who describe new regions, commonly describe them well.

There are many such spots as those we allude to, even in Europe, especially in high northern latitudes, where the light of civilization has hitherto been faintly shed. In Asia many more, to say nothing of Africa and America. A collection of such notices as exist, whether new or old, on those obscure places, would prove very acceptable to the public; and inquiring minds would be led by it into a new tract of study.

A somewhat similar idea seems to have produced the "Cabinet of Foreign Voyages and Travels;" a truly pleasing and instructive little volume. The Introduction contains a very clear, though not complete, view of what has been added to our geographical knowledge within the last ten years; and is really an useful sketch. By observing it carefully the youthful reader, for whom of course it is principally designed, will be able to perceive at a glance most of the sources whence he may derive the completest information. The writer of it seems to be one who has a strong predilection for geography, and who has noted its progress with very great precision.

The first article, giving an account of 'M. Boie's Tour in Norway', in 1817, the reader will find peculiarly interesting. Norway is a country of which not much is known, from the little interest which the rest of Europe takes in its concerns, and the consequent indisposition of travellers to make it the scene of their researches. The author of this little Tour is a member of the Danish tribunal at Kiel, and undertook the

journey for the purpose of making observations on the birds of Norway, especially the numerous sea-fowl that haunt its western coast. The scientific portion is omitted in the *Cabinet of Voyages and Travels*, and only such remarks extracted as apply to the aspect of the country, and the manners and customs of the people. These are remarkable for conciseness and simplicity, and give the picture of a race of men possessing many peculiarities. We subjoin an extract or two.

M. Boie and his companion, after passing a mountainous tract covered with snow, where they were frequently obliged to alight in the most dangerous places, and crawl on all fours, arrived, towards the end of April, at the manor of Tofte, on the river Lougens Elv, which is inhabited by a descendant of the ancient northern Jarls. The interior of the wooden house, such as are every where met with in the country, was decorated with carved work, in a manner suitable to the wealth of the owner; and the furniture of the rooms was ornamented in the same taste, and painted with a variety of the most glaring colours. The best domestic utensils, silver spoons, and, in particular, a quantity of English earthenware, were ranged along the walls. Instead of stoves, there were, in most of the rooms, only open fire-places. The host was distinguished for his good manners, and was dressed in stuffs of his own manufacture.

They made the first shooting-party in pursuit of the *white partridge*, in Jerkin, before Drontheim, in the mountains of Dovrefield. The grandson of the host served as guide. He carried a fowling-piece of his own manufacture: was dressed in a grey jacket, and had on green stockings, and very thick shoes. A green cap concealed the greater part of his face: round his waist he wore a girdle, from which hung suspended an elegantly carved rein-deer-bone, to which he fastened the game. He also had on a pair of snow-shoes, of which the one for the right foot might be about four ells long (eight feet English), and the one for the left, half that length.

We soon, (says M. Boie,) lost sight of the manor of Jerkin, and we saw ourselves surrounded on all sides by a tract of dazzling white snow, extending farther than the eye could reach, which covered the undulating desert. The summits of the Snehätter, and peaks of other mountains of grotesque forms, towered in the distance: and close to us was the top of a beech buried in the snow. The frozen snow broke in with us from time to time, while our guide, infinitely quicker than we, by the help of his snow shoes, glided over it with the rapidity of an arrow, when we went down-hill; and with sufficient speed up-hill, describing a zig-zag, like a slip tacking: when we came to a naked rock he carried his snow shoes, which are exceeding light, under his arm.

The traveller observes, that the complexion of the men in that part was a copper-colour, resembling the American savages; but the women were fairer, though not remarkably pretty, and had bright golden hair. The people strew their floors with small twigs of pine or juniper, instead of sand, as they do also in Sweden. Mr. Boie asking for his reckoning at Seyerstad, the mistress of the house led him to the window, and, pointing to the sea and to the surrounding fields, said, "So long as the land gives us corn, and the sea fish, no traveller shall be able to say that we have accepted money of him." If they lived in more civilized regions, their hospitality would not be so warm.

The Nordland boats, which are in sole use to the extremity of Finnmark, are of singular construction: they have from four to ten oars. The four-oared boat carries only two persons, each with two oars. "In one of eight oars, the Nordlander thinks he can defy a stormy winter." They are about sixteen feet long; the end, prow, and keel very sharp, and a single sail occupies almost the whole length of the

lofty mast, to which it is fastened above by a transverse piece, circularly hollowed out in the middle, with which it may be raised and lowered. They are hauled on shore at the end of a voyage; and when in the sea, their edge is hardly a finger's breadth above the water.

The people grind their corn at home, and make a soft pudding of rye flour, which is the daily food of the Norwegian peasant. The cakes they eat with their fresh or dried fish, are made of barley and oat meal. Among their fruit they have the mountain raspberry, (*rubus chamaemorus*), which is found even in the north of Norway, and, being eaten with cream, is considered equal in flavour to the strawberry. In shape and size it resembles the blackberry; but its colour is a pale yellow, tinged with red on the side exposed to the sun. Tea is manufactured from dried strawberry and bilberry leaves, and its flavour is tolerably good.

Our travellers, during three days' stay at Foldereid, reposed in the daytime, and in the night went out a-hunting; for in these high latitudes, the nights had already (in May) ceased to be dark. Though the ice on the streams still bore, the snow was so diminished by the continued mild weather, that it was at least possible, though still attended with difficulty, to penetrate into the woods; and they were secured from losing their way by the far-echoing noise of a water-fall in the vicinity of the farm, by means of which they were always able to find their way back:

There was something inexpressibly sublime (says the author) in these twilight and solemnly silent nights. The nature of the country caused us often to separate involuntarily, and then only the musket shot of my companions roused me from my reverie, as if I had been the only living being in this solitude. The general silence was broken, not only by the melancholy notes of the thrush, but the red-breast, the white partridge, the bustard, the grouse, and the wood-hen, were also heard throughout the night.

By day they were much amused by the operations of the thievish Arctic birds, which compel other sea-fowl to resign their prey to them. Scarcely had a sea-gull or sea-swallow got a good prize, when the ominous "Io" sounded from a distance, the doleful cries of the pursued mingled with it, and the robber was at hand. The combat was not of long duration, for the latter, rapid as lightning, attacks the poor object whom he has selected, biting him above and below till he drops the fish, which, before it is half down, is seized with wonderful dexterity by the assailant, who bears it slowly to his retreat.

The innumerable swarms of sea-fowl which resort to these coasts, attract the sea-eagles, who sometimes attack the cattle and inhabitants; and an instance is mentioned of one being caught by his pouncing his talons into the jacket of an old man upon the beach. The following will give some notion of the number of these sea birds:

We had hitherto observed only the sea-fowl usual here in summer, and the buildings of Mosta, under the steep, rocky wall, lay before us, when our attendants pointed out to us a dark stripe in the water, which they said consisted entirely of birds. This appeared to us quite impossible; but this streak now began to move, coming directly up to us, and we beheld a swarm of sea fowl, of the extent of which the reader may have some idea when I inform him, that I had time to fire my double-barrelled gun, and reload it, ten times before they had all passed! The birds occupied at the same time a breadth of at least a thousand paces: they did not, however, fly crowded together, but each by itself, close behind the other; and the rapidity of their flight, and small distance from us, (for they passed not ten yards over our heads,) at first made us so confused

that we could not fire a shot. There were two or three such flocks in these parts, which, when in the water, suffered us to come very near to them; and it is hardly conceivable how the mountains can afford breeding-places for such an immense quantity of birds.—We now proceeded to a cavern inhabited by the three-toed gull. The nests, made of sea-grass, almost touched each other, as high up as the eye could distinguish, and so low that we could reach the undermost with our hands. The male and female sat close to each other, and were not disturbed by our firing. Swarms of them made whole cliffs appear as white as snow, and with one discharge of my double-barrelled gun I killed nine of them.

Many other articles of this highly interesting volume deserve equal or superior attention, but present fewer paragraphs that would read well when detached from the rest. We were particularly pleased with Mr. Webb's visit to the Plain of Troy, in 1819; for though numerous travellers had preceded him, he was able to discover many interesting particulars which had escaped their notice. Indeed, the hasty manner in which travellers are compelled to pass through many parts of Turkey, the feeling of insecurity, the extortion, and the opposition offered by the superstition of the inhabitants to their researches, make it next to impossible for any single traveller or company to observe *all*; the best they can do is, to make the most of what they do see, and leave the remainder to future adventurers.

From Mr. Webb's account we select his description of the grotto out of which gush the waters of the Scamander: the admirer of Homer will recollect, as he peruses it, many a noble description in which that name is prominent.

The source of the Meudere (Scamander) is on Mount Kesdagh: different from rivers in general, which are formed by the union of several springs, it rushes in a considerable stream from a natural grotto on one side of the mountain, and falls into the valley below, in a magnificent waterfall, from a perpendicular height of 50 or 60 feet. The valley is formed by a broad ravine of the mountain, the sides of which rise almost perpendicularly, and, in the rudest state of nature, covered with dark forests of pines; while, in the valley itself, and round the mouth of the grotto, prodigious, majestic oaks, mixed with oriental planes, rise from the rocks, and appear under a hundred fantastic forms. A stream rushing from the bosom of the mountain, through a mysterious cavern, the recesses of which had never been explored by mortal man, was perfectly formed for the adoration of such an enthusiastic people as the Greeks. Their descendants, even now, pray at the sacred source; and this is one of the many remains of ancient worship which the oriental church has retained.

Farther on he has the following passage on the beauty of the trees in Asia Minor:

Bujuk-Bunar-Baschi is a flourishing and considerable city, near the spring which gives it its name. They bubble out pure and clear as crystal, and are received by artificial basins, which are shaded by immense planes. The beauty of the plane, and of other trees in the vicinity of the Bosphorus and the Hellespont, can hardly be described: it is inexpressibly delightful in this climate to repose beneath their shade; and I was often inclined to exclaim with the poet—

“O qui me gelidis in vallibus Hæmi
Sistat, et ingenti ramorum protegat umbra!”

We may also mention the account of the Steppes of Southern Russia, and the Salt Lake of Inderskoi, by Dr. Tauscher, M. M. Cailliaud, and Drovette's Journey to the Oasis of Siwah, and, above all, the Sketch of Baron Humboldt's Life, as likely to prove highly interesting to the reader. The plates are extremely well executed; and, upon the whole, it is such a volume as cannot fail to give rise, in those who read it, to a wish that it may be followed by others of equal merit and beauty.

ON THE MOCKERY OF THE PRETENDED BALLOT AT
THE EAST INDIA HOUSE.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,—In one of your former Numbers, you remarked that the mode of conducting business at the India House presented a strange mixture of the most opposite principles, uniting the *professions* of the purest democracy—annual elections, universal suffrage, and the secret ballot—with the *practice* of the purest despotism. I could add, that the contrast of candidates going, cap-in-hand, through every bye-lane in London, to hunt out obscure Proprietors of India Stock, for the purpose of soliciting their “vote and interest”—contrasted with the arrogance of their behaviour afterwards, when secured in their seats, is scarcely less remarkable.

Each of these separate features of East India Directorships would deserve a more *detailed* notice than I can give them. My present object is to say a few words only on the mode in which the ballot is practised, under the superintendence and inspection of the Directors, at their house in Leadenhall-street. It is speaking mildly to say that this is one of the grossest mockeries ever practised—that it is so managed as to have absolutely nothing but the name of a ballot, and that it is contrary to the letter and spirit of various Acts of Parliament, for the infringement of which the Directors are never backward to inflict the severest punishment, whenever it suits their purpose to compel others to obey those laws which they themselves are often the first to break.

There are two causes which contribute to this illegal mummary of a pretended ballot at the India House. The first and most important of these is chargeable on the Directors; it is this:—instead of having the urns for the reception of the papers placed in such a situation that nobody could read what is written on them, (supposing the Balloters were even anxious that it should be seen,) the Directors, with the greatest indecency place themselves close to the urns; and the consequence is, that all those who have any thing to expect from them, are induced to put in the balloting paper open, so that the Director standing by the urn may see for whom or on what side of the question they have voted: this constitutes the illegality of the practice. The law says, the voting shall be in the *secret* mode; in defiance of which, the Directors have the audacity, instead of putting a stop to such a dishonourable practice, to encourage it—we had almost said to enforce it. But there is a pretence for the Directors thus placing themselves by the sides of the urns—and what is it? Is it in order that they may see that every Proprietor puts in his paper rolled up as it should be? No: it is in order that they may administer an oath to each Proprietor offering himself to vote, declaratory of his having *bond fide* held stock for twelve months. Could no other situation be found, in which this oath could be administered with the same binding effect? Could not the Proprietors be sworn previous to their balloting? Doubtless something has been discovered in the situation peculiarly adapted to soothing the feelings of the Proprietors while undergoing this ordeal, and to be certain that the oath shall be administered in a proper manner, they will do it themselves, however irksome the duty, merely out of regard to the interests of the

Proprietors, for it is not in the nature of things that the Directors should have any regard for their *own* interests! Besides, were they to stand in such a situation, they could not possibly see the papers as they were put into the urns; this would be doing nothing more than any body else could do, even non-Directors: standing where they do at present, is the only situation in which they can show the infinite superiority of their nature over that of humble men, the only situation in which they can give evidence of their immaculateness.

The second cause of the evil complained of, is chargeable to the Proprietors themselves; and this consists in esteeming it as a point of honour to show their votes, and affords another instance of the way in which even intelligent men are often carried away by mere words. The language by which such conduct is justified, is to this effect:—that “no man of honour ought to be ashamed of letting any body know what he says and does.” The miserable fallacy contained in this phrase arises from the use made of the words *honour* and *shame*. The word honour having no definite meaning, is one of those dogmatical standards to which no measure, however bad, cannot be conveniently referred. If a party in any nation desire that a war, however unjustly, should be commenced, they have only to set up a cry something like this:—“Can our country, at such a time as this, look quietly on with honour to herself?” This sort of language will take with a great number; it has an air of pompousness and plausibility. But that the East India Proprietors should be thus duped out of one of their dearest privileges, is more than we could have expected. Nobody should be ashamed of letting people know which way they vote, for this is the point: the ballot has nothing to do with the other actions which a man may commit. But it is by the confusion created by coupling all actions in general with voting, that the delusion is brought about.

Now we are disposed to think, if shame has any thing to do with the matter, it lies the other way. For by voting openly, the Proprietors would seem to be acting a most servile part, securing to the Directors the most complete control over their affairs, without any efficient check to their power; for how many are there among them who cannot vote as they would desire, but whose prospects might be ruined were they to do so in the face of the Directors: it is not because they are *ashamed* of doing so: far from it—shame has nothing to do with it: it is fear,—fear of pecuniary loss, which would hinder them from making their vote known, and as long as any voter can by possibility be thus influenced, the only fair mode,—the only way in which the real wishes of the voters can be obtained,—is by means of secret suffrage. Let us hear no more then about this pretended honour; but let the Proprietors be guided by sterling sense, and they will suffer themselves no longer to be juggled out of their controlling power by mere words, nor laughed at by those who profit by their credulity and folly.

A FRIEND TO PLAIN-DEALING.

Jan. 15, 1825.

ON THE REGISTRAR'S OFFICE OF THE SUPREME COURT OF INDIA.
EVILS OF THE PRESENT PRACTICE, AND PROPOSED REMEDY.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,—Perhaps it is beyond the power of human wisdom to legislate for futurity. The exertion of the greatest ingenuity, or the exercise of the most provident caution, cannot meet by anticipation those changes which follow the course of time. While we praise, therefore, the wisdom of our ancestors, we should take care that we do not prove ourselves unworthy of being their descendants, by adhering blindly to institutions, which, however sufficient for their original purposes, have become totally inoperative amidst an altered state of things.

An instance of the kind is offered in the office of Registrar to the Supreme Court of Judicature at Calcutta, and the inferior Presidencies. The example appears insignificant at first sight, but, by the extensive mischief of which it may be the cause, is in fact of vast importance to a large class of our countrymen. The Supreme Court was only instituted in 1744, (the letters-patent bearing date the 26th of March in that year,) yet so rapid has been the change of circumstances in the lapse of about fifty years, that there are few stronger proofs of the truth of my first remark, than the difference between the present and former amount of the Registrar's duties. The Supreme Court is a Court of Common Law and Equity, a Court of Admiralty, and also an Ecclesiastical Court. It is the Registrar's duty to record all notices, motions, judgments, orders and decrees, and to furnish copies of law papers and proceedings to solicitors, suitors, and others. As the Registrar of an Ecclesiastical Court, he grants probates of wills, and letters of administration; he also administers to the property of persons dying intestate, in default of any next of kin and bond creditor: indeed, he has a certain sort of advantage even over these, because the Court nominally, but in practice the Registrar, requires security of the applicants to double the amount of the supposed or ascertained property. The Registrar has the approval of that security, and by rejecting it, can compel the party applying to relinquish the right of administration.

By the letters-patent under which the Supreme Court at Calcutta was first instituted, the right of administering to the property of intestates was not absolutely given to the Registrar; the words of the instrument being, "and for want of any creditor appearing, then to such other person or persons who shall be thought proper by the said Supreme Court, &c.;" but this was amended by the 21st section of the 39 and 40 Geo.3. cap. 79, in which the Registrar is "required to apply for", and the Court is "required and directed," to grant to him letters of administration; by virtue of which, he collects the assets of the deceased, brings them into Court, and must regularly account for them.

The state of our East Indian empire in 1774 may possibly have justified this accumulation of duties on the shoulders of the Registrar; but, that while they have been vastly increased by time, they should be confined to him by progressive enactments of the Legislature even so recently as December 1823, does certainly appear extraordinary. For my

own part, however, I only wish to prove, that the duty of administering to the property of persons dying intestate, is sufficient to employ the whole time of one man, and that the property of such persons is in great peril of being lost to their heirs, owing to the imperfect provisions of the laws on this matter.

The number of intestates, owing to the increased British population, is very much augmented, and continues to multiply, throughout India. The climate, cholera morbus, and Carbonell's claret, are all against will-making. Consequently it is not uncommon for fifteen or sixteen lacs of rupees to pass through the Registrar's hands in the course of the year, nor for three or four lacs to be lying at one time in his cash-chest, the property of intestates; and this too at one of the inferior Presidencies. Hence it may be believed that the correspondence to be kept up; the agents for the collection of assets to be superintended and directed; the small debts to be paid or gathered in; the running account to be opened and conducted to a close with a solvent or insolvent estate; are occupation enough for the most active and industrious mind, and for every hour of an Indian day. What must be our inference, then, when these are only a small part of the Registrar's duties? Can we resist the conviction, that much of these as well as of his other duties must be left without control to the management, or rather mismanagement, of natives? We cannot avoid an apprehension, that where money is concerned, and natives interfere, the fairness of the Registrar's character is at all times liable to a stain, and the security of an intestate's property at all times liable to abuse.

We should naturally suppose, however, that the law had guarded with due care against the possibility of heirs being made the sufferers for misconduct on the part either of the Registrar or his agents. By no means. Security, it is true, is taken by the Court, but not under the provisions of the charter, to the amount of a lac of rupees; which is about as much as if a penny were offered as security for a pound. The law certainly has required that the Registrar shall give in half-yearly accounts of the property of intestates coming into his hands; but by law he is allowed to keep it in his hands for a year and a day. Previous to that period,¹ he has the power of employing it at discretion, in any way which will yield him the highest interest; and the time is certainly long enough to admit of the worst results from desperate speculation, and the absolute dissipation of intestate property. The Registrar is allowed this advantage, although he receives a commission of 5 per cent. upon the value of whatever is put officially under his charge.

The appointment of Registrar vests in the Supreme Court; it may, therefore, be supposed that the Judges are responsible for the property received by their officer. But this can hardly be. The law, I believe, makes no provision of the sort; on the contrary, it would seem especially to exonerate the Court from all responsibility, by prescribing the duties to be performed by the Registrar, and detailing all the forms to be observed by him as the administrator of estates not disposed of under wills. Thus the Registrar has sometimes resisted orders of the Court, regulating his duties and imposing upon him certain obligations, he con-

¹ Larger fortunes are made by the several Registrars in a shorter time than by any other public functionary in India.

sidering himself independent of the Court by the very charter which gives it the power of appointing him. But even if the Judges were responsible, what would be the worth of their responsibility? The state alone can offer a sufficient guarantee for the amount of property entrusted to the Registrar; and only by such a change of the law can the present abuse be remedied.

The Government at home should appoint a general administrator of intestates' property, subject to the orders of the Supreme Court as now, but unburthened by any other than this peculiar duty. Let his compensation be established by commission or an allowance, and let him be required to pay at once all monies received by him into the Company's treasury. It would be quite as available to claimants there as in the Registrar's cash-chest, and would acquire the double advantage of security and interest. It is unnecessary to go at length into a minute explanation of the provisions under which such an office should be instituted; I would only maintain, that the duties² of it would fully employ a separate officer, and that the responsibility of the state should be substituted for the accident of one man's honesty.

I am the most disinterested man who could possibly write on this subject, although, having no property of any sort, I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

AN INTESTATE.

February 16, 1825.

² See 55 Geo. 3, cap. 84.

ON THE EARTHQUAKE AT SHIRAZ.

'Twas night on Shiraz' plain, and wide the moon
 Threw her bright rays o'er valley, stream, and hill,
 Glimmered on Mosque domes and on Minarets,
 And lit the winding Cafila, that came
 From Istakhar's old ruins. Slowly trod
 The wearied camel, and his rider drooped;
 But soon he hoped in Shiraz to renew
 His wasted vigour, for the goblet there
 Sparkles with liquid rubies, and inspires,
 As Hafiz sings, the luxury of joy.
 Now could they hear the bubbling Roenabad,
 Cool running, and behold the glittering spires,
 The frowning battlements, and antique towers,
 Of Saadi's birthplace, when, behold! the plain
 Shivered and reared beneath the caravan.
 The mountains echoed with unusual noise,
 And hid their heads in clouds; the paly moon
 Shed round a fearful light; and through the ground,

Now gaping horribly, at fits, was heard
The subterranean thunder struggling up.
Maddened by fear, rushed on the travellers
To seek from man the aid he could not give ;
But as they moved, the rocking earth was riven
Before their feet ; and while they cast their eyes
To angry heaven, the nodding minarets,
High domes, and pillared palaces, came down
In crashing ruin ! Prone upon the ground,
Persian and Turk, and turbaned Arab, fell,
And grasped the noisome weeds, as, waving on,
The rapid earthquake passed, shock following shock.
In the dim distance mountains were upheaved
From their wide bases, solid as the world,
And hurled their thundering crags adown the chasms.
The trembling flocks bleat loud ; the beast of prey
Growls in his den disturbed ; and from the peak
Of tottering hills the eagle soars aloft.
Meanwhile the peasant weeps his hut o'erthrown,
And holds his half-crushed infant in his arms
With piteous tears, his trembling mate beside.
All night the ruin rages ; and the sun,
That left, at setting, Shiraz in its pride,
Views in the morn a crumbling heap instead ;
And men aghast, pacing the dreary streets,
Quite dumb with fear, and flying to the fields,
Leading their wives and little ones, if left
By the fierce earthquake. Some, with burning heart,
Pry through the gaping chasms, or trembling walls,
For those far dearer than the light of heaven,
Engulfed or crushed within ! Alas ! their tears
Are vain ; and this they know, and sit them down
Where once their hearths stood warm, and weep and die !
Others, distracted, know not where they run ;
And all in anguish wait the march of Time
With wild impatience, till at length the force
Of the dread shocks abates, and earth is still.

BRON.

SUMMARY OF THE LATEST INTELLIGENCE FROM INDIA, AND OTHER COUNTRIES OF THE EAST.

BENGAL.

SINCE the publication of our last Number, there has been no arrival direct from Bengal, of a later date than July; to which period the intelligence given in that Number extended. By the ship Clyde, from Madras, we have received, however, a few letters and papers from Calcutta to the middle of September.

One of the former of these states, that the season was unusually unhealthy; and that at no former period were a greater number of the inhabitants affected by the diseases common to the climate, than at the period of these advices leaving Bengal.

From another letter of an earlier date, we learn that in addition to the failure of two auction houses at Calcutta, by which considerable sums had been lost to individuals having property in their charge, the house of Messrs. McClinton and Co. had stopped payment; owing, it is said, to some injudicious and unfortunate speculations in indigo of low price and bad quality. The head of the House had gone to the Danish settlement at Serampore, to be protected from personal arrest, the bankrupt laws not extending to Calcutta; and the affairs of the House were said to be in so embarrassed a state, that great losses to individuals who had the misfortune to have funds in their hands would be the inevitable result.

On political matters the Bengal papers are necessarily silent; as no public writer is permitted to mention or discuss any subject which the Government in its wisdom has chosen to prohibit. And the military operations having been nearly suspended in consequence of the rainy season, these papers contain but little intelligence of any great public interest.

The latest accounts from Chittagong, which are to the 6th September, announces the arrival there of Brigadier General Morrison, to take the command of the force in that quarter. Sir E. Paget was expected at Chittagong, at the above date, with a strong reinforcement of artillery and infantry; and he had ordered a large body of cavalry to move on in that direction, which had caused a general belief at Calcutta, that the Chittagong frontier would be the rendezvous for the "Grand Army." The field-fortifications erected at Chittagong, and upon which so much time and labour had been bestowed, had sustained such damage from the heavy and continued rains, that almost the whole were in a state of decay, and utterly useless.

Private letters from this post state, that it was generally reported that the Burmese army was stationed about fifty miles distant from the British force there, and that it consisted of 50,000 men. The country between the contending armies was entirely inundated, so as to render all attempts to proceed over the frontier useless. It is estimated in these letters, that the British force on this side will be upwards of 27,000 men, of which 15,000 will proceed towards Ramoo, and the remaining force be kept as a reserve. The operations on this side appear to have been confined to a few skirmishes between advanced parties of the Burmese and the British outposts, in which the former, from their mode of fighting during retreat, usually obtained the advantage. Some loss had occurred to the British force by the heavy rains in various places; but more particularly to the irregular horse from the Chumparum light force, who in marching through the country that was inundated, were surprised by a rush of water, which swept away all the baggage, a great number of horses, and one of the party.

From the seat of war no intelligence had reached Calcutta of any importance. The despatches of Sir A. Campbell, in referring to the action of the

8th July, state the enemy's loss to have been much more serious than he calculated in his previous accounts of that engagement. Soomba Woong hee, the third minister of the empire, and two other chiefs of the first class, had been subsequently found among the slain. The Prince of Surawaddy was understood to be advancing towards Rangoon to repair this defeat, with an army of seventy thousand strong. About three thousand Burmese having assembled at Keytloe, about fifteen miles from Rangoon, Sir A. Campbell, on the 19th July, ordered a corps of twelve hundred men to proceed by land against that place, while he himself, with a force of six hundred, proceeded up the Pacreek to co-operate with them. From the inundated state of the country, the land-forces found it impossible to proceed, and the attempt was therefore abortive.

Information had also reached Rangoon that the Governor of Syriam had assembled a force on the banks of the Pigue, and had ordered the whole of the conscription of the district to repair without delay to the place of rendezvous, for the purpose of finishing and defending a large field-work which was to command the river and protect the surrounding country. Sir A. Campbell, on hearing this, directed Acting-Brig. Smelt, on the 4th of August, with three hundred European and the same number of Native troops, to proceed against them. On the troops landing to attack the fortification, the enemy commenced a feeble fire, which however had little effect, and terminated in the retreat of the Burmese, who left behind eight pieces of artillery. Lieutenant-Colonel Kelly, of the Madras European regiment, then proceeded with part of the force to the Syriam Pagoda, which the enemy made some shew of defending, but on the approach of the troops, they lost their confidence, and fled, leaving four pieces of artillery, and a great quantity of powder, behind them. The British loss consisted in the above attacks of seven or eight men wounded.

On the 10th of August, Colonel Kelly, with two hundred of the Madras European regiment, was ordered to attack a Stockade, stated to be about twenty miles up the river; but before the troops had proceeded half that distance, they fell in with two Stockades, one on each bank, which they were informed were vacated. In this, however, they found themselves deceived; for on approaching, a heavy fire was opened from the left bank, to which the troops were exposed a considerable time, owing to the boat-Lascars showing no disposition to face it, and the delay occasioned in landing the scaling ladders: however, when this was effected, the place was carried without further resistance. The Stockade on the right bank then commenced a very destructive fire, by which numbers of the Madras European regiment were wounded, and several, among whom was a serjeant, killed; Captain Wilson, 10th M. N. I. was wounded in the head, but not severely; Lieut. Grub, M. F. R. was shot through the hand, and Mr. Man, Aid-de-camp to Sir A. Campbell, in the face. The letters giving this account do not mention whether the last Stockade was carried.

The private letters from the officers and others engaged with the force at Rangoon, are by no means favourable. The statement they give of the health of the troops is calculated to induce doubts as to the policy of warring against pestilence by leading the force to a point the most exposed to the effects of this unwholesome climate. It is calculated in these accounts that two thousand men in the short space of two months had been in the hospital, and almost the whole of the army had been more or less attacked with the prevalent disorders. The absence of the necessary food had much heightened this calamity, and the termination of the rainy season, which appears to have been unusually severe, was anxiously looked for. The business of excavating the numerous pagodas round Rangoon, in search of hidden treasures, had been unsuccessful, none having been found.

Lieutenant-Colonel Miles of the Madras division was under orders to proceed with his brigade to Mergui, for the purpose of attempting to open a communication with the Siamese, and of inducing them to assist either openly or

ndirectly the British force against their ancient enemy. Mr. Gibson, the late Ambassador from his Golden Majesty to the King of Cochin China, was to accompany the expedition, as his experience it was expected would be serviceable in attaining the desired end. Lieutenant-Colonel Snow was also about to leave Rangoon on a mission to the eastward, but its object was entirely secret.

This abstract contains all the intelligence of interest from the seat of war since our last, and the local news from Bengal is extremely uninteresting. Three Shakesperian bridges were in operation under the direction of the "Superintendent-General," and were said to give great satisfaction to the people of Calcutta. The first of these was over the celebrated Berai Torrent, eighty miles from Calcutta, near Barr, and was 160 feet span by nine feet six inches. The Gooscy-turrr Torrent Bridge, west of Hazaree-baugh, was 150 feet span by nine feet. The third was that over the Caramnassa river of 320 feet by eight feet six inches. This latter from its magnitude had drawn crowds of spectators from Benares and the adjacent countries, and it was understood that the Shakesperian bridges would be generally introduced under the auspices of Government throughout the Himalayah mountains.

A correspondent of the Calcutta Scotsman, who writes from Pooree, under date of the 11th of July, gives an account of another Sutte, which took place there on the 11th of that month. This unfortunate victim of the barbarous rites of the Hindoo religion was the widow of a Brahmin, who died aged about forty, while the widow was from thirty to thirty-five. There was nothing different in this horrible detail from the numerous accounts of similar atrocities which we receive from India by every fresh arrival from our territories in the East. Persuasions, promises of support and protection during the remainder of her life, were abundantly used to induce the woman from the horrid crime of self-immolation. These, as is almost always the case, were unavailing, and the revolting ceremony proceeded. It seems that in this instance the fire was not powerful enough, nor the smoke dense enough, to put a speedy period to her existence. She was seen for several minutes kneeling amidst the fire by the side of her husband's corpse, her body erect, and the only indication of pain being a motion of her head backwards and forwards. At last she flung herself forward amongst the flames, and was consumed.

MADRAS.

Our accounts from Madras are as late as the 29th September; and by these we regret to find, that the change in the weather, noticed in our last Number, had been only partial, and that the fever, the result of the unhealthy season, was still raging at that Presidency. The cholera had likewise again appeared, and sickness was general. The absence of rain, in addition to the above-named calamities, had caused rice to rise in price exceedingly; and notwithstanding the exertions of the Government, and of philanthropic Europeans, the native population continued in a state of the most extreme misery.

The Honourable Sir Ralph Rice arrived at Madras on the 16th of September, in H. M. S. Liffy, and was expected shortly to proceed to Bombay.

The Madras Courier of the 17th September, states that private letters had been received from Rangoon, mentioning that the enemy had made a general attack upon the British forces there, and after an engagement of some hours, had been defeated with great loss. No particulars, are, however, given, nor is the date of the letters mentioned; but it is probable this intelligence relates to the action of the 8th August, of which the full account has been already published.

BOMBAY.

No direct arrival of a later date than our previous accounts has been received from this Presidency, during the month. The private letters, via Madras, state,

that the weather at Bombay continued seasonable, and rain had fallen in sufficient abundance. From Kaira the accounts were still unfavourable, as well as from Sholapore and the country round it; but in other parts refreshing showers had alleviated the drought. The want of forage, and the mortality of cattle, are stated to be severely felt in the Southern Mahratta country.

CEYLON.

Our latest letters from Ceylon state, that the dysentery had been very prevalent there, and many persons, chiefly natives, had fallen victims to its virulence. The Archdeacon of Ceylon, Dr. Twisleton, while on a clerical tour, had been attacked with this disorder, and expired at Hambantotte on the 15th August last. He was the second and only brother of the Baron Saye and Sele, and had fulfilled the duties of Archdeacon from 1815.

JAVA.

THE recent accounts from Batavia continue to speak of the distress of the Dutch Government, for want of money, which they had been compelled to borrow, in part, of the English merchants, at 12 per cent. Nothing more had been heard of Mr. Thornton, and it was feared he was no more. A Mr. Burgess, a merchant at Batavia, had obtained a license, for four years and a half, to construct steam-vessels for the purpose of navigating the coast of Java. These were to be built in the Netherlands, and, during the term of the license, to be allowed to go from Europe to India, under the Colonial flag, with the same privileges as sailing vessels.

NEW SOUTH WALES.

THE last papers from New South Wales mention the discovery of a new island in the Southern Ocean, by Captain Hunter, of the ship *Donna Carmelita*, which was first seen on the 29th July, last year. On the *Donna Carmelita* approaching the shore, after some persuasion several of the natives who were seen in fishing-boats were induced to come on board; and after some presents of iron, hoops, &c. had been distributed among them, the cutter was despatched to the shore, under the direction of the first officer, to obtain water and provisions. The following is this officer's account of the island, which was called by the natives Onacuse, but which Captain H. changed to Hunter's Island:

At one, p. m. got close in shore; the native desired us not to pull in shore, when we observed a great concourse of people assembled on a bluff point of land. The surf being pretty high, we landed opposite the people. The native in the cutter pointed out the king (*Funafoah*), and the monarch, with his attendants, came round, and seated himself close to the boat, when the native desired me to walk towards the king. I thought it best to go unarmed, as it would make them have more confidence in us. Most of them were armed with clubs, with short round heads, and some with spears, from twenty-four to forty feet long, and a few were much longer. A great many women, numbers of whom carried two spears, were present. I was desired to sit down close to the king, and after making my obeisance, presented him with a white shirt, putting it on him. I likewise gave the same to his brother: both seemed highly pleased, and in return made a present of a hog, a basket of yams, and bananas and cocoa-nuts. After sitting some time I made the king a present of a looking-glass, which seemed to surprise them greatly: it went from the king to the queen, and from her all round, every one taking a look at it, and then touching the crown of their heads with it; and the same ceremony was performed with every little present made them. The King took a shell from his neck and gave it me; I then made signs if there was any water to be had; they said *Howtow*, and pointed among the hills. I expressed a wish to go and see the watering place; the King got up and desired me to follow, with our friend the native. I took the carpenter and four men armed, in case of accident. The King had gone by a shorter route over the hill; however I soon found it was not the watering place they were taking us to, for we found ourselves on the

beach, not far from the boat, in a kind of cone, with a smooth beach, where we saw his Majesty seated with all his attendants, and I was requested to sit down opposite to him on the ground, which I accordingly did. The beach was marked out into apartments by rows of stones. The women were ordered on one side, but only for a short time, when they all crowded round us, and were particular in looking at our shoes and buttons, but were very civil. Shortly after the King's mother came down, an elderly woman, about 50; the King himself seemed about 30, his Queen, about 20, stout and good looking, and was the only one that had part of her bosom covered. She was a very fine figure, her teeth perfectly even and very clean. All the women and men had their little fingers cut off by the second joint on the left hand, and the women had their cheek bones perforated, and the blood smeared round about an inch. Some of them were tattooed with a red colour, especially in their arms, mostly in circles about an inch round; they were uncommonly civil, and did not seem at all bashful. The signal being made from the ship for us, I expressed a wish to go on board, and his Majesty expressed a wish to go also, which, as he would not take canoes to bring him back, I declined. I left a ram and an ewe with the King, for the benefit of future navigators, and made signs to the natives not to kill them. The women were all naked, excepting a small mat covering round the body; and the men mostly wore a kind of mat round their bodies, with leaves of trees woven into them, like a Highlander's kilt. The island was entirely composed of lava, in some places almost a metal. It lies in the lat. of 15. 31. S. and long. 17h. 11. E. by sun and moon, brought up by the chronometer four days previous."

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

Nearly all the accounts that we receive from this Colony, are of the same description and in the same tone, showing on the one hand the system of tyranny pursued by the administration there, and on the other, the just indignation and hatred of those who have the misfortune to live under such misrule. We have been favoured with the copy of the address which was drawn up to recommend the Institution of a Literary Society in South Africa, and delivered at a Meeting of a few Gentlemen, held at the house of Messrs. Thompson and Sillens, on the 22d of July last. Its sittings, which were purely literary and philosophical, were calculated not only to delight and instruct the residents at the Cape, but would have probably thrown some light upon the almost unknown regions of the interior of that part of Africa. This is the more probable as it appears that Mr. Thompson, whose name is before mentioned, has made several incursions into the interior, and is possessed of a scientific mind joined to a most enterprising spirit of adventure. It is to be hoped that this gentleman will not suffer the result of his researches to remain much longer suppressed, but that he will give to the world his observations made in the perilous journeys and before untrodden paths he pursued.

As the individuals by whom the formation of the Literary Society was promoted, had introduced among their general rules, one which stated that "any subject not involving the politics of the day or controversial theology, shall be open to discussion at the ordinary meetings, and these excepted topics shall at no time be admitted into the papers and conversations of the Society," it was not imagined that even such a ruler as Lord Charles Somerset would prove hostile to so innocent a plan, supported as it was by the first men of the Colony. His Excellency, however, it would seem is not only determined to keep the aborigines in their natural state of ignorance, but is anxious to reduce the few resident Europeans to a state of intellectual barbarism; for on a memorial being presented, signed by thirty of the most opulent of the Settlers, soliciting his Excellency's sanction to the undertaking, the latter was pleased to say in reply, "that it would be inconsistent with his duty to permit the establishment of an Association which might have a tendency to produce political discussion." Any comment on such an answer as this must be quite unnecessary; it is alone a sufficient proof of the maladministration of him who makes it; for tyranny can only be secure when surrounded by ignorance, and the diffusion of

knowledge is consequently regarded by the tyrant as a tornado threatening his power with destruction.

The most recent accounts from the Cape contain further proofs of the arbitrary proceedings of the Governor of that ill-fated Colony. The transportation of Mr. Edwards for a libel on the Governor, must be fresh in the memory of our readers; but it would appear that mercy to that unfortunate individual, and pity for his disproportionate punishment, are alone sufficient, at his Majesty's Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, to entail similar ignominy on all who dare to evince them. It is already known from the former accounts that Mr. Edwards, after sentence of transportation had been passed upon him, contrived to effect his escape, and took refuge in the house of Captain Carnell, where he was discovered by his pursuers, and conveyed to his place of punishment. Not content with recovering possession of his victim, the displeasure of the offended was marked by a process against Captain Carnell, for harbouring the unfortunate man; and the Fiscal who conducted the case obtained a judgment against the Captain, of twelve-months' banishment from the colony. It appears that some "good natured friend" advised Captain Carnell to remove the cause to the Court of Appeal, the sole judge of which was Lord Charles Somerset! and this ill-judged measure he was thoughtless enough to adopt. The disinterested judge, with that *high sense of justice* which has characterized him throughout his career, had the humanity to annul the sentence, against which Captain Carnell remonstrated, and to grant him the mild commutation of five years' transportation to Botany Bay!

To comment on this would be a waste of words. The simple fact is a record that will be durable as brass. For months have the people of England been led to expect the recal of this capricious and arbitrary man; and yet, if we are to believe the *Courier*, the *ci-devant* organ of the Government, Lord Charles Somerset is still to be suffered to play his part in this theatre of despotism, unchecked and unpunished. It is true that the *Courier* Newspaper, from having been once honoured with the patronage of ministers, has sunk to be a receptacle for the rumours of clerks in office, and official dependants only; yet, as the statement put forth in that journal, "*that Lord Charles Somerset will not be recalled*," has been suffered to go uncontradicted, we cannot think otherwise than that, in this instance, it speaks a melancholy truth.

ST. HELENA.

It will be recollected that the remains of Napoleon Buonaparte were interred in a retired spot about three miles from the town of St. Helena, and near a well, from which water was procured for him at his particular desire. The land on which this interment took place belonged to a Mr. Richard Torbet, who is in the habit of supplying ships which touch at the Island with provisions and live-stock. Mr. Torbet allowed the body to be buried on the request of the authorities, without any condition or stipulation; but subsequently a guard was placed over it, and a temporary barrack erected, against which he urged his complaints in a memorial, but got no redress; he then resolved to obtain payment in another way, and by charging a dollar as a toll on all visitors, he expected to clear a sum of between three hundred and four hundred pounds annually, the average number of visitors to the grave being about fourteen hundred. He was ordered, however, to discontinue this toll after it had been collected for a short time. Hereupon he repaired to England, in order to claim compensation, and demanded 1000*l.* for his land. It is now settled that he shall receive 500*l.*, to be paid by the East-India Company on his return to St. Helena.

TUNIS.

Letters from Tunis of the 19th of December, state, that some fears of the return of the plague had been entertained there; but the symptoms had subse-

quently died away. The American frigate *Constitution*, and the Ontario brig of war, arrived at Tunis a few days prior to the above date, with M. W. Coxe, Esq. the new American Consul-General.

These accounts contain a statement of one of those horrible acts of injustice which characterises the barbarous manners of the African Mohammedans.

A young Jew merchant, inflamed by liquor, met, in a public walk, a very aged Moorish woman, who was in a state like his own. He addressed a few words to her, which, at the most, called for a reprimand: the Moors who perceived it, arrested both him and the woman. The affair was brought before the Bey, who, disregarding the difference of age, the place, which did not even allow the possibility of the crime charged in the accusation, and with the conviction of the innocence of the two prisoners, pronounced the sentence of death on them both; the Jew, according to the barbarous usage of the country, as being of the most despised nation, was to be burnt alive, and his ashes to be cast into the lake, and the woman to be drowned. The Jew thought to obtain his pardon by professing the Musulman-faith, but he only had a commutation of the capital punishment. He was cut to pieces by the ferocious populace, to whom he was given up; and his property confiscated, though he had left a wife and children.

INCIDENTS AND EVENTS IN EUROPE CONNECTED WITH THE EASTERN WORLD.

THE attention of all parties in England has been so exclusively engrossed with the overwhelming importance of the debates in Parliament, on the subject of oppressed and unhappy Ireland, that scarcely any mention of Indian affairs has transpired during the past month. We may take occasion here to state, that sympathising, as we sincerely do, in the general feeling of the country (Parliament, which does *not* represent that feeling, alone excepted) on this important subject, our attention had been forcibly drawn to it, and an article prepared for our pages, would have been included in our regular Number; but the almost unexampled length of the debates at the India House, which has shut out many other interesting articles, has excluded that also; and as it would not bear delay, we have placed it in the Supplemental Number, and proceed here with our task.

RESIGNATION OF THE LEVANT COMPANY'S CHARTER.

ON the 11th of February last, a meeting of the Directors of the Levant Company was held at the Old South Sea House, for the purpose of considering the propriety of surrendering the charter of that Company into the hands of Government, agreeably to the requisition made to them by his Majesty's Ministers. Lord Grenville, the Governor of the Company, was present, and addressed the members at some length, in favour of the principles of free trade, and, consequently, of their pursuing the course recommended by Ministers. A resolution to that effect was adopted by the meeting instantly,—the members being of course aware that the request of His Majesty's Ministers amounted, in this instance, to a command. Had we been at all aware of the meeting being likely to be held, we should have provided for a full report of Lord Grenville's speech; but we regret to say, that, from the secrecy of the proceeding, no reporters even for the newspapers were present: so that the discourse of the noble Lord on the benefits of free trade, and the evils of monopoly, is lost to the world. The general purport of it can be easily imagined, however, by all those to whom the doctrines of political economy are familiar. Besides demonstrating the superiority of free trade to monopoly, we learn, from good authority, that the noble Lord enlarged,

with the best effect, upon the increasing importance of our commercial transactions being such as to demand, and the present disposition of the Legislature being such as to grant, a free and unrestricted intercourse with every part of the British dominions, and with every country on the globe!

We rejoice at this, as a harbinger of better and brighter days. We only regret that the noble Lord was not commissioned to step from the South Sea House to Leadenhall-street, there to repeat his oration in favour of free trade, to the wholesale monopolists of India, to whom the unpretending traders to the Levant were but mere pigmies. These last never made war, levied taxes, passed laws insulting to their countrymen, and invaded the property and liberties of all living under their sway. By the payment of about 20*l.* any man might be entitled to all the privileges of the trade, and be secure from the reach of tyranny in carrying it on. No sum would redeem a man from slavery in India; and by one of the greatest absurdities that ever disgraced law or justice, the principal Director of the East India Company, visiting India with the license of his own body, might have that license taken from him by the servant of this body, (the Governor of any Presidency for the time being,) and be transported, like a felon, without trial, for daring to be in a country which he peculiarly calls his own, and in the direction of whose affairs he stands at the head, and for not possessing a license which has been taken from him by those who owe all their authority to the Court of which he is a member!!

There is nothing half so absurd or so monstrous in the constitution of the Levant Company as this: and so little of evil was occasioned to the nation by its operations, that millions of people in England knew nothing even of its existence. Ministers have taken to themselves some credit, no doubt, for this apparent display of liberality; and found it a cheap and easy way of evincing their regard for the principles of free trade and their enmity to monopoly. If, however, the sentiments professed on this subject be really entertained by Mr. Canning, Mr. Robinson, and other members of the Cabinet, let them turn their thoughts towards overthrowing that great Leviathan of Monopoly, the East India Company; and let them take the assurance of one whom they all profess to respect, Mr. Huskisson—that “Monopoly is always hostile to improvement, and the prohibitory system which it fosters productive of vices, frauds, and crimes.” If they wish the first to increase, and the latter to disappear, let them prove their sincerity by destroying the Atlas of the East, that bears a whole world of corruption on its shoulders, and not content themselves with crushing a comparatively harmless and insignificant Company, which was a monopoly only in name, and produced no evil of any magnitude by its continued existence. As a monopoly, however, we are glad to announce its death; and hope all other monopolies will speedily follow its fate.

CASE OF MR. FAIR, THE JOURNALIST, BANISHED FROM BOMBAY.

On the subject of Mr. Fair's unjust, and we hope it will be proved *illegal*, banishment from Bombay, by the way of Calcutta and China to England, we have heard nothing from India since our last. A correspondent in England, however, has assured us that he was not related to any of the members of the Bar at that presidency; and that, to the best of his knowledge and belief, he had no undue bias against the Court, or towards the Bar in the disputes that existed between them. To this we can only oppose the direct and positive testimony of letters from the spot, declaring that the bias was constant and evident on all occasions. Supposing it to have existed, however, to the full extent assumed, the bias itself is not even reprehensible. Who is there that is *not* biassed in favour of *some* men and things, which he thinks better than *other* men and things? A total freedom from this is almost impossible. Suppressions or mis-statements, are, however, not the necessary consequences of such bias; and it is these which form the ground of reprehension; although even admitting this to have taken place, banishment without

trial is not the appropriate punishment; so that supposing the bias and its alleged consequences to have been ten times as great as they are even represented to be, the Judges, Governor, and Members of Council were all wrong, as Englishmen, to countenance such a Turkish system of punishing offenders as this.

The same correspondent assures us that he believes Mr. Warden had no share in the *Bombay Gazette*, and that Mr. Fair was under no species of influence or control. As to the former, we have the most positive and direct testimony, and such as we know can be relied on, to prove that Mr. Warden was the principal proprietor of the paper in question: and as to control, it is well known that no editor, who is not either sole or chief proprietor of the work he conducts, can, in any country, but especially in India, be entirely independent of the control of those to whom the property belongs. Mr. Fair was not perhaps more so than any other English gentleman would have been; but it is safe to presume that he was not less so. Of Mr. Fair's general reputation for independence of conduct, as well as of his estimable private character, we have heard sufficient to make us believe that in both respects he is an estimable man. But we never surmised otherwise, and if it were so, it could not alter the state of the case. We have spoken of acts, and acts only: and if the Judge who sought, and the Governor who decreed, the banishment of an untried Englishman, were the purest men on earth, and the person banished one of the least estimable, the case would, in our eyes, be the same. It was an act of despotism which ought never to have been performed, and least of all by those whose especial business it is to uphold the dominion of the law.

It is said, that, in the argument of Mr. Norton in the Court at Bombay, Sir Charles Chambers was roused to a degree of warmth which might well have obscured his faculties of recollection, and that, in this frame or temper of mind, he might have uttered expressions which, even though faithfully reported, he might not have supposed it possible for him to have really used; and hence his second fit of anger at finding his first paroxysm made public. To this we can urge nothing in denial or disproof. It may have been so: and Mr. Fair's offer to bring witnesses from among the auditors in Court to confirm the accuracy of his statement, would seem to strengthen this assumption. This, if true, would, of course, greatly lessen Mr. Fair's culpability; because, as the only end of reporting the proceedings in Court is to give all the world the advantages of having been present at the trial, the more perfectly the picture of the Court and its proceedings is drawn, even to its most minute and personal details (provided always that it never exceeds the strict boundaries of truth), the better. If the Judge were really angry, it could not be wrong to state it. If he really uttered certain expressions, it could not be wrong to repeat them: for what will not bear describing and repeating should never be seen on so grave and awful a place as the bench of justice.

We have given the whole of the official correspondence between Mr. Fair and the Bombay Government, in the Supplementary Number, issued with this for the present month, it being impossible to include it in the regular number, and the subject not bearing delay. On his landing in England, we hope his case will be brought before the Courts, and Parliament; and assist to prepare the Legislature for the abolition of so unconstitutional and odious a power, as that which enables a capricious Governor to punish any man untried, undefended, and unheard.

INDIAN APPOINTMENTS.

WE hear no more, at present, of the appointment of a new Governor-General to succeed Lord Amherst, although the necessity for the change is by no means less than before. It is certain, however, that a new Commander-in-Chief has been appointed, this having taken place at a Court of Directors held on the 1st ultimo. The officer chosen for this high post is Lieut-General Lord Com-
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bermere, G. C. B.; and it is said he will leave England to enter on his duties early in the approaching spring.

The appointment of the Chief Justice to Bengal has also been made. Sir Francis Macnaghten has again been passed over, though he has discharged the whole duties of the Bench for a longer period than any of his predecessors; and Sir Charles Grey, one of the judges at Madras, succeeds to the vacancy on the Bengal bench. It has been stated in the English papers, that Sir Ralph Palmer, who had been lately appointed a puisne Judge on the Madras establishment, was to go out as Chief Justice to Calcutta. But the appointment of Sir Charles Grey having already supplied that deficiency, the rumour is most probably incorrect. Mr. Comyn is another legal gentleman who has been appointed to an Indian judgeship; we believe, to the Presidency of Madras.

JUNCTION OF THE ATLANTIC WITH THE PACIFIC OCEAN.

IN one of our preceding Numbers, was contained an article on the junction of the Atlantic with the Pacific; in which all the facts and reasonings that could illustrate that subject, were brought together. We are happy to perceive, by the papers of the past month, that a plan of such a junction is now matured, and that it is intended without delay to enter on the excavation of a ship-canal for the purposes of effecting a passage from one sea to the other, and also for facilitating the great mining operations in that quarter of the globe, by extending the line of water-carriage in branches from that canal. We should be glad to hear of a similar enterprise for uniting the Mediterranean with the Red Sea, by opening the ancient canal,—traces of which still remain in many parts of the isthmus, and the practicability of which is therefore placed beyond a doubt. Works like these tend more to promote commercial intercourse, and consequently to preserve peace, by the powerful bond of mutual and reciprocal interests, than all the treaties that can be formed.

FRENCH AND ENGLISH NEWSPAPERS.

Our readers have seen that the French Reviewers have already taken the lead of the English ones on the subject of India and its misgovernment. The French papers are also more quick in their perceptions, and more accurate in their reasoning, on the treatment of India by England, than the great mass of the papers of this country itself. The *Globe*, the *Examiner*, and the *Scotsman*, with some of the best provincial journals, alone excepted. The gross ignorance or the wilful perversion of the *Old* and *New Times* on this subject—we hardly know to which to give the preference—is such as to deserve pity or reprobation; and as it is important that errors of fact and absurdities of reasoning should not pass current as if they could not be contradicted, we have felt it our duty to bestow a page on their exposure. The *Etoile*, a French evening paper of February 15th, contained the following passage.

The *Journal des Debats* and the *Constitutionnel* represent the British flag as carrying, all over the world, the motto, "Civil and Religious Liberty;" but they take good care not to tell us that they find inscribed on this flag, in characters not to be effaced, HINDOSTAN AND IRELAND. They take care not to tell us that there never existed a more absolute Government in the world than is that of the English in India; they take care not to tell us that no Government, not excepting that of the Romans, ever more perseveringly exercised religious persecutions. Will the *Journal des Debats* and the *Constitutionnel* tell us that Mr. Canning intends to unfurl his flag before the 120,000,000 of subjects over which England reigns in Asia?

Let them go to Calcutta, to Bombay, or to Madras, to praise British liberty, or, to spare themselves so long a voyage, let them stop at the Cape; and while they think of applauding the fine phrases of Mr. Canning, Lord Charles Somerset will soon make them comprehend the value of his words, and they will be very fortunate, if, by special favour, they are only condemned to five years' transportation to Botany Bay, where they will find civil liberty in all its perfection, as the

opposition there are hung, on the order of the Governor, without any form of trial.¹

But we think that it is unnecessary to make so long a voyage; and, above all, the last result cannot be necessary to convince any one of the true meaning of the words which Mr. Canning uttered either at Bristol, in the face of Ireland, or at London, near the East India House; and, above all, in addressing those good aldermen, who, after turtle soup, venison, claret, and champagne, drowsily listen to the sonorous periods of the orator, and think—always supposing them to be capable of thinking—that the only liberty worthy to be desired by man is that which furnishes similar repasts.

We do not maintain that Mr. Canning does not wish for the emancipation of Ireland; we believe that he will use all his influence to effect it: but by these reflections we wish to remind our readers, that it is folly to cite England as the protectress of civil and religious liberty. She is not, she never has been, its protectress.

On this the *Times* of the 18th, after a short preliminary, in which the words “abuse,” “vilifies,” “vomit,” and “hypocrisy,” are most conspicuous, offers the following sage remarks.

We are said to tyrannize in India; and let it be marked, with what sagacity:—“Will the *Journal des Debats* and *Constitutionnel* tell us that Mr. CANNING intends to unfurl his flag before the 120,000,000 of subjects over which England reigns in India?” So, then, we govern one hundred and twenty millions of subjects in India. Will the *Etoile* tell us by what numerical European force we govern these one hundred and twenty millions of men? And if our physical force, compared to this immense mass of population scattered over an almost incomprehensible surface of territory, be but “as a drop in a bucket,” by what other principle can we govern them, but by that respect and love which we generally inspire? If we tyrannized, and were consequently hated in India, our own subjects—to say nothing of the hostile and jealous states by which the three Presidencies are surrounded—would almost blow us off with the blast of their breath: whereas, on the contrary—no matter whether the natives dispute with each other or with Europeans—they still flock to our courts for the administration of justice. The miseries of the Cape are of a temporary nature, springing from the personal character of one man, who cannot continue long.

It is difficult to say, whether the ignorance of facts or absurdity of reasoning displayed in this short paragraph be most apparent. If the Editor of the *Times* had read any work of authority on Indian affairs, he must have known that we never, at any one period, had any thing but a tyrannical government in India. Let the pages of Mr. Mill himself, now in the service of the India House, and than whom no man in England is more deserving of credit on questions of Indian rule—let the pages of Mr. Mill be consulted, and they will be found to teem with illustrations of Indian tyranny, from the first period of the English setting their foot on the soil, up to the close of his excellent and philosophic history. If later authorities were needed, what could be required beyond the arbitrary and tyrannical conduct of Mr. Adam, Lord Amherst, and their colleagues, whose tyrannies the *Times* itself has condemned; or what beyond the unblushing assertion of Mr. Impey, the legal advocate of the Company, uttered in their own Court at the India House not six months ago, before the assembled Proprietors of India stock, “that the government of India always had been, now is, and always would be a despotism, as long as the Company held it”? The *Times* has repeated these expressions in its own columns, and yet its Editor professes to be ignorant of any thing tyrannical in the government of India. So much for his gross ignorance of notorious facts.

His reasoning is still more contemptible. He assumes, with the *Etoile*, that there are 120 millions of people subject to our *direct* rule in India, which he ought to know was at least 40 millions more than the largest estimate ever yet

¹ This is a little beyond the truth: but men are banished or transported without trial, which is as unjust as hanging them, and in some cases quite as cruel.

given. He assumes also that these are governed by such a small number of Europeans, as to be but "a drop in the bucket" over this "*incomprehensible*" surface of territory; and from this alone he draws the inference that they are and must be happy! In the first place, he is either ignorant of, or wilfully suppresses, all allusion to the fact, that though the European rulers of the country are numerically few, compared with the Asiatic subjects, yet they have in their hands all the wealth of the country, all the patronage of place, all the intellectual power, all the strong ports, arms, ammunition, and other *materiel* of war; that at least a million of the people themselves are in the *service* of the Europeans, and well paid to bear arms against their native brethren, in case of revolt; that such of these as form the army of India are disciplined in all the arts of war, and won over to the English cause by higher and more punctual pay than they could get in any other service; and such as are attendants on civil officers, by whom they are paid and supported, are alone privileged to wear arms. Taking, therefore, into account, the number of native Indians actually in the service of the Government, and ready to obey their commands, the numerical disproportion between the rulers and the ruled is not greater in India than in many countries of Europe,—perhaps not much greater than that of Great Britain herself. But, supposing the mere amount of numbers to be ever so great on one side, and ever so small on the other, the majority submitting to the minority would be no greater proof of "respect and love" in India than in any other country. Look at the West Indies, where one tyrannical planter, with half a dozen white overseers, will keep many thousand negroes in bitter and unwilling slavery;—look at unhappy Ireland, where six millions of Catholics are kept down by an insignificant number of Protestants;—look, in short, at England, where the rulers are numerically as few as they are in India, (for there almost every white man is one of the ruling body, and thousands of blacks are equally so,) and where a handful of men lord it over the whole community. But can it be said, in either case, that the mere fact of submission proves "respect and love"? If any doubt remained, look at the crew of an African slave-ship, where 500 men are governed by three or four officers, or a first-rate man of war, where 1000 men are kept in subjection by about twenty commissioned rulers. In all cases there may be heart-burnings, vows of revenge, and an incessant desire to embrace the first opportunity of wresting freedom from their oppressors; but if the "few" have all the *power*, and all the means which enable them to increase and concentrate that power, in their hands, the "many" *must* submit to be governed as the few may choose. If, indeed, an argument could be drawn, in favour of the happiness of any people, because they submitted to be ruled by a number much fewer than themselves, every country on earth might be accounted happy, for the rulers *must* be always extremely few, compared with the numbers over whom they rule.

The closing part of the sentence respecting India is opposed to the best evidence that has been produced on the subject. Instead of the natives being able to "blow us off with the blast of their breath," it is notorious that when mutinies, rebellions, and wars, have happened, and nearly the whole of the "surrounding states" have been united against these English, no doubt "from the respect and love which we generally inspire," they have been put down and dispersed by mere force of superior skill in arms, superior means of combination, and superior resources of physical as well as intellectual power. Did they respect and love us then? Sir John Malcolm, in his speech at the India House but a short period since, declared that from a long and extensive acquaintance with the people of India, he knew them to be so dissatisfied with our Government, that they rejoiced at any prospect of its being overturned; and that proclamations, letters, and invitations to unite and cut the throats of their white tyrants were common among them, when any prospect of a *reverse* to our arms occurred. It was on this special ground that he objected to give them a press and free discussion. Mr. Russell, in his admirable letter to the Court of Directors but recently published, says, that the natives hate our Courts of Justice,

and consider themselves peculiarly happy, at Hyderabad, in their exemption from the misfortune of being subject to their jurisdiction.

The last short sentence respecting the Cape is, however, the climax of this absurd paragraph. The *Times* has not the penetration to see that the mere circumstance of any "one man" having it in his power to do all the mischief to which his "personal character" may prompt him, instead of being a matter of consolation, is the very essence of the evil. This is true despotism, and it might as well be said, in excuse for any atrocity at Constantinople, Tunis, Algiers, or Tripoli—that it is but the act of "one man," as to urge this in palliation of the despotism at the Cape. All the tyrants that ever lived were each but one man. Ferdinand of Spain is no more, and *may* be succeeded by a better. But would any one, except the Editor of the *Times*, be so besotted as not to see that he *may* also be succeeded by a worse, and that it is this system of permitting any one man to do as he pleases without check or control, that constitutes the whole evil?

We have seen many inconsistencies and absurdities in the English papers; but, from a journal of such high repute as the *Times*, we should have expected something better than this. To give it the most gentle name, it is mere drivelling; and this of so contemptible a kind, that we can call no parallel to our recollection. If the proprietors of the paper value its reputation, they will do well to exclude from its columns such absurdities as these.

We had intended to have offered some remarks on the comments of the *New Times* of the 2d ult. on the same extract from the *Etoile*, but our remarks have extended to too great a length to admit of that. It may be said, however, that they are hardly superior to those of the *Old Times* in accuracy of fact or reasoning; and the reader may judge how little either is actuated by principle, when, though they differ as widely as light from darkness in their estimate of all other political questions relating to Europe, they agree in representing the acknowledged despotism that rules in India as a blessing. The *New Times* is at least *consistent*, since it advocates despotism every where: but even this faint praise cannot be accorded to the *Old*. We subjoin, from one of its later Numbers, some remarks of more value respecting the prize-money of the Deccan:—

The claims of the army of the Deccan to justice are becoming daily more and more urgent, and the language of the sufferers assumes a louder and bolder tone, as their hopes of redress grow fainter. In consequence of this feeling, statements have found their way into the public journals, which, though imperfect and in some respects erroneous, have naturally excited considerable attention. We have, fortunately, been recently enabled to possess ourselves of much additional evidence to explain the causes by which the expectations of the army have been baffled, and which we can disclose whenever it may become expedient. The notorious facts, however, of this extraordinary case, are in themselves sufficient to awaken suspicion and compel inquiry. It is known that eight years have elapsed since a large booty was acquired in a contest of singular hardship and danger—that some of the booty was admitted by all parties to be lawful prize, and its amount ascertained—that claims have been made to a far greater extent on the East India Company, who derived such extensive and important benefits from the war—that, after a protracted litigation, the rights of the actual captors were fully recognized by the Crown, and a grant made to trustees for them, to collect the booty and frame a scheme for its distribution among them, according to the usages of the service and the Prize Act; and yet that up to this hour not a farthing has been disbursed, nor a single claim successfully asserted. Such a result is surely calculated to shake the confidence of the army in usages which are held more sacred than law, and to make them apprehensive, that on future occasions the systematic gratitude of the Crown may be defeated by the chicanery or weakness of its delegates. These circumstances are so extraordinary, that, whatever may be said of the fitness and integrity of the individuals who have been appointed to act as trustees for the army, it is scarcely possible but that the suspicion must be circulated of their being the principal, if not the only cause of a delay so ruinous to the captors, and so injurious to the character of the

country. We may fairly, too, inquire why the Commander-in-chief of the capturing army has not been appointed in this instance to superintend the collection and distribution of its prize-money? Why has this wise and just rule not been adhered to? Of all other men he has the greatest interest in recovering the booty, the closest sympathy with the soldiers who have fought under him, and the best opportunity of obtaining information respecting the prize-money. But the Crown, it seems, was advised in the case before us to deviate from this salutary practice, and to appoint the Duke of Wellington and Mr. Arbuthnot—relying, perhaps, on the zeal of the former for the interests of his own profession, and his general knowledge of Indian military affairs. We are sorry to have to add, that the tenor of the information we have received justifies us in stating, that their conduct as trustees has been of late, to say the least of it, highly reprehensible. We understand that they now exclude parties deeply interested from all information, debarring them not only from all share in their councils, but from all knowledge of their proceedings. At present we abstain from tracing the history of the transactions which have led to this extraordinary state of affairs, but it cannot long be concealed. In the meantime, the advisers of the Crown will do well to take care that its own intentions are not defeated, and that the boon it has granted—or rather, the sacred right which it has sanctioned—is not converted into a source of intrigue on the one side, and of protracted vexation on the other.

CAPTAIN ROMEO'S REPLY TO CAPTAIN SEELEY.

WE have the pleasure to state, that the Letters to the Marquis of Hastings on the subject of the Indian press, were written by Captain Romeo, an officer in the Sicilian army, to whose character and services Lord William Bentinck bore such ample testimony in Parliament a few years since. His attention appears to have been directed to the subject by the most disinterested motives; and from a pure love of truth and hatred of injustice.* He has since published an answer to Captain Seeley's 'Voice from India,' in a small pamphlet, entitled 'A Voice from Common Sense,' which contains such an exposure of the ignorance and folly of the writer whose work he examines, as must make him heartily ashamed of his performance. We can safely recommend it to the attention of our readers, as a complete refutation of the sophisms put forth as argument by the gallant Indian officer; and are disposed to hope that all who have read Captain Seeley's book will read Captain Romeo's reply to it.* The result cannot but be beneficial.

*MR. KINNAIRD'S LETTER TO MR. CANNING.

THE Honourable Douglas Kinnaird has addressed a letter to the Right Honourable George Canning on the subject* of the Hyderabad Papers. Its appearance was too late in the month to admit of our giving an analysis of its contents, but we may say briefly that it contains a clear and well-arranged summary of the whole of the transactions in which the Marquis of Hastings can be supposed to have participated, up to the period of the sixty-lac loan, interspersed with sound observations, expressed in firm and spirited language. It deserves, as it will no doubt obtain, the serious attention of all who desire to arrive at correct conclusions on this important subject.

DOCTOR GILCHRIST'S DIORAMA AND FINAL REPORT.

DOCTOR John Borthwick Gilchrist, whose name, acquirements, and reputation, are familiar to every one in India, has recently published a Prospectus of an ingenious work, called 'The Diorama,' intending to exhibit a universal character, applicable to all languages, and especially calculated to supersede the use of the defective combinations of letters necessary to produce certain sounds used in every tongue, but more especially in English, for which no single cha-

* It is entitled, 'A Voice from Common Sense, in answer to A Voice from India. By F. Romeo. Printed for J. & H. L. Hunt.'—8vo., 20 pages. Price 1s.6d.

acter will serve. It is not merely ingenious, but useful in the highest degree; and its universal adoption, if that could be effected, would not only lessen materially the labour of acquiring other tongues, but lead to a certainty and accuracy of pronunciation in all; which is not now to be acquired. The same individual has also published his 'Tenth and Final Report to the Court of Directors,' which is full of matter for deep and serious reflection. He recounts a list of services which ought to entitle him to at least 10,000*l.*, and even then the Company would have had these services cheaply; but while they vote a grant of 6000*l.* to Mr. Marjoribanks for being idle and useless, as far as it regarded the performance of his duties in their service, they refuse a pension to a Governor-General, who has done more for their political interests than any ruler they ever had, and the payment of a just debt to one who has done more to spread the knowledge of the great popular language of India among their servants than any professor at either of their splendid colleges in England or in the East. We regret that our space confines us to this brief mention of a subject which deserves, and which we hope will obtain, more prominent notice elsewhere. Dr. Gilchrist's merits as an Oriental philologist are universally admitted to be of the highest order. The treatment he has received from the East India Company is such as would be scarcely just to one of the lowest order. Let them or their advocates explain or defend it, if they can. We refer our readers to this Final Report, which is published, for a confirmation of our statement.

STEAM VESSEL FOR INDIA.

We are at length enabled to announce the certainty of a Steam-Vessel sailing for India by way of the Cape of Good Hope. All thoughts of pursuing the route by the Mediterranean and Red Sea appear to have been judiciously abandoned. In the way now chosen there are no obstacles, but a supply of fuel at intermediate stations, and the weathering the heavy gales off the Cape. The former is a mere question of expenses; and if money enough be bestowed on it, there can be no insurmountable objections to its accomplishment. The latter is only to be determined by experiments; but the testimony of those who gave evidence before Parliament on the subject of Steam Packets between England and Ireland, a few years since, gives the strongest ground of hope, that by skilful and judicious management the gales off the Cape may be as effectually weathered as those of the Irish Channel, the severest of which have been encountered by steam-vessels without the slightest injury or danger. The following Prospectus has been issued by the projectors and proprietors of this vessel:

The effect which the power of steam has had in opening a safe and expeditious communication between the several parts of the United Kingdom, and also with different parts of Europe; the experience that has been gained of the capability of steam-vessels to traverse the open seas, and resist the most tempestuous weather, in a manner equal to vessels equipped only for sailing; and the many improvements in machinery which have rendered the steam apparatus safe, and free from hazard—have called the attention of several individuals to the practicability of establishing a quick and certain communication with the valuable Asiatic possessions of this country. This object has been much encouraged by the subscriptions and premium offered by the Government and inhabitants of Calcutta, intended to amount to 10,000*l.* sterling, and of which, by the accounts published in April last, 6800*l.* was already subscribed.

The projectors of this scheme have given this great national object their most mature consideration; and having, after much trouble and expense, succeeded in arranging a plan which they felt confident would render the undertaking safe and profitable, they proceeded, on their own responsibility, to build a vessel in the dock-yard of Messrs. Gordons and Co., to be fitted with engines and machinery by Mr. Maudslay. They also shipped a supply of coals to the Cape and Calcutta in September last.

This vessel, called the *Enterprize*, will be calculated to sail or go by steam. She is nearly 500 tons burthen, and is to be commanded by Lieut. J. H. Johnston,

R.N. an active and zealous officer, who is well acquainted with the navigation of the Indian Seas, and who has already interested the Indian public very strongly in favour of the undertaking. She will sail from this country early in March; and touching at the Cape and Madras, the calculations hold out every prospect of her reaching Calcutta within two months from the time of her leaving Portsmouth.

The projectors having made these preliminary arrangements, and thereby given the best possible evidence of the confidence they placed in the success of their undertaking, proceeded to submit their plans and statements to several of the houses of agency immediately interested in the trade to India, and to invite their co-operation. A meeting was, in consequence, held, which was attended by several of the principal East India houses and others, who expressed their most anxious desire to encourage the undertaking. It was, therefore, resolved to divide the vessel into shares of 500*l.* each, the projectors guaranteeing to hold all subscribers free from any responsibility, as far as regards this vessel, beyond the amount of their respective shares.

A committee has since been formed of the undermentioned subscribers, to arrange all matters respecting the outfit and general management of this ship, in concert with the original projectors.—Mr. Cockerell, for Cockerell, Trail, and Co. Mr. Crawford, for Bazett, Farquhar, Crawford, and Co. Mr. Fletcher, for Fletcher, Alexander, and Co. Mr. Palmer, for Palmers, Mackillop, and Co. Capt. Lochner. Mr. R. I. Saunders. Mr. Walker.

The agency business in England to be conducted by Mr. R. I. Saunders. Messrs. Everett, Walker, and Co. to be the bankers. This vessel is to be registered in the names of such parties as the committee approve of, and to be held in trust for the subscribers. Upon the termination of the first voyage it will be optional for the majority of subscribers, either in number or value, to require the concern to be closed, so far as regards their interest.

To this the following circular has been appended, explanatory of the future views of the projectors. We need hardly add that we wish their undertaking every possible success.

In forwarding you the accompanying explanation of the system on which the Enterprise is managed, and for which vessel alone the within-named committee have taken upon themselves the trouble of superintending, the projectors beg to add, that in the event of the success of this trial, they contemplate the formation of a regular communication with India, by means of steam-vessels, conducted on a similar system, which will require a capital of 200,000*l.*

The projectors propose to offer to every subscriber of a 500*l.* share in the present vessel, the refusal of five shares in the whole establishment; and it is farther intended to reserve 100 shares for the British residents in India; an attention which is due to them, on account of the interest they have evinced, and the liberality with which they have come forward to promote this undertaking.

It is hoped that the great national benefit likely to accrue from a more speedy communication with our Oriental possessions, if successful, and the little loss that can arise under the most unfavourable circumstances, will induce the merchants of London to come forward in support of this measure, with the same spirit that has animated those of Calcutta.

Any farther information that is required may be obtained from Mr. R. I. Saunders, Agent, South Sea House, Broad-street.

DEBATE AT THE EAST INDIA HOUSE.

THE MARQUIS OF HASTINGS.

On Friday, the 11th of February, a Special General Court of Proprietors was held at the India House.

The CHAIRMAN took his seat at 12 o'clock.

The CLERK, having read the minutes of the proceedings of the last Court,

The CHAIRMAN rose and said, that the Court had been made special upon the requisition of nine Proprietors to take into consideration certain papers relating to certain pecuniary transactions of Messrs. W. Palmer and Co. with the Government of his Highness the Nizam at Hyderabad. He then desired the Clerk to read the requisition.

The requisition was accordingly read. It was as follows :—

To the Chairman, Deputy Chairman, and Court of Directors of the East India Company.

London, Jan. 31, 1825.

Gentlemen.—We, the undersigned Proprietors of East India Stock, being duly qualified, do hereby request that you will summon a Court of Proprietors at as early a period as may be convenient, for the purpose of taking into consideration the Hyderabad Papers now before the Proprietors, as far as they respect the conduct of the Most Noble the Marquis of Hastings, late Governor-General of India.

JOSEPH HUME,
THOS. MURDOCH,
R. RICKARDS,
JAMES SHAW,
DOUGLAS KINNAIRD,
RANDLE JACKSON,
WM. CURTIS,
J. DOYLE,
ALEX. JOHNSTON.

The HON. D. KINNAIRD had risen for the purpose of addressing the Court, when

Mr. FRESHFIELD rose and said :—I am sure that the hon. Member will forgive me for interrupting him, when he learns, that the question which I am going to put to the Chairman, is calculated to facilitate rather than to interfere with the object which he professes to have in view. I am unable to state it as a fact, but I have heard it mentioned as matter of rumour, that there is another paper, quite distinct from those already printed, which would throw a very material light upon these transactions.

Mr. D. KINNAIRD here interrupted the speaker and said, I think the hon. Gentleman had better hear the proposition I am going to make, before he submits his question to the consideration of the chair.

Mr. FRESHFIELD.—I rise, Mr. Chairman, to ask a question which I conceive to be very material to the discussion on

which we are going to enter. If it be an improper question, it will be your duty to stop me *IN LIMINE*; if it be a proper question, it will be for you and the Court to determine whether I am entitled to have it answered. I have heard, among many other rumours which are now abroad, that the Court of Directors have thought it necessary to take the opinion of the highest law officers respecting the transactions of Messrs. W. Palmer and Co. with the Nizam's Government at Hyderabad. If the Court of Directors have the opinions which they received from those learned personages, I think, that as we are now met to consider how far the Marquis of Hastings is mixed up with those transactions, we are likely to receive some information on the subject by a communication of their contents. I am unable to state either the particulars or the dates of the papers to which I allude; but if those papers throw any blaine either upon Mr. Adam, or upon the Marquis of Hastings, and if they are likely to lead to any comparison between the merits of Mr. Adam and those of the illustrious Marquis, I think it necessary to state that the friends of Mr. Adam are now in Court ready to meet any charges that may be made against either his character or conduct, (Hear). If those papers do not enter into such comparison as I have just mentioned, and the Gentlemen on the other side are not inclined to promote discussion on the merits of Mr. Adam, I allow that they are less material than I am at present inclined to consider them. If, however, that which was a question some time ago, should again become a question to-day, shall we not be narrowing the debateable ground by calling for those papers which are calculated to settle our opinions upon any disputed points? I therefore ask you, Mr. Chairman, whether any opinions have been taken by the Court of Directors of the law officers of the Crown which are not in this volume, and if they have been taken, whether they can be produced upon this occasion? I ask the question, not for my own private information, but for that of the Court of Proprietors, who are entitled to have laid before them all the papers which are calculated to throw light on this important subject.

The CHAIRMAN.—My duty certainly is to answer the question of the hon. Proprietor, and I have no difficulty in giving him an answer to it in the affirmative. The Court of Directors have undoubtedly taken the opinions of the law

officers of the Crown on certain points about which they entertained considerable doubt. These opinions are now in our keeping; and it is for the Court of Proprietors to say, whether they will or will not have them read on the present occasion.

Mr. RANDLE JACKSON.—I wish to be informed by the hon. Member whether the papers he alludes to are distinct from those which have been printed by order of the Court of Proprietors. If they are not distinct papers, they are already before us in the volume I now hold in my hand, though they have by some accident escaped the notice of the hon. Proprietor; if they are distinct papers, I would ask whether it is right that papers which have not been printed, and which have not even been called for, should be suddenly put upon us, without any previous notice, for our consideration?

Mr. FRESHFIELD.—I am sorry to see that I have not made myself distinctly understood. I admit that I should have been guilty of a want of candour, had I called for opinions which are not to be found in this volume, without apprising the Court of Directors that I had heard of their existence. I gave, however, notice to the Chairman of my intention of putting this question to him. It is now admitted that these opinions are in existence, and as they may be important to the hon. Member as well as to myself, I shall now move that they be read to the Court.

Mr. HUMF.—I think that the Court of Proprietors ought to be made acquainted with the substance of the observations contained in these opinions, though, judging from the remarks of the hon. Proprietor, I must say that it is yet doubtful on what subject those opinions were taken. It is insinuated that these papers may relate to accusations brought either against the Marquis of Hastings, or against Mr. Adam. If that be so, it is only right that these papers should be forthwith produced, though they may not perhaps be wanted in the present discussion. If I understand the motion of my hon. Friend near me rightly, it does not relate in the slightest degree to Mr. Adam, but is confined to this simple question—how far is the Marquis of Hastings implicated in these transactions at Hyderabad? Still I can have no objection to the production of the opinions for which the hon. Member is asking.

Mr. D. KINNAIRD, addressing himself to Mr. Freshfield—What opinions? State what it is you wish to have read.

The CHAIRMAN.—Do I understand rightly, in supposing that a motion has been made and seconded that these opinions should be read? They certainly are not in the printed volume, nor have they any relation whatsoever to Mr. Adam, or any of his colleagues in office.

Mr. FRESHFIELD.—Then, Mr. Chairman, I do not persist in my motion.

The motion was accordingly withdrawn.

The Hon. D. KINNAIRD.—I trust that the hon. Member who has just sat down will not conceive that I have been deficient in respect to him, because I have made no remark upon the observations which have just fallen from him; but the truth is—and I speak it with the utmost good faith—that I did not fully comprehend his object. The object, however, Mr. Chairman, which I have this day in view, is plain and intelligible, and can be made known to you without my occupying much of your time and attention. It is in the recollection of the Court, that, more than eleven months ago, certain papers were called for by the Court of Proprietors on the motion of an independent Member of it (Mr. J. Smith), who stated that he wished all papers relating to the proceedings of Messrs. W. Palmer and Co. with the Nizam's Government at Hyderabad to be printed, in order to remove doubts which existed in his mind as to the part which the Marquis of Hastings had taken in them. These papers were accordingly granted; as were also, on a further discussion, all other documents relating to the administration of the noble Marquis. The requisition on which you are now assembled, and to which my name is appended as a subscriber calls upon you to consider not the papers which relate to the general conduct of the noble Marquis in the Government of India, but that part of them which relates to Messrs. W. Palmer and Co.'s negotiations with the Nizam's Government, and the share which the noble Marquis had in them. I shall explain, in the course of my address to you, my reason for confining myself to the latter papers, and for not entering upon the other papers, which involve in them more extensive considerations, and which embrace the enormous field of an administration of eight years over the whole of our continental possessions in India. It was for the specific purpose of contradicting or confirming the rumours in existence, that the hon. Proprietor, to whom I have before alluded, came forward with his motion; and it is for the same purpose that I now take the liberty of trespassing for a few moments upon your consideration. The point which the hon. Proprietor wished to establish, is one to which I attach the utmost importance, because it involves the integrity of a public servant, who has hitherto been as free from reproach as he has been from fear, who has received more than once your unanimous thanks, and who has rendered you and his country services of incalculable value, (Hear, hear, hear). It becomes, therefore, highly essential to this Court to show that its favourable

opinion has not been bestowed upon an unworthy object; and to prove to the world, that the individual, whom it has graced with repeated marks of its esteem, has neither sullied the purity of his private character, nor misapplied the functions of his public situation. This is a consideration which, I am sure, will have its due effect upon the mind of every Gentleman who now hears me; and if any thing be wanted to increase that effect, it will be supplied by the recollection that to any man who is influenced by a noble spirit of ambition, an unsullied character is dearer than any other possession which fortune can bestow. (Hear, hear, hear.) It is now some months since these documents were first placed in your hands for the purpose of enabling you to satisfy yourselves as to the correctness of the *rumours*;—and I use the word emphatically, for I have found nothing yet but *rumours*, which have been sedulously propagated against the noble Marquis. Those *rumours*, however, are of a nature so grave and important that I am sure, that whether you look upon them as men or as proprietors of East India Stock, you will be of opinion that it is not a waste of your time to attempt either to establish their truth or to detect their falsehood. (Hear, hear, hear.) It is now, I repeat, eleven months since these papers were first called for; and I confess to you that I have refrained from calling upon this Court to come to a conclusion upon them earlier than at this, the twelfth hour, from no other reason than that I thought it due to the noble Marquis, whose conduct can bear the strictest examination, that no precipitate vote should be passed upon it; and that I considered it better for his fame and character, that his feelings should be kept upon the rack for a few months, than be restored to calm and tranquillity, by a rash, hasty, and ill-considered decision. (Hear, hear, hear.) I shall lament it sincerely if any Gentleman shall think that I have brought on this discussion a single day too early, because I am sure that the more time is granted to the examination of the noble Marquis's claims on our respect, the more decided will be our convictions in his favour. (Hear, hear.) I hope too that I shall be forgiven by the hon. Proprietor who first stirred this question, for taking it out of his hands. I can assure him, that in doing so I mean him no disrespect. I feel that I owe him an apology, and I now tender it, for interfering with a motion which it was perhaps his intention to have presented to your notice. (Hear.) I have no speech to make—no observations to offer to you, upon the mass of papers which are now before you: I trust that you have all made yourselves acquainted with their contents: they were printed with that object, and are of such a

nature as to be within the scope of every man's understanding. I shall merely propose to you a resolution which I think those papers justify, and which I anticipate you will receive with thorough unanimity.

The resolution is in these words:—

That this Court having taken into consideration that part of the Papers which related to the conduct of the Marquis of Hastings, respecting the transactions of Messrs. Palmer and Co. with the Government of the Nizam, were of opinion, that it contained nothing that tended to affect the personal character, honour, or integrity, of the Noble Marquis.

Before I put this motion into your hands, Mr. Chairman, I will again repeat that I confine myself to the distinct, intelligible proposition which it contains—that I enter not into any detailed view of the noble Marquis's general administration of India—that I restrict myself to the Hyderabad papers alone—and that I abstain from all farther remarks in defence of the conclusion I have drawn from them; because I think that no illustration of it, by so humble an individual as myself, is necessary to strengthen the cause, of which I have appeared this day the advocate. (Hear, hear, hear.)

Sir ALEXANDER JOHNSON seconded the motion.

The CHAIRMAN.—I shall premise the few remarks I have to address to the Court, by stating my satisfaction at the temperate manner in which the hon. Proprietor has brought forward his motion, and by expressing my hopes, that, if I cannot arrive at the same conclusion at which he has done, he will give me credit for a hearty desire to do full justice to the character of the Marquis of Hastings. (Hear, hear.) I hope that I am as little inclined as the hon. Proprietor himself to do any thing which can give countenance to the calumnies or slanders which may be in circulation against that illustrious individual. Indeed, there are Gentlemen whom I now have in my eye, who know that I have done every thing in my power, in another place, to discountenance and confound them. (Hear.) The question, however, now before us, is not whether the Marquis of Hastings has been unjustly calumniated and abused, but whether the Hyderabad despatches bear out the proposition of the hon. Mover? (Hear.) I am obliged to state that, in my opinion, they do not. (Hear, hear.) The words of the motion appear to me of too large capacity; for, though upon consideration of all the transactions of Messrs. W. Palmer and Co. with the Nizam's Government at Hyderabad, I acquit the noble Marquis of all corrupt and improper motives, I cannot, on the other hand, go so far as to say that his personal character is not at all affected by them. (Hear, hear.) I cannot separate the character of the Governor-General of India from the personal character of the Mar-

quis of Hastings. I consider them as intimately bleuded with each other; and I look upon every thing which affects the one injuriously, as equally detrimental to the other. I feel myself bound to state that, in my opinion, the noble Marquis has compromised his character by the proceedings at Hyderabad; but I feel myself at the same time bound in candour to repeat, that though I blame his conduct, I acquit him of all corrupt and interested motives. (Hear, hear.) Though I cannot go the full length of the hon. Proprietor's motion, I am still ready to give the noble Marquis the full benefit of a public acquittal on the points I have mentioned; and with that view I have drawn up an amendment, which I shall submit to your earnest consideration. In that amendment, I have thought it right to make some allusion to the proceedings which the Court of Directors felt itself bound to take, in reference to this subject. (Hear, hear.) We have been placed, as the Court of Proprietors must have observed, in a most delicate and painful situation. (Hear, hear.) These papers, which have been printed and in your hands for the last eleven months, will have informed you of the conduct we felt it our duty to pursue; and on the judgment you form regarding it, from the facts contained in the papers, must we receive your approbation or your censure. (Hear.) Was it to be supposed, that with all the information which we, the Directors, had before us, we could have abstained from forming an opinion upon these transactions? The very oath you impose upon us compels us to form, and, when necessary, to express, an opinion upon the conduct of every one of your servants; and I do not expect to be told, that we, who are bound to attend to the proceedings of the humblest amongst them, are to be less watchful over the proceedings of the more exalted. (Hear.) In the present instance, we had to deal with a personage of the highest rank: were we, on that account, to look over in him that which we should not have allowed to pass without remark in a meaner individual? (Hear, hear.) If we had done so, should we have acted justly to you, or honourably to ourselves? (Hear.) If the character of the noble Marquis be dear to him and to his friends, let it not be forgotten that our character is also dear to us and to our friends. (Hear.) If the character of the noble Marquis be the property of the Company, so too is the character of all my colleagues around me; and I trust that I shall not be considered as exhibiting any improper vanity, when I say that, humble as I am, I look upon my character as property in your hands. (Hear, hear.) There have been more individuals than one in the chair which I now fill, since these transactions attracted the attention of the

Court of Directors. I ask you, whether their characters are not implicated in the decision of this day? For five years, the Court of Directors have entertained one consistent opinion with regard to these transactions, and I therefore trust that you will not separate, this day, without giving to their opinion the sanction of your approbation. I hope that you will approve of the despatches we sent out to India, and show us, by your decision today, that we are still in possession of your regard and confidence. (Hear, hear.) With these observations I shall leave the question in your hands, and shall conclude by moving the following amendment:

That all the words in the original motion after the word "that" be left out, and the following inserted in their stead:—That this Court having taken into its serious consideration the Papers which it ordered to be printed, on the 3d March last, relative to certain pecuniary transactions of Messrs. W. Palmer and Co. with the Government of his Highness the Nizam, is of opinion that there is contained in them no grounds for imputing any corrupt motive to the Marquis of Hastings, or to any Member of the Bengal Government. At the same time the Court feels itself called upon to record its approval of the despatches sent by the Court of Directors to the Bengal Government, under the dates of the 24th of May, 1820, of the 28th of Nov. 1821, of the 9th of April, 1823, and of the 21st of Jan. 1824.

Sir G. ROBINSON.—I rise to second the amendment of my hon. Friend, and in so doing, I wish to be considered as speaking only as an individual proprietor. When these papers were originally called for, it was with a professed and definite object. It was moved, and on the question resolved, that "there be laid before this Court, all correspondence and other documents to be found in the public records of the Company, which regard the administration of the Marquis of Hastings, which may enable the Court to judge of the propriety of entertaining the question of farther remuneration to the late Governor-General." That was the object for which these papers were originally demanded; and such being the case, I cannot help expressing my opinion, that the Court of Directors is not fairly dealt by, unless the whole question which that resolution opens is taken into your consideration. (Hear, hear.) With regard to the distinct and separate question, which has been brought before you by the hon. Proprietor, I can appeal to those who have heard me express my sentiments elsewhere, whether it is not impossible for any individual to agree with him more cordially than I do upon this point—that the character of the Marquis of Hastings is quite free from all imputation, as a participator in any improper emoluments derived from the measures now under discussion? (Hear, hear, hear.) I wish that to be distinctly understood as my sincere opinion; (Hear,

hear.) I wish it to be as notorious as possible, that no man holds the character of the noble Marquis in greater regard than I do. (Hear, hear.) But after stating thus much, I feel myself bound to say, that having been placed in a situation which necessarily rendered me acquainted with these transactions when they first caught the attention of the Directors, I have followed their progress to the present period with great and painful anxiety. (Hear, hear.) I have taken as much pains to make myself master of these transactions as I possibly could; and I should be wanting in that candour, which I feel to be due to the Company, and in that regard to my character, which I feel myself called upon to support, if I did not assign freely, and without any reserve, my reasons for differing from the motion of the hon. Proprietor. My reasons, then, for differing from him, are shortly these: that I see, in these transactions, a departure from the sound principles of good government, and a violation of the rules laid down by the Legislature for the administration of our dominions in India. (Hear, hear.) And that I see in his motion a positive censure of the policy pursued by the Court of Directors during their continuance. On account of all these circumstances, I feel it my duty to second the amendment.

MR. JOHN SMITH, M. P.—I confess, Mr. Chairman, that I feel very considerable embarrassment, in consequence of the amendment which has just been proposed; and I feel the more embarrassment, because nothing can come from that Chair, which you now so worthily fill, that is not entitled to my sincerest respect, both from personal regard to you and from a sense of what is due to your office. I have had the pleasure, Sir, of being acquainted with you now for a long series of years, both in public and in private life, and I have therefore no less confidence in the goodness of your intentions than I have in the force and excellence of your talents. (Hear.) I am, in consequence, at all times reluctant to differ from you; but on the present occasion, after considering the question in every possible light, I do not see how I can, in fairness, support your amendment. (Hear, hear.) I have waded through all these papers, voluminous as they are, and I never in my life performed a more disagreeable and painful task. I have taken various views of them; but notwithstanding all the views I have taken, I have never been able to find one, which could lead me to suppose that the illustrious individual, whose conduct we are now canvassing, had departed from the rules of honour and integrity. (Hear, hear.) There are, however, points in these proceedings of which I highly disapprove. I have always been of opinion

that this species of negotiation with the native princes of India was the besetting sin of British subjects in the East; (Hear, hear;) and was more pregnant with danger to the eventual security of our interests than any other evil whatsoever; (Hear, hear;) yet here is a nobleman mixed up with them, who is equally distinguished by his talents and his rank, who has filled the highest situation in the country with honour to himself, and benefit to those subjected to his sway; and who by his military talents, aided by the officers who were placed under him, and whom his good judgment led him to select, has accomplished more for England in India than perhaps any of the great men who have ever preceded him. (Hear, hear.) Under this state of things, a question is put to me plainly and without any reserve, "Is this Governor-General, so much esteemed and so generally esteemed, a man of honour, or is he not?" In candour, if such a question is put to me, I am bound to answer it decidedly, either one way or the other. (Hear, hear.) Now, though your amendment admits the integrity of the noble Marquis, though it acknowledges the purity of his general conduct, though it acquits him of all mean, interested and corrupt motives, still there are expressions in it which make some doubt as to the sincerity of your admissions. (Hear, hear.) I do not mean to find fault with the policy which the Directors thought themselves called upon to pursue. There are, undoubtedly, parts of the proceedings which every man must regret and lament; but, notwithstanding that circumstance, there is not a single action of the noble Marquis in them which ought to embitter, by its recollection, the last moments of the existence of the man who had secured to England the dominion of India. (Hear, hear, hear.) I regret his want of firmness on one or two occasions, and his want of judgment upon others; but when it is put to me,—“Aye or No,—is he a man of honour and integrity or is he not?”—(for, as I understand the motion, that is the point to be determined by it)—I am bound to say that I see nothing in the whole of this voluminous mass of evidence which can enable me to say that in my opinion the Marquis of Hastings has forfeited his character as a man of honour and integrity. (Hear.) There is a way, it is true, to get out of the difficulty of answering this query suggested by the amendment; but I must own that it is so like a go-bye to the main question that I can scarcely consider it either fair or equitable. (Hear, hear.) Under these circumstances, and with the view I take of them, I feel myself called upon to vote in favour of the original motion, assuring you at the same time, Mr. Chairman, that not only from the regard which I feel for you individually, but also from the respect

which I feel in general for the Court of Directors, (a) I regret exceedingly that I cannot bring myself to acquiesce in your amendment. (Hear, hear, hear.)

Mr. POYNDER.—In rising to address you, Mr. Chairman, upon this occasion, I am bound at the very outset to make no small claim upon your indulgent hearing. For a sense of duty compels me to go much deeper into this question than any of the hon. Proprietors have gone who have hitherto addressed you. I shall endeavour, Mr. Chairman, to . . .

Mr. IMPEY.—I rise to a point of order, and in stating it, I assure the hon. Proprietor who is in possession of the Court, that I will not detain him long. The hon. Proprietor has stated that it is his intention to travel further into this question than any of the hon. Gentlemen who have preceded him. Now, it appears to me, that if we should go deeper than we have already gone into this question, the discussion must evidently lead to very painful feelings in the mind, not only of the Marquis of Hastings, but also of many very meritorious individuals, who are now acting as servants of the Company in India (b). (Hear, hear, hear.) There is one point, and one point only, on which the whole course of this debate naturally depends. That point is, that there is nothing in the papers before the Court which would justify it in imputing corrupt motives to the noble Marquis who recently filled the office of Governor-General of India. (Hear.) That proposition has only been put in different words by the hon. Proposer of the original motion, and by the hon. Proposer of the amendment upon it. The hon. Proprietor who made the original motion says, that there is nothing in these papers which can im-

peach the personal character or integrity of the Marquis of Hastings. I know not what the hon. Proprietor means by these words, if it be not . . .

Mr. D. KINNAIRD.—(Interrupting Mr. Impey) I mean that there is nothing to affect the personal character of the noble Marquis as a man of honour. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. IMPEY.—Exactly so. There is nothing, says the hon. Proprietor, to impeach the noble Marquis as a man of honour. I say so too. (Hear, hear.) The Court of Directors say so too. (Hear, hear.) Even the amendment, which our Chairman has moved, declares that there is nothing in these papers which can lead the Court to impute corrupt motives to the noble Marquis. Why, this is the very admission which the hon. Proprietor calls on the Court to make, couched, it is true, in different words, and varying *only* (c) in the manner of putting the question. Person and character appear to me to be almost synonymous terms. They are both terms taken from the stage. The characters of a piece are the *dramatis personæ*; and I am convinced that every person who reflects . . .

The CHAIRMAN.—I am sorry to interrupt my hon. Friend; but I am sure that upon a moment's reflection he will see that at present he is decidedly out of order. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. IMPEY.—If the observations I have been making do not appear to be made for an *useful* purpose, I shall sit down without adding another syllable. (d)

Mr. POYNDER.—I do not complain of the interruption I have just received from the hon. Director; on the contrary, I thank him for his suggestions, since all the difficulties, which I feel in approaching to this discussion, will vanish immediately on the withdrawal of the original motion. If that motion be persisted in by the hon. Proprietor who brought it forward, I must be permitted to state the grounds, and at some length too, upon which I dissent from it, and am compelled to support the amendment. Does the hon. Proprietor consent to withdraw his motion?

Mr. D. KINNAIRD intimated by a nod that he did not.

Mr. POYNDER.—Well then, if things

(a) This intermixture of personal compliment with reasoning on a question of public policy, addressed, too, directly to the individuals praised, is quite unworthy of a grave assembly: but what is worse, Mr. Smith, the professed friend of liberal opinions, eulogizing a public body of men who have publicly declared that the Government in India is an absolute despotism, and, while they hold it, always shall remain so, —is a melancholy, if not a revolting picture. Mr. Smith has just as publicly praised the efforts of the Free Press in India which these Directors have destroyed. How does he reconcile these contradictions?

(b) It would be worth ascertaining whether Mr. Impey could open his lips without uttering a fallacy. All discussions on points of character must give painful feelings to the censured individuals. But are, these discussions, therefore, not to take place at all? Verily, these lawyers have intellects peculiar to their profession. One *learned* Judge is reported to have said, that "any expression which gave any pain to any individual, at any time or place, was a libel." Mr. Impey says, in effect, that "any discussion which could give pain to any individual, at any time or place, ought not to be proceeded in." It is difficult to say which of the two dogmas is the most absurd.

(c) A variation so great as to involve a contradiction: for it says, as it now stands, —We approve entirely of the character of Lord Hastings; nevertheless, we approve also of those who differed from him in all his proceedings; and we equally approve of all the severest measures conveyed to both, in our angry letters sent at different periods to them in India.

(d) If Mr. Impey would make this resolution a permanent rule of action, he would act wisely. *Utility*, however, is a standard, by which it would never do to judge of things either said or done at the India House. Tried by such a test, the whole fabric, with all the corruptions it contains, would tumble to the ground.

must go on, I must, however reluctantly, enter at large upon the whole subjects, and state my reasons for the vote which I am compelled this day to give. And though my reasons will occupy a much longer time than those of the hon. Proprietor, who, in point of fact, has given you no reasons, and only a multitude of broad assertions; though I shall be obliged to enter much more fully into the contents of this enormous volume than he vouchsafed to enter, still, I trust, that as I have often listened, sometimes with pleasure, and at other times with patience, to the speeches of the hon. Proprietor and his friends for two or three hours together, they will extend to me their patient indulgence whilst I trespass upon their attention for not more than one-sixth portion of their time of speaking. I must now remind the Court, that for the services which the noble Marquis has rendered the Company he has already received from our hands a grant of 5000*l.* a year. That sum, in my opinion, was rightly granted to the noble Marquis. It was a remuneration which we did wisely in bestowing; but when further remuneration is called for.

Mr. TRANT and Mr. R. JACKSON rose simultaneously to a point of order. Mr. R. JACKSON having sat down,

Mr. TRANT spoke as follows:—I appeal to you, Mr. Chairman, whether the hon. Proprietor is not at this moment wandering out of the record, (Hear, hear,) and entering upon a question utterly irrelevant to the present discussion. We are not now met to debate whether a further pension ought or ought not to be granted to the Marquis of Hastings; but simply to discuss whether we approve the conduct of the Marquis of Hastings or of the Court of Directors, as it is brought before us in this volume of printed papers. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. POYNDEY.—I contend that the observations I have been making are strictly in order; I contend that they are most intimately connected with the discussion of this day; I consider it as an integral part of this great question that the Court of Proprietors should be fully informed of the situation in which it is now intended to place them; and in order to afford that information to the Court of Proprietors, I state that after a grant of 5000*l.* a year has been made by it to the Marquis of Hastings, it is—(Order, order.)

Mr. R. JACKSON again interrupted the speaker, by asking the Chairman, whether the mode of discussion was orderly.

Mr. POYNDEY proceeded.—I hope that I shall be enabled, if I am not interrupted, to connect the argument I am now wishing to state to the Court with the question that is before it. I cannot, however,

refrain from expressing my surprise that an hon. Gentleman, who addresses the Court so often and at so great length, should so pertinaciously refuse to me that indulgence which I am always ready to grant to him. (Hear, hear.) I will now proceed to another part of this discussion, and waiting for the present all notice of our former grant, will

Mr. R. JACKSON again rose to order. "If either the original motion of my hon. Friend, or the amendment which you, Mr. Chairman, have moved upon it, had contained one single syllable, which could be construed by any misapplied ingenuity into a call for money, I admit that the speech of the hon. Proprietor would be perfectly in order. But there is not the shadow of a shade of any such proposition before the Court. The present is not a question of money. It is a question of much more vital importance, both to the noble Marquis and to the Court of Proprietors. It is a question of character and of character alone; and being so, I again contend that the hon. Proprietor is out of order."

The CHAIRMAN declared that Mr. POYNDEY was in order. (e)

Mr. POYNDEY.—I am not to be deterred from speaking my opinions, nor diverted from the course of my argument by interruptions of this nature. I can assure the hon. Proprietor that he will not advance his cause in the slightest degree by thus perpetually calling me to order. I again repeat, that if I cannot connect these observations with the question now before you—if I cannot show that they are inseparably united with each other in the mind of every reasoning man, I am willing to be set down, notwithstanding by the hon. Member, but by the Chairman of this Court. I conceive myself to be strictly in order, when I look to the object for which these papers were ordered to be printed. They were ordered to be printed, not that we might discuss loosely and indefinitely, and without any specific object, the character of the noble Marquis, but in order that we might be enabled to judge, I quote the words of the resolution proposed by the other side, "of the propriety of entertaining the question of further remuneration to the Governor-General." (Loud cries of hear.) 'Though this object is not mentioned in the requisition on which we are now called together, though it is carefully withdrawn from the proposition which is now submitted to our notice—though not a word has been breathed regarding it by any of the gentlemen who have eulogized the

(e) No doubt; because chaos is order, and discord harmony, when any speaker is advocating the views of the Directors, and in the manner they wish.

noble Marquis so highly, it is clearly the object which the motion of this day has in view, (f) and is therefore not to be dismissed from our consideration as an irrelevant topic, since it is the issue to which, sooner or later, we must inevitably arrive. (Hear, hear, hear.) I will proceed, however, at present to another point, which it is essential should be brought at a very early period of this discussion under your notice. I allude to the connexion of Sir W. Rumbold with the house of Messrs. W. Palmer and Co. This is distinctly proved by a paragraph contained in a minute of the Governor-General, dated June 17th, 1820, which is to be found at p. 44. The Governor-General says, "A person, in whom I take a very lively concern from his having married a ward of mine, brought up nearly as if she had been my daughter, is a partner in that house." That this person is Sir W. Rumbold is proved beyond all doubt by a letter from the Marquis of Hastings to that gentleman, dated 20th Nov. 1814, and inserted at p. 731 of these papers. In that letter the Marquis of Hastings says, "Sir Edward Earl is decidedly of opinion that I should not be justified in assenting to the embarking of any part of Harriet's fortune in aught but Government securities. This I mentioned to you at the time, and I see you look to the direct operation of that principle, but I am not sure whether you take into calculation its indirect effect. You talk of borrowing the sum which you are to advance for a share in the firm. How can you do that without security to pledge?" This I take to be decisive; but if any further proof be wanted upon this head, I will refer you to another letter of the Marquis of Hastings to Sir W. Rumbold, dated 4th Jan. 1815, and inserted p. 733 of these papers. In that letter my Lord writes, "My dear Sir William, the account you have given of the house of Palmer and Co. at Hyderabad is very favourable, and certainly the details justify your inclination for going to that city in order to inspect the books. I enclose you a letter to the Resident, couched in terms which will ensure to you his attention and most earnest good offices. The parties speculate that you, being one of the firm, will interest me in the welfare of the house to a degree which may be materially beneficial to them." I pray the Court to pay particular attention to this last phrase, as also to that which immediately follows it: "It is a fair and honest calculation." [Cries of hear, from Mr. D. Kinnaird, Mr. R. Jackson, and other gentlemen, echoed back again from

other parts of the Court.] What! is it a fair and honest calculation that the Governor-General of India shall patronize one commercial establishment to the detriment of others, because a person in whom he takes a lively concern has made a junction with it? Is that the impartiality which he is to observe between all the subjects entrusted to his care? (g) Such may be the ideas of the hon. Proprietors opposite, but I have formed a very different notion upon this subject. My Lord, after stating to Sir W. Rumbold that the amount of advantage which the countenance of Government may bestow must be uncertain,---a statement by which he admits that there must at all costs be some advantage: He adds, that a more distinct advantage will attend the firm from the discouragement of any other British house at Hyderabad.

Mr. D. KINNAIRD.---Do not garble the letter, but read it entire.

Mr. POYNDER.---I am not garbling the letter, but am shortly stating its contents. I am as incapable of garbling any document as the hon. Proprietor can be, and I should be foolish indeed to attempt so unfair a procedure when the whole Court has the papers before it, and would instantly detect and expose me. The letter I have before said is at p. 733, and to accommodate the hon. Proprietor shall be read entire; I will proceed with it from the part at which I left off. My Lord says, "the amount of advantage which the countenance of Government may bestow must be uncertain, as I apprehend it would flow principally from the opinion the Natives would entertain of the respect likely to be paid by their own Government to an establishment known to stand well in the favour of the supreme authority here. Perhaps a more distinct benefit may attend the firm from the consequent discouragement to competition with you by any other British partnership, to which a similarly professed connection

(g) What! Mr. Poynder, if Sir Wm. Carr, the city member, has a son in any particular city establishment, will there be no advantage to that establishment from this connexion? Lord Liverpool had a cousin in another house; would that house derive no advantage from a connexion? It is impossible to prevent the universal influence of connexions like these: and the case of Sir W. Rumbold is only one of a thousand similar ones that could be named every day. But we will interrupt Mr. Poynder. What! is it fair or honest that the King and Parliament of England should patronize one commercial establishment (the overgrown body of the East India Company) to the detriment of all others, who are shut out by them from residence in India and trade to China? What! is it fair or honest, for Directors to patronize one set of youths, and send them to the good places in China and Bengal, merely because they are sons, to the detriment of others, who cannot participate in these good things? Go to! Mr. Poynder, leave your books, and study mankind a little closer, to correct your ignorance of life and human nature.

(f) How can that be clearly the object of a motion, which is not even expressed or indicated in it? The words quoted by Mr. Poynder relate to another question, another meeting, and another time than the present.

would be granted. It is on the ground of the service to the Nizam, at the request of our Resident, that I have consented to let the good wishes of Government for the prosperity of this firm be signified. No new establishment could have such a plea." Now upon this letter, without assigning to the noble Marquis any corrupt motive for his conduct, I say there is an avowed system of favouritism---an expressed intention of putting down all competition with his favourite's firm---an undeniable establishment of a commercial monopoly, not only for the productions of the country, but for the supply of the money market, if I must designate plain things by equally plain language. (A) (Cries of hear.)

Mr. DOUGLAS KINNAIRD.---"I ask the hon. Member to read" (we think he said) "the letter to which this is an answer."

Mr. POYNDER.---"The hon. Member will excuse me if I do not comply with his suggestion. I do not consider that letter as at all varying the complexion of the case. If the hon. Member thinks that it does, he can read it, I suppose, for himself. (Hear.)

The CHAIRMAN.---"I really am sorry at feeling it necessary to interfere. This Court is extremely full and respectable. Let us not forfeit our claim to respectability by any want of decorum in our debates. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. POYNDER.---"The hon. Proprietor will forgive me, if I apply to him the language which Junius applied to a more distinguished personage: "If his bed does not fit him, it is not my fault." (Hear, and a laugh.) It is he who has made it, and not I, (Hear, hear.) and if he is dissatisfied with it, he ought to vent his dissatisfaction upon those who have excited it, and not upon those who have neither had art nor part in giving him offence. Having thus proved the connexion of Sir W. Rumbold with the house of William Palmer and Co. I shall now proceed to call your attention to the political letter of the Court of Directors to the Government in Bengal, dated 24th May 1820, and inserted at page 6 of these papers; and I call your attention to it for the purpose of showing you the manner in which these transactions of Palmer and Co. first attracted the notice and displeasure of the Court of Directors. The letter, to which I refer, is one of those which the amendment calls upon you to sanction with your approbation, and is therefore highly deserving of your most serious consideration:

We stated, (say the Directors) in a former despatch that we were not aware of any "byc-

tion to the countenance which you had, in the year 1814, authorised the Resident at Hyderabad to afford to a British commercial establishment at that capital.

In thus expressing ourselves, we presumed that the objects of Messrs. Palmer and Co. were completely consistent, both with the enactments of the Legislature, and with those views of policy to which we have been accustomed to require conformity on the part of our Indian Governments.

It appears, however, from the Memorial addressed to you by that firm, on the 27th of June, 1816, which constituted the ground of your proceeding, that besides their business as merchants, they had large pecuniary dealings with the Government of his Highness the Nizam, which, as you state, would subject them to the penalties enacted by the 37th Geo. 3. cap. 142. sec. 28, unless, by an exercise of the power vested in you by that Act, you gave your consent and approbation to their engaging in such transactions. And you inform us, that at the request of these gentlemen, you had granted your permission to their performing the several acts, from which, without that permission, they would have been restrained, with no other reservation than that it should be at the discretion of the Resident at Hyderabad, for the time being, to satisfy himself regarding the nature and objects of the transactions in which Messrs. Palmer and Co. might engage.

We have to observe, in the first place, that the power which you have thus thought fit to exercise, could not have been granted by the Legislature, in contemplation of such an use as you have made of it.

It was obviously intended for the purpose of meeting extraordinary exigencies, not of generally licensing an illegal traffic; and we have great doubts whether such a license as you have given, (a general license, without a special case of necessity, and without limit,) would be held to be legal; and would be found effectual for the protection of Messrs. Palmer & Co. against any prosecution under the Act.

But waiving this discussion, we desire to be informed---[and here, said Mr. Poynder, I must remark, that the Directors complain, in p. 373, that they never received this information in any shape whatever.]---whether the Resident has availed himself of the power reserved to him, by acquainting himself constantly and thoroughly, with the nature of the pecuniary transactions of that house with the Nizam's Government; and, in the next place, whether he has reported to you respecting them. In the event of his having done so, you will not fail to transmit the report for our information.

After the experience which we have had, both in the Oude and in the Carnatic, of the dreadful abuses which resulted from the pecuniary dealings of British subjects with Native princes, and the jealousy manifested by the Legislature of all such transactions, we can by no means approve of the indulgence which you have extended to Messrs. Palmer and Co.; and we positively direct, that the instrument, by which that indulgence was conveyed, may be immediately, upon the receipt of this despatch, revoked and cancelled; and that the countenance of our Governments may be strictly confined to those objects of a commercial nature, which they professed originally to have in view.

You will understand this order as peremptory; and the execution of it must not be delayed for the purpose of a reference to us, or on any ground whatever.

Again, at the conclusion of their letter, the Directors say---

Since the preceding paragraphs were written, it has been suggested to us, that Mr. Palmer

(A) A commercial monopoly! How offensive to the ears of an East India Proprietor. A monopoly of the money market! Hear this, ye Ruthenids, Barings, and Ricardos! Alas! for poor human nature, when such folly as this is deemed wisdom.

whose name is first in the firm of the house, to which you have given the permission in question, is a native of India, but that there are other partners who are Europeans. We desire to be informed of the names of all the partners of the house to which your license has been granted; and we direct, that, if on any future occasion, you should find it necessary to grant a license to lend money, not only the sum to be lent, but the names of all the persons to whom the license extends, may be distinctly specified in the license; and a copy of every such license, with a statement of your reasons for granting it, be transmitted to us by the earliest opportunity.

In this letter, to which was attached an extract of Act the 37th Geo. 3. against lending money to native princes, the Court of Directors distinctly state the grounds on which they inculcate the license granted by the noble Marquis to the firm of Palmer and Co. at Hyderabad. On the 16th of Dec. 1820, the noble Marquis sends back to the Court of Directors an explanation of the grounds upon which he had felt himself justified in granting it. The Court of Directors were not satisfied with this explanation; and on the 28th of Nov. 1821, dictated a reply to it, which forms the second of the despatches, of which you are now called upon to record your approval. I think that whoever reads that despatch, will acknowledge that it contains a series of well-founded charges against the noble Marquis. You will find it at page 70 of these Papers. It accuses the noble Marquis of withholding important information from the Court of Directors, with regard to the pecuniary transactions of the house of Palmer and Co. with the Nizam's Government; and proves, from the documents which he had forwarded to them, that that house must, to his knowledge, have been engaged in such transactions, in open contravention of an Act of the Legislature, antecedently to the license which he had granted to it on the 23d of July 1816. The despatch then proceeds in the following strain of accusation against the noble Marquis:—

In the minute of the Governor-General, recorded on your political consultations, bearing date the 1st of January 1820, and, by consequence, written previously to the agreement for the last loan of sixty lacs, his Lordship expressed his belief, that it was well understood that but for the occasional assistance derived from the house of William Palmer and Co., the Nizam's Government could not have been kept above water.

And in the correspondence between Rajah Chundoo Loll, the Resident, and the firm, transmitted to you with Mr. Russell's letter of the 19th of May last, reference is made to a debt which had been contracted by the Minister to the house during the war, the amount and other particulars of which we are left wholly unacquainted with.

If you were not thoroughly informed respecting the transactions to which such frequent allusion is made, it certainly behoves you to account for the suspension of the exercise of your inquisitorial and controlling powers. We are unwilling to suppose that possessing this information, you could have failed to impart it to us, after the anxiety to obtain it, which we had

manifested in our despatch of the 24th of May 1820. We regret, however, that in your political letter to us, of the 1st of Oct. 1819, when professedly treating of the efficiency which had been given to the Nizam's reformed corps, by the arrangements for securing to the troops the regular receipt of their pay, no reference was made to the agreement for that purpose, which had been entered into by Rajah Chundoo Loll with the house of W. Palmer and Co. in the early part of 1818, and which, in the course of 1819, had formed the subject of an important correspondence between your Government, the Resident, and the firm. This omission was tacitly supplied, in paragraphs 63 to 67 of your letter of the 21st of Oct. 1820; but you ought not to have suffered two years to elapse before apprising us of that transaction, which we discover from an incidental expression in the letter of Messrs. Palmer and Co. of the 12th of Oct. 1819, must have taken effect from the 23d of April 1818, although it does not appear to have been reported to you by the Resident until the 31st of December of that year.

How an arrangement, which had taken effect eight months before it was reported, can be said with propriety to have been concluded "with the sanction of your Government," we cannot perceive. The Resident ought not to have countenanced the arrangement without specific authority from you, much less should he have so long delayed reporting its completion.

From circumstances to which we shall hereafter advert, we are but imperfectly informed of the particulars of the arrangement, entered into with Messrs. Palmer and Co., under which, in consideration of stipulated monthly advances, on the part of the house, of two lacs of rupees, for the payment of the troops in Beas, it obtained assignments of revenue to the extent of thirty lacs per annum; yet enough is disclosed to satisfy us that the terms of the convention were the very reverse of moderate. No person can read the agreement without seeing that the stipulations were highly favourable to the lenders, and, of course, proportionably unfavourable to the borrower; though, from the vagueness with which they are expressed, it is impossible to ascertain to what extent they were advantageous to the one party and disadvantageous to the other.

When the arrangement was first reported, you felt that it required elucidation, and called upon the Resident to explain whether he considered any guarantee as implied on the part of the British Government; in what manner the revenues of the assigned districts were secured to the house; on what terms their advances were made; and whether arrangements, equally efficient and economical, could not have been made with native bankers at Hyderabad.

The answer of the Resident was extremely unsatisfactory. Explicit on the first point only, he omitted all explanation upon the second and third; and, in regard to the fourth, he merely replied in the negative, without stating the grounds upon which his opinion rested.

This strange omission was in no way supplied by the letter from Messrs. Palmer and Co. which accompanied the Resident's despatch. These communications were justly characterized in a minute of Mr. Stuart, as "being, in fact, more calculated to excite than to relieve anxiety." Indeed, your subsequent proceedings show, that individually and collectively, you did not yet consider yourselves as sufficiently informed respecting the transaction, to enable you to pass any judgment upon it.

The despatch, after showing that the necessity of this arrangement had been questioned in the present instance, and that its highly objectionable nature, ex-

cept in cases of urgent necessity, had been pointed out by the Accountant-General, who had deemed further information requisite, proceeds, in page 74, to which I now refer you, with the following remark, to which I call your serious attention, since, in my humble opinion, nothing can be said more justly or more forcibly upon the subject:—

Independently of the jealousy which the Legislature has entertained, and which we have constantly manifested, of pecuniary dealings on the part of British subjects with native princes, the origin and nature of the transaction in question, the parties concerned in it, and the relations in which they respectively stood to the British Government, not only warranted, but rendered it incumbent on you to inform yourselves of all its details. The arrangement having been first suggested by Capt. Geo. Sydenham, having been concluded with the entire concurrence of Mr. Russell, having taken place at a period when the influence of the British Government pervaded every branch of the Nizam's administration,—

—and this circumstance, I think, may be considered as a very sufficient explanation of the mode in which Messrs. Palmer and Co. obtained the enormous interest which they had taken,—

—and through the instrumentality of a house of business, which, but for that license, could not legally have engaged in such transactions, you had the most powerful motives for substantiating both to your own and to our satisfaction, first, that the object was of sufficient importance to warrant the adoption of extraordinary and unusual means for its attainment; and, secondly, that the means which you had authorised, were not perverted to purposes injurious to the interests of our ally, or discreditable to the British character.

Again, in page 75, the Directors observe—

Mr. Russell states, in his letter of the 28th of April 1819, that “none of the native bankers at Hyderabad could have commanded funds adequate to the purpose, and even if they could, that their terms would have been much higher than those of the present arrangement.” Without the smallest disposition to question the intended accuracy of Mr. Russell's representation, we cannot give to it that implicit credit which would have been due to assertions supported by incontestable facts. Had he grounded it upon unsuccessful applications, which had been made by the Nizam's Government to the principal soucars at Hyderabad, for pecuniary accommodations; had he told us, that in answer to such applications (specifying dates and other particulars) the soucars had pleaded their inability to make advances to a large amount, and that for small advances they had demanded exorbitant terms; and had he, after stating the terms, contrasted them with the moderation of those demanded by the house of Palmer and Co., then, indeed, his representation would have weight; but, in its present shape, we cannot take it for more than an opinion, the correctness of which is matter of doubt.

At Bombay, the *Quickwar* has been able to borrow large sums annually at about 9 per cent. under the Company's Bandatry. This species of security, we believe, is not known at Hyderabad; but we have no reason to doubt, that had the Company lent its credit to the Nizam's Government, in another form, money might have been obtained from native bankers at a rate of interest equally moderate.

In truth, you have, in substance, if not in form, lent the Company's credit, in the late pecuniary transactions at Hyderabad, not, indeed, for the benefit of the Nizam's Government, but for the sole benefit of Messrs. Palmer and Co. You have not guaranteed to the house the fulfilment of the engagements entered into with it by the Nizam's Government; but the house has received the support of the British Government, and it expects that the influence of that Government will be employed to secure satisfaction of its just demands upon the Government of the Nizam. Without this countenance and support, Messrs. Palmer and Co. declared that they never would have established an extensive mercantile concern (much less entered into large pecuniary dealings with the Government) in a country where there are no regular courts of judicature. With this countenance and support, they not only themselves feel secure, but they are placed in circumstances which “enable them to secure a combination of the native monied interest.”

Again, in p. 76, the Directors observe, “If your countenance and support, or, in other words, if the credit of the Company had been lent to the Nizam's Government, instead of to Messrs. Palmer and Co., that Government must have saved all that the house of agency may have gained, whilst we should have advanced both our interest and reputation, by a generous and successful endeavour to serve an ally in time of need.” The Directors proceed, in the subsequent paragraphs, to complain of various points upon which information, which ought to have been supplied to them, had been carefully kept back from their knowledge, and then say, “We have looked with anxiety for some attempt to justify or to palliate a proceeding, which, so far as our recollection serves, is without a parallel on the records of our Indian Governments; but, in your letter, it is reported as if it were a circumstance needing no comment.” They then add, and I beg that the Court will remark their expressions,—for though strong, they are not stronger than the occasion requires,—they then add, that the apology which the Noble Marquis offers for his conduct “is the language not of a responsible but an irresponsible Government. It is not an exercise of the license of acting without instructions, and reporting the proceedings for the information and sanction of the authorities at home; it is the assertion, by your Government, of a power to act, without the obligation to communicate to any superior authority the means of judging of your acts; and, consequently, the assertion of a power to elude all check and control. It is not an assumption of a discretionary power, on the part of the local Government, to suspend the execution of instructions from home; it amounts to the assumption of a power to do what you please, and to communicate to us just so much of what you have done as you may see fit. And on what grounds does this assumption rest?—

that we are not qualified to draw right conclusions from the information which is laid before us; but that from ignorance of all that we ought to know, it is not only unnecessary, but unsafe, to put us in possession of the materials of knowledge. We should be unworthy of the station we hold, if we did not strongly condemn such proceedings defended by such allegations."

Mr. RANDLE JACKSON.—Will the hon. Proprietor allow me to ask him the date of the despatch he has just read?

Mr. POYNDER.—It is part of the same despatch which I quoted some time ago. It is dated the 28th of November 1821, and the extract I just read is at page 79. The despatch then adverts to the loan of 60 lacs of rupees, at 16 per cent., for six years, made by Palmer and Co. to Rajah Chundoo Loll, in May 1820, which obtained the sanction of Government, in consequence of the casting vote of the Governor-General; and after expressing the surprise of the Court of Directors, at hearing that in the absence of all necessary information, "either sanctioning or furnishing to the Nizam's Government such a loan," was an alternative to which the government of the noble Marquis felt itself irresistibly impelled, complains in strong terms, not only that the Court of Directors is placed in a situation of embarrassment, but that it does not know the extent of its embarrassment. There is much more to be found in the same strain in this despatch; but I refrain from reading any more of it, except the concluding paragraph. In that paragraph the Directors say, "We trust that no occasion will again offer itself, which may appear to you to call for the exercise of the dispensing power vested in our Governors by law, in respect to the provisions of the statute to which we have so often alluded. But should such a case unfortunately occur, we positively direct that the spirit of the law be strictly abided by, and that any license so granted by you, be for a specific transaction and a specific period, and be on no account of the general and indefinite character of which we have seen so much reason to complain." This despatch, I observe, is signed by "J. Pattison." Rumour says, that this Mr. Pattison, who here complains so severely, and yet so justly, of the unconstitutional interference of the Marquis of Hastings with the pecuniary transactions of native princes, is the same Mr. Pattison who subsequently moved that this Court, taking into consideration the zealous, able, and disinterested conduct of the Marquis of Hastings during the time of his administration in India, is of opinion, that he is entitled to receive from its coffers a grant of 5000*l.* a year, and so forth. (Hear, hear.) I cannot see how the hon. Director, after such a let-

ter, could feel himself entitled to bring such a motion before the Court; I cannot see upon what grounds he can pretend to defend his own consistency. I recollect, that on a recent debate respecting our college at Halleybury, he favoured us with a quotation from Horace,—

"Diruit, edificat; mutat quadrata rotundis."

I would ask him whether writing such a letter as I have read to you on one day, and moving such a resolution as I have described to you on another, is not very like pulling a man down on one day to set him up on a pedestal the next? I would ask him, whether it is not changing square for round,—whether it is not, in plain language, blowing hot and cold in the same breath? (Laughter.)

Mr. PATTISON, interrupting the speaker, "Is my name subscribed to that letter?"

Mr. POYNDER.—It is; if the hon. Member will look at the papers, he will find it there.

Mr. PATTISON.—As I have been thus personally alluded to, I hope that I may be permitted to say, that I will set this matter right in the course of the present debate. At present, I shall content myself with observing, that the remarks which the hon. Proprietor has made upon my conduct only prove his utter ignorance of our mode of carrying on business. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. POYNDER.—I rejoice to hear the hon. Director say, that he will make this inconsistency square before the conclusion of this discussion; and I am glad, that I have been the humble cause of giving him an opportunity to do so. I should, however, have been the more obliged to him, if, when he offered the plea of not guilty to the charge of inconsistency which I brought against him, he had not added to it a taunt about my ignorance. (A laugh.) The hon. Director is not in general wanting in courtesy, and I will therefore suppose that the words escaped from him unintentionally in the warmth of the moment. I now proceed to another part of the case. In the course of this morning, we have heard several observations about a case laid before the highest law officers of the crown, which we have not got in the printed papers. I must now refer you to a case laid before our own law officers, which we have got in them, and which you will find at page 104. The substance of it is contained in a political letter addressed to the Bengal Government, and is as follows:—

Mr. RANDLE JACKSON.—What is the date of it?

Mr. POYNDER.—The date is not in the book. [The hon. Proprietor is mistaken in that assertion, the date is 9th of April, 1823.] The Directors write thus:

"We are advised by high legal authorities, that the restriction contained in the 30th section of the Act 13 Geo. III. c. 63, which restrains the rate of interest to 12 percent. extends to contracts made as well in those parts of the East Indies which are not under the Government of the East India Company as in those which are:—that the same restriction extends to loans made to native princes and governments in the East Indies as well as to those made to individuals, whether the contracts for such loans be made or carried into execution within or beyond the territories under the government of the East India Company: that the same restriction extends to loans made under a licence from the Governments in India, pursuant to the 37th George III. c. 142. s. 28, and that it is not lawful for a mercantile or banking partnership, consisting partly of natives of India and partly of European-born subjects of his Majesty, to make a loan to a native prince, contrary to the provisions of 37 Geo. III. c. 142. s. 28, whether the contract for such loan be made or carried into execution within or beyond the territories under the government of the East India Company: that in either case the contract of the house would be void, and that the European-born partners would be liable to be prosecuted for a misdemeanour.

"We desire that you will cause this explanation and instruction to be made public, and that you will institute prosecutions against all persons in any way contravening the law as thus explained."

Sneh, Sir, were the instructions which the hon. Court of Directors sent out to the noble Marquis; let us now consider how they were obeyed by the party to whom they were despatched. I shall read to you the manner in which the noble Marquis answered the letter which contained them, and when I do so I think it will excite at least your surprise. The noble Marquis addressed a letter to the Chairman of the Court of Directors on the 20th of October, 1822. It is too long to be read at length to you; though it is well worthy of your inspection as showing how the noble Marquis stands in respect to this transaction. I refer shortly to a paragraph contained in page 115. "The function delegated to the Governor-General in Council," says the noble Marquis, "I apprehend to be this: that under the engagement of unremittingly exerting his utmost ability for the benefit of the hon. Company, he is to deal with men and things as they may present themselves on the spot." Now admitting that the noble Marquis is right in this position, which I will do for the sake of argument, though I should be the last man in the world to do so in point of practice, I cannot but observe, that under this

plea of necessity, this "tyrant's plea," as it has been well called, (i) either that which has taken place, or any thing which may hereafter take place, may easily be defended. (Hear, hear.)

But to return to the noble Marquis. He says, "The Governor-General in Council is to deal with men and things as they may present themselves on the spot, in the manner which, consonantly to law and the general directions of the honourable Court, shall best fulfil the spirit of that sacred trust. He cannot abstain from acting on these terms without a dereliction of duty seriously affecting the public interests committed to his management. Then his measures must be squared to circumstances as they really exist." Here we have again the same plea of necessity offered to our notice. Indeed the whole of this letter rests upon it; it is found in the beginning, the middle, and the conclusion of it. The noble Marquis then proceeds at great length to defend his conduct from the various charges to which these transactions had laid it open. My regard for the time of the Court prevents me from entering into a detailed examination of it. I will merely say, that it is irregularly addressed by the noble Marquis to the Chairman of the Court of Directors, and that it is not merely supported by the evidence which we have in the case, but directly in the teeth of it. The noble Marquis concludes it by observing, that the hon. Court had been seduced into charging him in the teeth of evidence with having unauthoritarily pledged the credit of the hon. Company, in order to bestow dishonestly an exclusive favour on the house of William Palmer & Co., and with having unnecessarily countenanced the loan which that firm had made with the Nizam's government.

"I should have been surprised at such a strange perversion of circumstances," says the noble Marquis, could I ascribe the tenor of the letter I have received to the real judgment of the Court of Directors, but I repeat with every solemnity of profession my being certain that what the hon. Court subscribed was palmed insidiously on its unsuspecting candour. I close this supposition in a just confidence in the hon. Court's regretting its having unguardedly lent itself to an inaccurate and injurious conclusion."

I trust the Court will mark the expressions of the noble Marquis. "Palmed

(i) This "tyrant's plea" is, however, the only one ever put forth by the East India Directors themselves to justify the acts of despotism perpetually committing by themselves and servants. With them it is, no doubt, "a good and sufficient reason,"—with all others, inadmissible. This is the sort of consistency that prevails in every department of India House concerns.

insidiously on its unsuspecting candour!" And again, "Regret its having unguardedly lent itself to an inaccurate and injurious conclusion." These are serious charges when advanced against a body of men filling the important functions of the Directors of your affairs. They were felt as such by the Directors, and extracted from them a proper and an indignant reply. I say, a proper though an indignant reply: for the Directors have a reputation to lose as well as the noble Marquis. In their political letter to Bengal under date of the 5th of November, 1823, they inform the noble Marquis that, "a declaration more offensive to the constituted authorities at home could not well have escaped from his Lordship, and one more at variance with fact never was hazarded by any one. We should be wholly unfit for the situations in which we are placed, if, on any occasion, we could voluntarily subscribe our names to a despatch, the contents of which were not the result of our deliberate convictions, and the particular despatch in question was in fact the result of much investigation and more than ordinary deliberation." Such, Gentlemen, is the statement of your Directors; and I do say, upon a full investigation of these papers, that it is my sincere opinion that the faith of your Government in India was not only employed to establish the credit of Palmer and Co. at Hyderabad, but also to bolster it up, after it had been established. Those who want proof of this assertion, will find it in an extract from the Bengal Political Consultations of the 19th July, 1822, contained at pages 159—164, inclusive, of these papers. I shall content myself with referring to it; for it must be seen by every Proprietor that it would be impossible to do more than refer to it, in documents which are so voluminous. There is one proof of it however in a letter of Sir C. T. Metcalfe, the Resident at Hyderabad, to the Secretary to Government, at Fort William, which I cannot refrain from reading to the Court. The letter is dated the 3d of September, 1822, and the paragraph in it which I consider as most material, is to be found at page 223. The President is reporting the substance of a conference which he had had on the preceding day with the Rajah Chundoo Loll, with a view of ascertaining the cause why he had employed Messrs. W. Palmer & Co. in the conveyance of his communications to the British Government, when a representative Resident was at Hyderabad for that purpose. He says that, "on the subject of the loan the Rajah Chundoo Loll expressed anxiety to know whether the Governor-General in Council would advance the large sum that might be required. I told him that I thought it likely that his Lordship would, from the tenor of the instructions which I had received,

He dwelt on the advantages which would result from getting clear of the debt due to those gentlemen, and complained of the overwhelming amount of their "interest upon interest, interest upon interest." The Resident here adds the oriental expressions, "*Sood dur sood, sood dur sood*," and then proceeds, "He expressed a hope that I would afterwards prevent their coming to him. After the use he had lately made of them, I thought that the sincerity of the wish might be questioned, and that it might be put on for the occasion: I therefore asked the Rajah if he were in earnest. He replied in the affirmative, but less decisively, adding, "What business will they have with me when their debt shall be paid? Why should they come at all then? They will of their own accord cease to come; they will go away altogether, when they lose these profits." This is the language of the man, he it observed, who is described to you as reigning in his master's stead, draining his treasures, oppressing his people; he complains of Messrs. Palmer & Co. exhausting his coffers by their enormous demands for interest, and reducing his country to a complete state of beggary; (k) and, after all, according to the Resident's account, is uncertain in his convictions, "whether the Resident or the firm of W. Palmer and Co. is the real representative of the British Government at the Court of Hyderabad." But it may be said, "allowing all that you have hitherto stated to be correct, how do you connect the Marquis of Hastings with it?" To that question I will give a brief and immediate reply. I assert that the noble Marquis evinces upon many occasions great anxiety and earnestness to give an efficient—I do not say, an *undue* support to the firm of W. Palmer and Co. (l) There are proofs upon proofs of this assertion scattered up and down the volume I hold in my hand. I shall however content myself with producing only two or three of them. The first of them, to which I shall call your attention, is to be found in the Governor-General's minute of the 19th November, 1819, page 33. The noble Marquis uses these expressions: "Surmises of the nature lately agitated ought not to remain afloat. Ob-

(k) Why, then, did he not get money at a cheaper rate, and without this "interest upon interest" elsewhere? The whole of the money market of India was open to him; but no one would lend even on as low terms as Palmer and Co. had done. The insecurity was the cause of the high interest; but this was the fault of the borrowers, and not the fault of the lenders.

(l) Upon this the whole question hinges: if there was no *undue* support, then there cannot be the shadow of a cause for blame; because "efficient" support is due from a government to all establishments acting under its sanction.

serve rumours against a mercantile establishment must be deeply injurious to its credit, especially when those implied doubts of its conduct appear to come from this Government. I thence feel bound to declare my opinion definitively, that there is no colour, from any thing which has come within my view, for the slightest imputation on the house of Palmer and Co." Again his Lordship, at page 34, says, "A charge of extortion cannot rest upon a house which has furnished aid, on conditions the lightest offered, in a case where acknowledged risk increased the usual high demand for interest in a native state." You will see, Gentlemen, before long, how the question is answered, whether the interest taken for this loan was exorbitant or not? I shall not stay to discuss that subject now, but shall proceed with the proofs of the position which I have undertaken to make good to you. I refer you to a passage in page 41, which I had before occasion to read to you. I allude to that portion of the Governor-General's minute of the 15th July, 1820, in which he is speaking of Sir W. Rumbold's connexion with the firm of Palmer and Co. "A person, in whom I take a very lively concern, from his having married a ward of mine, brought up nearly as if she had been my daughter, is a partner in that house. The degree in which his interest is engaged in the proposed transaction might, without my being conscious of the bias, warp my judgment." Again, in the same minute, page 45, his Lordship says, "We have the positive declaration of the Resident that the loan cannot be procured from the native bankers alone. Clearly they fear to advance their money but through a British house; the interest naturally taken in which by this Government gives them a confidence such as they would never feel in a direct negotiation with a native Court." His Lordship in the same minute calculates the interest on the proposed loan to be only ten per cent. Mr. Stuart, in his minute, page 46, proves it to be sixteen per cent., and there is other proof that a former loan had been negotiated at twenty-four per cent. I now turn to page 243, to a letter of Sir C. T. Metcalfe, the Resident at Hyderabad, a gentleman whom I had before occasion to quote upon these transactions. This gentleman, in a letter contained in the enclosures of the Bengal political letter of the date of the 20th of December, 1822, writes thus:—

Messrs. William Palmer and Co. possess and exercise in this country an extraordinary power, which has no connexion with their commercial character. It arises from a supposition of their possessing influence in the British Government, and is confirmed by the peculiar character of the Minister Chundoo Loll.

The character and views of Rajah Chundoo Loll have the greatest weight in producing this power. His political life has passed in endeavours

to maintain his place. He looks chiefly to the British Government for this purpose, and he thinks that Messrs. William Palmer and Co. may befriended or injure him through their supposed influence in that quarter.

I now turn to the next page but one, p. 245, "Some persons," I omit the Oriental *sesquipedalia verba*,—

—who were killed in the late disturbance, asked me whether the house of Messrs. William Palmer and Co. was established here on the part of the Company; and on my answering in the negative, expressed his wonder at their power and influence, adding that it had reached its present pitch since the junction of Sir William Rumbold, and had been on a different footing before.

By the common people throughout the country, the house is identified with the British Government, and the revenues which are poured into their coffers, are considered as so much tribute to our treasury.

I have sometimes found difficulty in persuading strangers, that Messrs. William Palmer and Co. do not actually govern a great portion of the Nizam's dominions. Such is the notion to which their manifest influence and the large assignments possessed by them on the revenues have not uncommonly given rise. I believe that, in this respect, they exercised formerly a more direct influence than now. I have understood, that heretofore, they were more in the habit of recommending the nomination of the officers of Government in the provinces. I do not know that they exercise this privilege at present: it has not at least forced itself on my notice.

There is another paragraph of this letter which I must also read to you:—

I have also reason to believe that Messrs. William Palmer and Co. take advantage of the known opinion of their supposed influence, and that they sometimes use strong and even threatening language to carry their objects with the Minister. They make ample use of native agency, and one of the persons notoriously employed between them and the Minister, is the head of the court of justice in the city of Hyderabad: an extraordinary person to be also the agent of this commercial firm. It is reported that he was appointed to his judicial station by their influence; and whether the report be true or false, the effect in their favour must be nearly the same. He is not their only agent, and I am disposed to think that they obtain more influence over the Minister through native agents, than they otherwise could: for these, with all the zeal inspired by self-interest, and with a perfect knowledge of the Minister's character, would have no scruple to work on his weaknesses by any falsehoods suited to their purpose, unknown, perhaps, to their own employers.

As there was an imputation cast upon this gentleman's character, he thinks proper to defend himself against it in paragraph 101. p. 247:—

If, to have a regard to the public interests intrusted to my care be enmity, then am I their enemy; if, to hold myself at liberty to propose whatever seems good for the public welfare of the state be hostility, then am I hostile; and hence it is that I think them most unreasonable. Had they been content to exert themselves for their own interests, which was natural, and allowed me, without reproach, to look to those of the state, which was my duty, both parties would have been in their proper places, whatever might have been the result. But this would

not satisfy them. They required that the representative of the British Government should be their tool, and that both the British Government and the Nizam's Government should be made subservient to their profit. On the other hand, I have considered it my duty to consult the interests of the Government, and to propose whatever might tend to its benefit. This constitutes my offence.

I entertain no feeling whatever of hostility towards those gentlemen; no desire whatever that they should be injured. I utterly disclaim such unworthy motives. I beg you also to assure his Excellency, the Governor-General in Council, that I consider a faithful obedience to his Lordship's orders as the first of my duties. It is for me to report; for his Lordship to command; and for me, again, to execute what he may be pleased to ordain.

If I am not mistaken in ascribing to Messrs. William Palmer and Co. a degree of influence at this Court, which is unsuited to their commercial character, it must become a subject of serious deliberation, whether that influence should be continued or subdued, or allowed to take its course without interference. I renounce all personal interest in this question. I can conform myself to the pleasure of his Excellency the Governor-General in Council, whatever it may be; or if ever the influence of Messrs. William Palmer and Co. at this Court should so predominate as, by rendering my services totally inefficient, to become personally intolerable, there would be an obvious remedy, which public duty and justice towards myself would point out.

The subject matter of this despatch is written by the Resident, Sir C. T. Metcalfe, who succeeded Mr. Russell, as Resident at Hyderabad,—that Mr. Russell who had given the sanction of his office to this reprehensible loan. I could read to you another much more detailed defence of himself by Sir C. T. Metcalfe, which begins in p. 234, but I think it unnecessary, as the next document to which I have occasion to allude, will present you with a triumphant defence of his conduct by the noble Marquis himself. You will find it at p. 358, in a letter to Sir C. T. Metcalfe, from the Secretary to Government, under date of 15th Jan. 1823. It is as follows:—

The Honourable the Governor-General in Council has perused, with much interest, the able, manly, and candid exposition of your views and sentiments, in explanation of your proceedings, with reference to the questions discussed in the instructions of 25th October last, and it affords him the highest gratification to express his general concurrence in the soundness of your conclusions, and his entire approbation of the tenor of your conduct, under circumstances of no ordinary difficulty. Without more particular advertence to the general questions of policy, discussed in your letter, and the instructions above referred to, the Hon. the Governor-General in Council deems it sufficient, at present, to assure you, that the confidence of Government in your approved talents, activity, and discretion, continues unimpaired, and that the firmness, judgment, and public zeal which have invariably distinguished your long and honourable career in the various and important situations you have been called to fill, have never, in the estimation of the Governor-General in Council, been more conspicuously displayed, as they were never more essentially required, than in the execution of the arduous

duties which you have had to perform since your nomination to the Court of Hyderabad.

You will also find a defence of this highly respectable officer by the new Council, at p. 370. It is as follows:—

Your Honourable Court will not fail to have remarked, that from the first moment when Sir Charles Metcalfe was brought in collision with the house, in his endeavours to effect the reform prescribed by his instructions, every means were employed to counteract his meritorious exertions. When Messrs. William Palmer and Co. found that he was neither to be blundered nor seduced, they resolved on the desperate attempt of engaging the Minister in a plot to bring charges against him, in the confident expectation, it is presumed, of effecting his removal from office, and thus retaining masters of the field. Such a victory was worth the hazard of the trial; but, fortunately, the blow aimed at this highly distinguished public officer recoiled on the head of those who directed it, and the Resident persevering in his inquiries into the real nature of the dealings between the Minister and the house, a scene of iniquity was displayed, which has covered with disgrace all who were concerned in it.

MR. RANDLE JACKSON.—I feel great regret in being obliged again to rise to order; but after it has been distinctly declared and repeatedly observed by my hon. Friend near me, that he has no intention to discuss the conduct of any other person but the Marquis of Hastings, and that he has no wish to go out of his way, even to allude to Sir C. Metcalfe, Mr. Adam, or any other person whose name appears in this volume, I think that the hon. Proprietor is bound in delicacy not to introduce into the discussion matters which are not properly before us. Instead of observing this rule, the hon. Proprietor has gone into a series of supposed accusations, which, if we entertain them at all, must produce a very detailed argument upon the proceedings of many other individuals. Surely, surely, the hon. Proprietor ought to confine himself, either to showing that there is matter to impeach the personal character of the Marquis of Hastings, or to showing that we ought to record our approval of the four despatches mentioned in the amendment. I think that, at any rate, he ought not to enter upon the line of argument he has just opened to us, since a great proportion of the facts he has stated happened after the Court had declared its intention of remunerating the noble Marquis, and only a year and a half before he tendered to it his resignation. I appeal to you, Mr. Chairman, whether this discussion is orderly?

THE CHAIRMAN.—As I am thus personally appealed to for my decision, I think it necessary to declare, that, in my opinion, the hon. Proprietor who is in possession of the Court is not out of order. The amendment has certainly opened the question which the hon. Proprietor is anxious to discuss. (m)

(m) Another proof that any one who will serve the purposes of the Directors, by con-

Mr. S. DIXON.—I cannot but express my astonishment, that an hon. Proprietor, who himself so frequently wanders from the subject of debate, should be so very anxious to confine the hon. Proprietor who is now addressing us to the strict letter of order. (*Laughter, and cries of order.*)

Mr. POYNDER.—As I have now the decision of the Chair in my favour, I will explain the reason why I think that I am entitled to open this subject of discussion to you. The original motion is not only declaratory of our satisfaction at the conduct of the Marquis of Hastings, but of our disapprobation of those whose sense of duty has led them to find fault with it. It does not content itself with setting up that noble individual, but attempts to pull down others. (*Hear, hear.*) It does not confine itself to acquitting him of all blame, but covers with dirt the Residents at Hyderabad, the Directors, and all who have sat in that chair for many years previously to the gentleman who now fills it. (*Loud cries of hear.*)

Mr. RANDLE JACKSON.—I am sorry to be again forced to rise to order; but when I hear such an assertion made, as has just escaped the lips of the hon. Proprietor, I think it necessary that the subject-matter of our debate should be clearly placed before us. I therefore move that the original motion be now read, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. POYNDER.—I have not the slightest objection. I might observe upon these repeated interruptions, but I will only say, that when it comes to the hon. Proprietor's turn to speak, I will not interrupt him half the number of times he has thought proper to interrupt me. (*Hear, hear.*)

The CHAIRMAN desired the Clerk to read the motion. It was accordingly read.

Mr. POYNDER.—(*Turning to Mr. Jackson.*) "Very well, Sir, now."

The CHAIRMAN.—I must now desire the amendment to be read. (*It was read accordingly.*)

Mr. POYNDER.—I put it to the Chairman, whether, in supporting this amendment, I am not at liberty to show that the Court of Directors are free from all shadow of blame, on account of the part which they took in these transactions. We are called upon to approve their dispatches: how can we do so, without examining the reasons which gave rise to them? If the hon. Proprietor asserts that we can, I will not say, with Locke, that he jumps to his conclusion without

any premises; but I will say that he jumps to it without a proper examination of those premises which he has for the support of his argument. (*Hear, hear.*) I say that the Court of Directors took, from the very outset, a correct view of the culpability of these transactions; and I feel myself warranted in saying so, by finding that the noble Marquis himself at last became alarmed at the consequences arising from his own license and protection to the house of Palmer and Co. In the draft of instructions which the Governor-General sent to the Resident at Hyderabad, on the 13th Sept. 1822, I find this alarm very strongly expressed. His Lordship says, p. 188:—

Of the remaining items, some seem to be loans for temporary and occasional purposes, of which the necessity is not explained; and some for objects, of which the utility cannot be comprehended, while the Minister refuses all information. Among them is a large monthly allowance to Mr. W. Palmer and to Mr. Hastings Palmer, two members of the house of Palmer and Co. and stipends to the children of W. Palmer. These payments to persons, who must be presumed to be unconnected with the Government and service of the Nizam, strike the Governor-General as of a very singular nature, more especially with reference to the situation of the two Messrs. Palmers, and the large pecuniary dealings which, as members of the house of W. Palmer and Co. they have with the Minister.

Had these salaries, or whatever the payments are, been known to the Governor-General in Council, his Lordship in Council would naturally have hesitated to give his sanction to extensive loans and advances, from persons so circumstanced, to the Nizam's Government. As it is, these payments are liable to the supposition of their being a premium on the loans, in addition to the bonus above referred to; or they must be ascribed to the exercise of an influence over the Minister, effected by means of these pecuniary obligations of the latter, and directed to the gratification of the cupidity of the parties. The transaction, in its present form, bears a very unpleasant appearance, and requires a satisfactory explanation to remove the suspicion unavoidably resting upon it.

Now, if this draft were the only evidence we had upon the subject, no man would be justified in supposing that there was a corrupt motive in the breast of the Marquis of Hastings when he sanctioned this loan. I am tracing the unfortunate consequences of it, not with a view of imputing such motive to the noble Marquis, but with a view of showing that there was something in the transaction which, at first view, throws a taint upon his character, I disclaim, from the bottom of my heart, all intention to press hardly upon the noble Marquis; but at every step I take, I see that the influence of Government is mixed up with the firm of Palmer and Co., and the firm of Palmer and Co. with the Government. (*Hear, hear.*) This is attempted to be explained by Mr. W. Palmer, but I think very unsatisfactorily. You will see, at page 267, how his explanation is met by the Resident.

foundling other matters with the question at issue, so as to weary, delude, and ultimately disgust the Court with the subject altogether, as the best preparative for carrying their own views into execution, will be sure to be in order, let him say what he pleases, and wander where he will.

Mr. William Palmer has separately furnished an explanation regarding his own allowances from the Nizam's Government, and those received in the names of his children; he omits to notice those of his brother, Mr. Hastings Palmer. He considers these allowances to himself and children as the reward of his military service. He says, that he has been twenty-three years in the military service of the Nizam's Government, in which period he includes the time (ten or twelve years or more) during which he has been in business, without any command in any corps, and of course not actually in service. By this mode of calculating, he is at present in the Nizam's military service, and his claims on this account are increasing. Some years hence he will have been thirty or forty years in the military service of the Nizam. Whatever may have been Mr. William Palmer's services in the Nizam's army, I have not chanced to hear more of them before, than that he had been employed in a military capacity, and commanded a corps of cavalry. I have no wish to deery them; but I must observe, that even from his own representation of them, they do not appear to have been such as would warrant these large allowances to himself and family, prolonged too to another generation, as pensions consequent on his retirement. It is, indeed, understood, that on the disbanding of the corps, which he commanded, he received a most liberal donation from the Government, which formed the capital with which he commenced business.

I cannot subscribe to Mr. William Palmer's notion that he is on a footing with the native soldiers of the Nizam's Government, and that his children are entitled to a provision from this Government, in like manner as the children of other soldiers. Mr. William Palmer must be well aware, without any disparagement of his personal ability, of which I have the highest opinion, that the advantages which he has derived from the Nizam's Government have, from first to last, proceeded principally from British influence, patronage, and connexions.

I consider the allowances granted by Rajah Chundoo Loll to Mr. William Palmer and his family, as one of the characteristic disbursements of the public revenue by that Minister, for the purchase of personal adherents, with a view to his own continuance in power. If these allowances last during his administration only, they are comparatively of inferior consequence; but if they are to be burthens on the state, in perpetuity, or for the lives of the next generation of Palmers, they must be considered as an intolerable evil. No state can bear the pensioning of its subordinate servants on such terms; and in this prospective point of view, the matter seems to me to be worthy of the attention of His Excellency the Governor-General in Council.

Here, then, we have a full acknowledgment of the fraternal pensions of the two Mr. Palmers, and also a demand of these two gentlemen, that there should be a kind consideration for the Palmers, attended by large allowances to themselves and their descendants to future generations yet unborn. We find, in page 286, which forms part of the same despatch, sufficient evidence, if we had not that which I have just read to you, to prove that Dr. Currie, a gentleman officially attached to the Residency at Hyderabad, and thereby possessed of considerable influence, had been a partner in the house of Palmer and Co. from its formation at that place, and probably even from an earlier period. With respect to the affi-

davit, which called from Sir C. Metcalfe notice of the fact I have just stated, I shall touch upon it again before I have done: at present I shall merely say, that besides Dr. Currie there was another concealed partner in the house, a Mr. Hans Sotheby. He, too, was a servant of the Government, and his engaging in this firm was equally contrary to the regulations of the English Legislature, as was the engaging in it by Dr. Currie. (Hear, hear.) I come now to the short history of the transactions between the house of W. Palmer and Co. and the Nizam's Government, which is so admirably hit off by Sir C. Metcalfe, at page 336 of these papers. I refer you to it, and shall only read from it a short paragraph, which is near its conclusion.

When Messrs. W. Palmer and Co. (says Sir Charles) went out and support from the British Government, they are all obsequiousness and devotion,—the humble servants of the Government, who have no existence but in its smiles. When Government requires information from them, in order to ascertain whether or not they have abused the protection and patronage which they have received, then they find various excuses, sometimes their honour, sometimes their interests, for trying to withhold the information required. I trust that this will prove a lesson of lasting effect against favouring such establishments with the peculiar countenance of Government. The Government becomes subservient to their interests. The Government confers on them unnatural influence, and to what purpose? Their gain is promoted beyond all reason, (a) but no public object is attained, rather every public object is sacrificed, and when the Government deems it necessary to inquire, whether or not, though such means, its own orders or the national institutes have been disregarded, then the parties find that it is inconsistent with honour to furnish the necessary intelligence, lest they betray those who have confederated with them, in violating the regulations of the Company's Government, and the laws of the British realm.

I come now, in the natural course of order, to a letter of the Court of Directors, dated 21st Jan. 1821, to the Government in Bengal, which is extremely important. You will find it at page 372 of these papers, and will recollect that it is one of those which you are now called upon to sanction. If I did not hope to persuade gentlemen that the view which the Court of Directors has taken of this subject, is essentially correct, I should be ashamed to trespass so long upon their attention. I can assure you, that I have no interest in giving my support to the course adopted by the hon. Court, but that I do it because I think it right, and deem it necessary, to obey the dictates of my conscience. I first bring under your notice this fact contained in that letter, that the

(a) If Mr. Poynder would fix the *reasonable* bounds of gain, he would do what has never yet been accomplished. It is like a *fair* rate of profit: of which buyer and seller has always a different standard. Mr. P. himself would not, of course, make more than 5 per cent profit on any transaction himself.

Directors complain of a very improper delay on the part of the Bengal Government in bringing on record a number of important documents. I then go to their remarks on their instructions of the 24th May, 1820, in which they state that their orders have not been executed. I shall not trouble you with the reasons why they were not, but shall merely state the plain fact. The information required from Mr. Russell, the late Resident at Hyderabad, as to whether he had availed himself of the power reserved to him, of acquainting himself constantly and thoroughly with the nature of the pecuniary transactions of the house of Palmer and Co. with the Nizam's Government, is not given. The Directors then state, that the arrangement for the payment of the troops at Berar was supposed by them to have ceased in the end of 1820, when the house of W. Palmer and Co. received notice of the license being withdrawn, and add their surprise at finding that it was continued, contrary to law, till July, 1822. To this allegation I cannot find that any answer has yet been given. With respect to the Amungabad arrangement, the Directors say, that the account between the Governor and the firm did not close with the cessation of advances by the firm; but that arrears, alleged to be due to the house, bearing a ruinous rate of interest, continued to increase the Nizam's debt long after the pecuniary transactions between them appeared to terminate. Unfortunately, as the Court felt on the 20th of November, 1821, they now find that they had formed a very inadequate conception of the nature and extent of these transactions; for, in paragraph 12 of this letter, they make the following observations:—

In the letter from Messrs. W. Palmer and Co. to the Resident at Hyderabad, dated the 15th of Jan. 1821, seven pecuniary transactions with the house are enumerated (amounting in the aggregate to about 15 lacs of rupees), to which the Nizam's Government might be considered as a party. They are described as loans or advances made by the house to individuals, at the desire or under the guarantee of his Highness's Government. No information is given as to the time at which they took place, or the terms on which they were made; nor is it stated whether it was the fault of the house, or of the late Resident, that they were not sooner reported to you. We are greatly surprised, therefore, to observe, that instead of calling for information regarding these particulars, you should have passed over the transactions without any other observation than that they appeared to be consonant to the principles which had the general assent of the Government.

Then in the next page, after charging and establishing, as I think, the suppression of an examination by the Bengal Council as to the partners in the firm, the Directors observe, and, in my opinion, rightly, "Wherever concealment is practised, the party practising it cannot reasonably complain of the inference: (even though erroneous) which may

be drawn from it, inasmuch as he was not only competent, but bound, in duty, to have precluded such erroneous inference by a candid disclosure of the facts of the case." I must now inform you, that the affidavit as to this firm, pronounced a deception by the Resident, is here confirmed to be so by the Directors, who declare not only that Dr. Currie was a partner, but was afterwards so acknowledged by Mr. W. Palmer himself, and that Mr. Geo. Rumbold, a brother of Sir William, the husband of the noble Marquis's ward, was a partner also; which Mr. Geo. Rumbold got till his death 1000 rupees per month from the Nizam's Government. They then proceed to quote the language of Sir C. Metcalfe, to the following effect: "Rumour speaks loudly of large pecuniary benefits, derived in some way or other from the Nizam's Government by Sir Wm. Rumbold individually." (Loud cries of hear from several Proprietors.) I cry hear too, but I trust, hon. Gentlemen will not interrupt me by their "hears," but will hear me out. "Having no proof at command of the fact (loud cries of hear again), I have hitherto refrained from noticing the report; but, as it is now established that his brother received a monthly allowance, I see reason moreover to credit what is generally asserted respecting himself." They then add, "It is difficult to believe that Mr. Russell could have been ignorant that Dr. Currie and Mr. G. Rumbold were partners in the house, and we are unwilling to suppose that, knowing it, he should have concealed or connived at it." In the next page this affidavit is called the deceptive affidavit, voluntarily tendered by Mr. W. Palmer and Sir J. Rumbold; and upon the evidence here stated, I must say, that from my experience in evidence, I think it richly deserves that appellation. After stating the whole affair of the loans, the annual allowance to Mr. William Palmer and his family, of 64,000 rupees, and the erection of a bazar on Sir William Rumbold's grounds, to the manifest injury of the Residency bazar, the Directors add, "We cannot look at these transactions, in so far as regards the house of Messrs. Wm. Palmer and Co. without feelings of disgust and indignation. With reference to the interests of our ally, they excite shame and sorrow; and in so far as they have been countenanced or not controlled and checked by our Government or by the late Resident, they are matter, not only of the deepest concern and regret, but of our most decided censure and condemnation." Then, after enumerating the instances of political and pecuniary control exercised by Palmer's house, the Directors add, that the representation by Sir Chas. Metcalfe, "that by the common people throughout the country the house is iden-

tified with the British Government, and the revenues which are poured into their coffers are considered as so much tribute to our treasury, surely required prompt and very different notice from that which was bestowed upon it. Sir Charles Metcalfe's letter of the 30th Sept. 1822, was not replied to until the 13th November, and the following were the terms in which this part of the communication was adverted to by you. 'His Lordship in Council deems it unnecessary to enter at large upon the subject discussed in your despatch, of the supposed undue influence of the house of Messrs. William Palmer and Co. over the Minister, and the general impression said to prevail.' And does any body doubt that it did prevail? (Hear, hear.) 'With regard to the identification of that house and their acts with the British Government. These questions will be taken up with more advantage, when the fuller information lately called for, with regard to the conduct and proceedings of the house in its dealings with the Nizam, shall have been obtained, and when the general settlement of those dealings shall become the subject of deliberation.' The tone of this reply was very ill suited to an occasion when the credit of the British Government was so deeply at stake, and affords a singular contrast to the anxiety manifested in your Secretary's letter of the 17th July, 1822, when apprehensions were entertained respecting the credit and stability of the house of Messrs. W. Palmer and Co. to cause a formal communication to be made to Rajah Chundoo Loll, that, with exception to the pecuniary transactions therein alluded to, 'the countenance of the British Government had not in any degree been withdrawn from the house.' All of you, Gentlemen, must be sensible that when the house of Palmer and Co. is attacked, instantly a lively anxiety is excited for its credit and stability, but that none is felt when other interests are at stake, as, for instance, those of the Company, our country, or the world. (o) (Great cries of hear.) The Directors afterwards say, "We cannot doubt for a moment that the partners in the house of Messrs. William Palmer and Co. did without the

knowledge of the Resident hold communications with the Minister on matters of state; and that 'one of the partners,' (Mr. William Palmer according to the Marquis of Hastings's account, and Sir William Rumbold, as Sir Charles Metcalfe asserts,) "did, in a clandestine and most irregular manner, convey a letter of complaint against the Resident, from the Minister to the Governor-General, the tendency (loud cries of hear, hear.) and (as there is strong reason to believe) the concerted object of which was to induce the Governor-General to withdraw his confidence from the Resident."

"It is hardly necessary for us to observe, that a proceeding of this nature on the part of the house was in the highest degree indecent and mischievous; and that it would have warranted a declaration, on your part, that the house had by this misconduct forfeited the countenance and protection of the British Government. But a more indulgent course was observed in respect to them." Then I come to a passage of very great importance, in page 380: "Whilst transactions and proceedings of so profligate a character as those to which we have adverted were going on, it was to be expected that a marked decline in the affairs of the State would bear testimony to the blind improvidence and scandalous prodigality with which they were administered. Accordingly we find, that whilst loans and advances were making at Hyderabad, professedly for the Nizam's benefit, and whilst questions were diligently and zealously agitated at Calcutta of what could be done for his relief, his financial difficulties increased from year to year;"—and again in next page, "a very slight degree of attention to the terms and extent of the pecuniary transactions of the Nizam's Government with the house of Messrs. William Palmer and Co. would satisfy the most incredulous, that to them are principally to be imputed the embarrassments of the State. Notwithstanding the large sums which were constantly passing into the coffers of the house, the balance against the Government, instead of diminishing, progressively increased. "When last I addressed you on this subject," says Sir Charles Metcalfe, in his letter dated the 16th December, 1822, "it was estimated at ninety-three or ninety-four lacs: it now appears to be close on ninety-six, including assignments in hand." Matter of wonder it is not that the Government should have been grievously burthened, but that it was not utterly ruined by so baneful a connexion: not that it should have been reduced in strength and resources, but that it should not have already perished from exhaustion.

"I now advert to the political letter from Bengal of the 26th of July, 1823,

(o) Mr. Poynder, who plumes himself so much on his "experience in evidence," can have no knowledge of politics or of life. The interests of the East India Company, of England, and of the world, which he has here connected together, are not only distinct and dissimilar, but diametrically opposed to each other. It is the interest of the Company that its monopoly should be continued. It is the interest of our country that it should be destroyed. It is the interest of England that all other nations should succumb to her authority. It is the interest of the world that they should not. These facts appear beyond the circumscribed limits of Mr. Poynder's understanding.

which you will find commencing at page 562. In that letter it is reported, that the sixty-lac loan had proved, on an examination of accounts, to be a purely fictitious transaction. "There can be no doubt," said this letter, and I here stop the perusal of it for one moment, to state that the parties signing it are Mr. Adam and Mr. Harrington, (Hear, hear.) and that it is therefore entitled even to more than ordinary respect. "There can be no doubt," continued the letter, "that the grossest deception, in all that regards the affairs and transactions of the house of William Palmer and Co., has been invariably and systematically practised on this Government; and that the Minister, Chundoo Loll, whether in all respects a willing actor in these scenes of fraud, or more probably submitting, through an artfully-inspired dread of their power and influence, to be a passive tool in their hands, has not only connived at, but actively assisted in the deception. That your Government itself should have been deceived with respect to this loan, supported as were the first contrivers of it, whoever they may be, by all concerned in carrying it through, can scarcely be a matter of surprise, when it is recollected, that so well was the scheme arranged, and so completely had the Minister succeeded in blinding the late Resident himself on the spot, that, within a month after the negotiation of this pretended loan,"—So that you see, Gentlemen, that there were not only real but pretended loans, to make up their accounts—(Hear, hear.)—"Mr. Russell reported, that the money raised had been judiciously applied, and that a reduction of useless establishments had been effected to the extent of twenty-two or twenty-three lacs per annum. Nay, to such a pitch was the deception carried, with regard to the public purposes for which the loan was professedly raised, that in 1821, when called by the present Resident to render an account of the appropriation of the money, Chundoo Loll gave in an account of the details of expenditure exceeding by seven lacs the whole amount of the loan." Again, in page 564, you have the following remarks:—"It will be observed, that although Messrs. William Palmer and Co. do not appear as a regularly-established house of agency, or under the special designation of a commercial firm until 1814, the fact is undeniable, that the principal partners were concerned in money dealings at Hyderabad for several years anterior to that period; and, according to the Resident's statements, actually carried on their transactions within the premises of the British residency. Whether the late Resident and other members of his family were, or were not concerned in the transactions of those days, including pecu-

niary dealings with the Government of the Nizam itself, the identification of the house with the Residency, from the above-mentioned circumstance, was unavoidable; and the ostensible partners no doubt availed themselves of the impression to the utmost. The influence thus accruing to Mr. William Palmer and his original associates, would render it an easy matter to them, with or without capital, to engage largely in pecuniary speculations, borrowing money from the native soucars at a very inferior rate of interest to that which they themselves charged to the Government. By these means, and by the large personal allowances to the partners, and all their dependants, granted by the Minister, the arrears of which appear to have been accumulating with interest at the rate of twenty-five per cent., besides various other emoluments and advantages reported in the Resident's despatches, Mr. William Palmer and his associates appear to have acquired a complete command of the money market at Hyderabad, and thence obtained large, and doubtless profitable assignments, on the territories of the Nizam." Gentlemen may form their own conclusions upon this point, I assert nothing as to the Resident's being in league with Messrs. Palmer and Co. to defraud the Nizam's Government. The letter then proceeds:—"Whether the late Resident was or was not secretly connected with William Palmer and others at that time, it is evident from the circumstances above alluded to, of their business being transacted in a building within the residency grounds, that they enjoyed his countenance and protection; and with the political influence thus acquired over a Minister of the character of Chundoo Loll, they could thence feel no desire to seek the sanction of the British Government as a guarantee to their pecuniary dealings. On the contrary, they must have been anxious to conceal from Government the real character and extent of their transactions, which there can be no doubt principally consisted of advances to the Minister and other officers of the Nizam's Government." Here follows much able reasoning to show the intrigue of Messrs. Palmer's whole system from the beginning, and the duplicity with which they obtained the license. It proceeds:—"This license once obtained, they were no longer under any restraint, but gave free scope to their usurious transactions." I beg Gentlemen to give their attention, nearly exhausted as it is, to this extract, as it shows that, by the license, Messrs. Palmer and Co. obtained a complete monopoly in the money market at Hyderabad. "They were subject," says the letter, "it is true, to the control of the Resident, which, however, appears to have been seldom or never exercised; but, on

this head, they had little to apprehend, as with the aid of the Minister, now entirely at their command, they must have felt secure that they could at any time succeed in satisfying the Resident of the propriety of whatever pecuniary engagements they chose to enter into with Chundoo Lall. The proof of this is apparent, in the two transactions of the Aurungabad contract, and the sixty-lac loan, which they persuaded Mr. Russell would prove highly beneficial to the Nizam's Government as well as to the British interests, but which, if properly investigated on the spot, by an officer zealous in the discharge of his public duty, and the result of his inquiries reported to Government, would probably have appeared to the latter in a much more questionable point of view, than it could possibly regard them, recommended as they actually were, by the person best qualified to pronounce upon their merits."

"From 1816 until 1820, the affairs of Messrs. William Palmer and Co. appear to have prospered according to their wish. They had completely monopolized the money market; they had acquired an ascendancy over the Minister that rendered him the creature of their will; lavishing the resources of the State in salaries, pensions, and gratuities, on themselves and families; and providing for every one whom, from whatever cause, they chose to patronize. Of the degree in which this power was abused, the despatches of Sir Charles Metcalfe, which accompany this Address, will exhibit the most glaring and disgraceful instances. Among others, it is mentioned in his letter of the 15th ultimo, that a former Moonshce of Mr. William Palmer had an allowance from the Nizam's Government of seven hundred rupees per mensem, and his brother seven hundred and fifty-five; and that, when those individuals went to Mecca, they received a sum of ninety-one thousand, as advance of salary, to bear their expenses by the way." I suppose that no gentleman ever heard of a pilgrimage in a Catholic country to a Catholic shrine ever being better paid than was this pilgrimage to Mecca. The letter then proceeds at page 366.

"In 1815 they had acquired a great accession of political influence in their nominal partner Sir William Rumbold,—an acquisition which they well knew how to turn to the best account. Bringing no capital to the house, taking no share in the conduct of the details of their business for four years after he was invited to join the firm, it was enough for their purpose that Sir William was known to be under the special protection and patronage of the late Governor-General, and believed by the Natives in general to be nearly connected with his Lordship by

marriage. The impression this would produce on the mind of the Minister, and generally at a Native Court like that of Hyderabad, was well known to them; and it would appear, by Sir Charles Metcalfe's despatch already referred to, that their calculations had not been disappointed.

"From what other motive can it be imagined, than to answer a purpose of the character above described, did Messrs. William Palmer and Co. invite Sir William Rumbold to become a partner in their concern? It is known he was involved in debt when he joined the house; and by his own statement he remained at Hyderabad but a few months in 1815, and did not return to that capital for four years afterwards, during all which time he was holding the situation of a magistrate of Calcutta."

"The house had also, about the same time, taken into partnership a member of the late Residency, Mr. Sotheby, who, it is known by his own statement, could not have brought them any accession of capital, as his pecuniary embarrassments were the cause assigned by himself for his entering the house; and as to any benefit to be derived from his assisting in the conduct of its concerns, it is distinctly disavowed both by himself and the other partners of the firm. Neither of those new partners, therefore, brought either an accession of commercial strength and credit to the house, or contributed to its success by any peculiar qualifications in conducting the details of its business. To what then, but to the impression that would be produced, that in Sir William Rumbold and Mr. Sotheby the house possessed the means of exercising a powerful political influence, whether with the Supreme Government at Calcutta or at the Residency, can be ascribed the selection made by Messrs. Palmer and Co. of those two gentlemen to be partners in their concern?"

In another part of the papers it was stated, "that a man without property had been allowed to join the firm, merely because he was connected with the Government. This was done to answer the object here described."

(Mr. HUMPH asked, What object?)

"The object was apparent enough. It was by joining the house of Palmer and Co., to secure as much influence as possible in the court of the Nizam. They had taken this individual into partnership, though it was clear he brought no accession of capital to the house; for, "his pecuniary embarrassments" were the cause assigned by Mr. Sotheby himself, in his letter of the 18th of April, 1823, for his connexion with the firm. This reminds me of an individual, who, being asked by a lady, why he had turned Quaker? answered, that necessity had compelled him. So it was with this in-

dividual: it appears that he was actuated by pure necessity. He was in close connexion with the Nizam, on the one hand, and with the Government on the other. In these papers various acts of deception and usurious imposition are pointed out, and severely commented on. It appears that Government found it extremely difficult to arrive at a knowledge of those who were connected with the firm, and of certain transactions, the history of which it seriously concerned the Government to know. In order to come at the information, a series of questions was drawn up, and submitted to the known partners. Sir C. Metcalfe, in his letter to Mr. Swinton, the Secretary to Government, on the 15th of May, 1823, observes, "Mr. W. Palmer declines to answer those questions, because it would be ignominious to betray confidence reposed in him;" and he adds, "Mr. Lamb's reply is also a virtual refusal to answer those questions fairly." He then proceeds to remark very justly, "It is evident that these gentlemen wish to avoid the exposure of those who have been concerned with their firm; and I do not reproach them for that wish: but of what sort is that commercial establishment in which it would be ignominious to name the partners? and what title has this firm shown to patronage and favour, whose conduct, during its whole existence—from its first application for support to the present moment, has been a tissue of imposition, concealment, deceit, falsehood, and treachery towards the British Government, to whose fostering protection and influence it owes all its advantages? In all this Mr. W. Palmer sees no ignominy." Such are the words of Sir C. Metcalfe; and why, I ask, were the partners so averse to answer the questions put to them, if they were not afraid that proofs of usury and extortion would be discovered?—I now come, I believe, to the last letter with which I shall trouble the Court: it unveils (to use the words of the Government) "a scene of corruption quite unparalleled." This letter, which was addressed to Mr. Swinton by Sir C. Metcalfe, on the 15th of June, 1823, relates to the list of allowances, on account of the Nizam's government, which had been paid through the house of Palmer and Co. The first part of the list consists chiefly of the family stipends of the Palmers; and very considerable they are: Mr. W. Palmer 2000 rupees, monthly allowance; Master John Palmer, 1200; Master William Palmer, 1200; Mr. Hastings Palmer, 1000; Mr. R. H. Fenwick, 300; and pay for 40 Sepoys, allowed to Mr. Palmer, on the disbandment of his cavalry, 300. "It appeared also (observes Sir C. Metcalfe) that in addition to those above-mentioned, Mr. R. Palmer, another member of that family, settled as a merchant on the

coast of Coromandel, also received an allowance from the Nizam's Government." The second part of the list contains the dependants of the same family, to the number of eight, who also had monthly allowances, "Of these (said Sir C. Metcalfe) Mohammed Salah-oo-Deen is the Moonshee of Mr. W. Palmer; Soofee Alee Khan is the Moonshee of Mr. H. Palmer; Ramur Alee Khan, servant of Mr. W. Palmer; Sittundur Khan, son of the above; the remaining four are said to be about Mr. W. Palmer: but in what capacity I am not informed." The third list consists partly of dependants, and partly of persons patronized by the house: it comprises 27 persons, with different monthly allowances. In describing the individuals connected with this part of the list, Sir C. Metcalfe observes, "Meer Salu-oo-Deen belonged formerly to the Zissalah of Mr. W. Palmer, when the latter was in the Nizam's service. He was retained, with a party of the horsemen of the corps, and stationed with Messrs. Palmer and Co. for the purpose of aiding them in realizing their assignments on the revenues. Mohammed Shuffee Khan is a Talookdar of a district, patronized by Messrs. W. Palmer and Co., through whose influence he is said to have obtained his present situation. This allowance has no reference, I believe, to his office. Meer Junt-ood Deen, said to have been recommended for this allowance by Mr. W. Palmer; Meer Ghoolan Mohi-ood Deen, one of the horsemen above referred to; Syud Khyu-ood Deen, and Syud Mohammed, belong to a native college established near to the office of Messrs. Palmer and Co; Peer Mohammed, Mr. W. Palmer's butler. Mr. W. Palmer states, that he has no knowledge of the circumstances under which this allowance was granted, and was ignorant of the fact until lately. The allowance, it seems, is now to be discontinued, together with those of Tewajee, Mohammed Yooseof, Balkishun Dos, Moozuffur-Hoossein, and Moiz-ood Deen. I do not actually know what these persons may be; but they seem to be servants. Mr. Ogilvie has been described before. Mirza Juafur Ali, Mirza Hydur Ali, and Mohammed Kasim, were pensioned at the recommendation of Mr. S. Russell, a partner of the concern of W. Palmer and Co. Of this list, generally, little elucidation could be obtained from Messrs. Palmer and Co., who, in most instances, referred us to the Nizam's Minister; and the only information procurable from him was, that six or seven were recommended by Mr. W. Palmer, five or six by Sooltan Hosseyn Khan, (the former Moonshee of that gentleman,) and four or five by Sahab-ood Deen, his present Moonshee. The mention of the former Moonshee of Mr. W. Palmer

leads me to notice that he had also an allowance from the Nizam's Government of 700 rupees per *ensem*; and his brother, Mohammed Nuwaz Khan, 750 rupees per *ensem*. Moreover, when these gentlemen went to Mecca, they received from the Nizam's government 91,000 rupees to bear their expenses, being the amount of their joint allowances for above five years. Such has been the waste of the public money on Messrs. W. Palmer and Co. and their dependants. Such are the items of charge with 25 per cent. interest accruing thereon, which the fictitious sixty-lac loan was invented to confirm. In the list of allowances transmitted by Messrs. Palmer and Co., the name of their native partner, Bunketty Doss, and his nephew, Kishun Dos, are not included; but it appears from the detailed accounts, that they also receive allowances from the Nizam's Government; (p) and have hitherto been supplied with guards, paid through Messrs. W. Palmer and Co. Perhaps Messrs. W. Palmer and Co. did not choose to put forward these facts, lest they should tend to confirm the impression produced by other items, that all the Members of the firm had received allowances from the Nizam's Government, and thus lead to the detection of some which are still kept in the background. The allowance to Bunketty Doss Messrs. W. Palmer and Co. call "an honorary distinction, conferred on him in common with other soucars, without any application from any of the Members of the house." (*Credat Judas*,—said Mr. Poynder—*non ego*.) "The amount of this honorary distinction," observed Sir C. Metcalfe, "is not mentioned; it seems to be 500 rupees per *ensem*. The allowance to the nephew Kishun Dos, 40 rupees per *ensem*, is called palanquin allowance." Having thus shown the influence which the house of Palmer and Co. had obtained over the Nizam's Government, and the manner in which it was applied, I will not trouble the Court much longer. But, before I proceed, I wish to point out in the first place, what is *not* the question before the Court, and I shall presently come to what *is* the real question. I apprehend it is not whether the noble Marquis be positively culpable and criminal. I feel it my duty to echo what the Court of Directors said with respect to the cha-

raacter of the noble Marquis. I acquit him of every idea of corruption. But it is clear that there were friends and relatives in the way, whom he was anxious to serve. This was not dishonourable. But I think it can hardly be said, connecting the noble Marquis with those transactions from the commencement, that he has pursued a wise or prudent course; that he has not acted partially. That however is not the question. The real question is, Whether the Court be prepared, on the papers before them, to come to a vote of thanks to the noble Marquis, and of censure on the Directors? I ask this question in the face of the Court and of the Country, and I will say that the Proprietors cannot come to such a vote. I have perused those papers attentively, and have devoted a portion of days and of nights, which I could ill spare, to their investigation; and I must say that I find it impossible, from the whole of these transactions, to come to the conclusion at which an honourable Gentleman (Mr. J. Smith) and the honourable Mover have arrived. The honourable Mover takes one particular position and no other. He does not call the Court to the consideration of the general administration of the Marquis of Hastings; neither has he said a word in support of his motion. He calls on the Court to accede to his proposition, on view of the Hyderabad papers alone. To those papers, then, I must adhere; and, looking to them, I have no hesitation in saying, that I cannot agree to the honourable Proprietor's motion. The honourable Proprietor says, "you must judge of the noble Marquis on those papers, or not at all." I cannot consent to that. No man ever imagined there was any personal corruption in the case of the noble Marquis. No man asserts it, no man can feel or think it. But there are questions, necessarily linked with this subject, which must not be overlooked. Those grounds Gentlemen must see can only be touched lightly and delicately. The honourable Mover felt that he was treading over burning lava, and therefore he jumped at once to his conclusion. In touching on the ground I now do, I am very sensible of the awkwardness of my task. (Hear.) But I will say to those who now call out that they have forced me and others into this predicament. But for them, the Marquis of Hastings might have rested in tranquillity, invested with stars, and ribbons, and honours. They however would not permit it. They forced those who differed from them in opinion to go into that sort of examination which I have this day done. We are called on to decide a question of very great nicety—a question which nearly affects the proceedings of the Court of Directors of 1820, 1821,

(p) The folly of Mr. Poynder's remarks is only equalled by their dulness.—The Nizam is called an "independent prince." Has he not a right to pension whomsoever he pleases from his own funds? If Mr. Poynder wishes to expose a waste of "public money," let him look at the taxes paid by the people of England to support the Company's monopoly—two millions per annum on the article of tea alone—all wasted by the Indian rulers in acts of the most useless extravagance, and grants to idle and worthless individuals.

1822, 1823, and 1824; for, in succession, we cannot but condemn the acts of the Directors, with regard to this subject, during the period I have named, if we agree to this resolution. The Directors have been treated with disrespect. I may say that vituperation has been lavished on the gentlemen behind the bar, because they have performed that which they conceived to be their duty. I was astonished and grieved to hear such language, which I consider most uncalled for. All I contend for is this, that, if the Proprietors agree to the motion, they will virtually fix the stigma and brand of shame on the Directors for the last five years. Get rid of this conclusion they cannot. Will they throw dirt also on the Board of Control? Gentlemen should recollect when throwing dirt at their *superiors*, that some of it may recoil. Are Mr. Canning, Mr. Bathurst, and Mr. Wyndham, to be considered as nobody? (g) Yet they have successively sanctioned the sending out of those despatches, which give so much offence to some gentlemen. The documents to which I have referred are not lemonade or milk and water. (h) They contain the imputation of a long course of transactions in India. Now, if these despatches were not justified by the exigencies of the case, what would any Board of Control have said? what would they have done? If the Court of Directors had been weak and wicked enough, without necessity, to attempt to send out such despatches, Government would certainly have stopped them. They would say, "You are making charges that are unsupported; a man of his inflexible honour could not sully it by any indiscretion." But the Board of Control said no such thing; they let the despatches go forth with all their imperfections on their heads; and that I contend gives an additional authority to those documents. (i) By the amendment we approve of the despatches, and we are bound to do so, at the same time that we admit that no stain attaches to

the character of the Marquis of Hastings. But the hon. Proprietor wishes to carry a resolution which, whilst it approves of the conduct of the noble Marquis, casts a censure upon the Directors for the five last years. Is this a proper way to treat a body of men who are continually acting for our benefit? (k) It appears to me that if the motion were carried it could not stop here. (Hear.) If it were agreed to, how could we avoid granting another 5000*l.* a year to the noble Marquis; a proposition which has been negatived in the Court of Directors? Under these circumstances, I consider the amendment moved by the hon. Chairman, and seconded by the hon. Director, as the most proper course that can be adopted for the interests of the Company, and for the honour of the Government both abroad and at home. (Hear.)

Mr. HUME.—I will not detain the Court by entering on the wide field of observation which has been occupied by the hon. Gentleman who has just sat down, but I will show the Court the position in which they stand; and as men of honour and justice I call on them to come to an impartial decision. The view which the hon. Gentleman has taken is, in every respect, unjust. This I will prove if I can make the Court understand the question that is before them. I agree with the hon. Gentleman that there are questions of great moment connected with these papers—questions that concern not only the Marquis of Hastings but many others. It is a question whether Palmer and Co. will not come before the Court and demand its protection against outrage and injury;—it is a question whether the Marquis of Hastings should not receive remuneration;—and, besides these, several other questions are connected with these papers. But every unprejudiced man must agree with me, that the mode adopted by my hon. Friend is the only manner of clearing away the difficulties that surround the subject, and of ultimately doing justice to all the parties before us. I was not pledged to the motion of my hon. Friend, on a former day, though, as it related to the general merits of the Marquis of Hastings, I think it deserved support. On that occasion an objection

(g) Mr. Poynder's intellect is not clear enough to enable him to see through the fallacy of making rank and office a guarantee for honour and accuracy. Each of these ministers may be "somebody," and yet all of them may have acted wrong. It might be equally asked, Is the Marquis of Hastings nobody? and are the dissenting Directors nobody? Such questions betray only the stupidity of those who propose them. The question in dispute is, whether certain acts were just or unjust? The characters of the persons performing them depend on the issue.

(h) Neither are they champagne or Burgundy: a mixture of opium, wormwood, and gall, is the nearest to the compound of dulness, bitterness, and wrath, which characterise these productions.

(i) This is supposing the Board of Control to do its duty with vigilance and strict impartiality; an assumption not warranted by the fact.

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(k) Mr. Poynder is evidently approaching the climax. This is indeed a crowning absurdity.—The excellent Directors! What studious days and sleepless nights do they not devote to the "benefit" of the Proprietors! What admirable jobs do they not carve out for the ship-builders, rope-makers, biscuit-bakers, and others, who come to swell their majorities!—What writerships and cadetships do they not bestow in return for votes and other favours! Oh, admirable spirit of self-devotion to the public good! Of them, indeed, it may be truly said,

'Take them for all in all,
We ne'er shall look upon their like again.'

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was taken *in limine* by an hon. Friend (Mr. J. Smith) who has quitted the Court. That Gentleman said "I cannot agree to this motion because there is one point on which I entertain a doubt. I wish to know how far the Marquis of Hastings's character, his integrity, his honour, are implicated in those proceedings of the house of Palmer and Co." What did my hon. Friend say? "If there be (said he) a Gentleman in this Court who can bring a charge against the Marquis of Hastings, let him come forward;—if there be any papers that can throw a light on his conduct, let them be produced. If they clear him, then I call upon you to reward him;—if they inculpate him, I shall be the very first man to oppose any grant to him." The consequence was, that a number of papers were ordered. One Gentleman called for one paper, another for another, until they became voluminous. I therefore think that the course taken by my hon. Friend was perfectly straight-forward and right. What did my hon. Friend next do? He said, "The papers are now before us;—let us see how far those documents implicate his character, or free his honour from suspicion." I think that, where an honest investigation and decision is intended, men ought not to mix up different subjects having different views and bearings. If they wish to act with fairness, they ought not to do this.

I will explain my meaning. It may be that all the hon. Gent. has said about Palmer and Co. is true, they may be the greatest rogues (however I must deny the imputations cast on them, and I think they might bring a triumphant case before the Court for compensation, which never was refused where injury was sustained), (u) but still the conduct of the Marquis of Hastings may be irreproachable. The hon. Gent. has said, that this firm was raised by the Marquis of Hastings for the purpose of aiding Sir W. Rumbold, than which nothing is further from the fact. It was established by Mr. Seaton, a most respectable man, whose name need only be mentioned to those acquainted with Indian affairs, to procure respect and admiration, (hear.) in conjunction with Mr. Dowdeswell and a Gentleman within the bar. These three individuals, with the sanction of the Governor-General and the Court of Directors, established the house, so that the assertion of the hon. Gent. falls to the ground; for the firm was established, and going on with business, when Sir W. Rumbold joined it. (Hear, hear.) It is therefore most unfair to proceed with garbled extracts

and half statements—for I must say, from the manner in which the hon. Gentleman has garbled those documents it is impossible to understand the case. (Hear.) All that he has stated is founded on the charges made by Sir C. Metcalfe, and they are founded on mere rumours. (Hear.) I must protest against such a course of proceeding; and, having shown that the Marquis of Hastings, had nothing to do with the establishment, I will ask, can the Court refuse to sanction the motion of my hon. Friend? That house was, I conscientiously believe, established for the purpose of benefiting the finances of the Company. (Hear.) Its establishment had the approbation of the Court of Directors. That Court, on receiving despatches stating that such an establishment had been formed, highly approved of it. (Hear.) When I state these circumstances, I trust the Court will not be misled by that which has been so unfairly asserted. It follows, from what I here lay down, that the Marquis of Hastings, as well as the Court of Directors who approved of this establishment, might be free from all blame, and yet that Palmer and Co. might have misconducted themselves; though I again deny that they have done so. It is, therefore, quite unfair to mix up the proceedings of Palmer and Co. with the case of the Marquis of Hastings. The amendment I consider to be a most extraordinary production; and I wish to learn, whether it emanated from the Court of Directors, or belongs entirely to the Gent. by whom it was proposed?

Mr. PATTISON said, that the amendment must be distinctly understood as not proceeding from the Court of Directors.

Sir G. A. ROBINSON observed, that in seconding the amendment he had stated he acted as an individual.

Mr HUME.---In the name of candour and justice, I ask, whether such a practice as that which has this day been adopted ever prevailed in this Court before? I say the very contrary has been the practice. When the Court was summoned for a particular purpose, the requisition was read from the Chair, and Gentlemen were called on to confine themselves to the subject to which it referred. What is the nature of the requisition this day? We are not called together to approve of the conduct of Mr. Adam and the other Member of the Bengal Government, and yet the amendment goes to that very point. (Hear, hear.) Why has not the Chairman,---whose specific duty it is to preserve regularity amongst us,---why has not he, on this occasion, pursued the known and proper course? The requisition calls on us to consider how far the conduct of the Marquis of Hastings is

(u) This must be an error of the reporter. Mr. Hume never could have meant that the Court had never refused compensation where injury was sustained. He knows they have often refused it.

implicated by the Hyderabad papers; but the amendment introduces quite another subject. What an outcry would have been made, if my hon. Friend, instead of adhering to the subject-matter of the requisition, had made attacks upon different characters! (Hear, hear.) If my hon. Friend had taken such a course, I would have said to him, "You are out of order; here is a specific question, and I must have a decision, 'Aye or no.'"—This present motion relates to the character of a particular public servant, and I contend that the Chairman has violated all order in proposing such an amendment as he has done to the resolution of my hon. Friend. (Hear.) What is the resolution? "That this Court, having taken into consideration that part of the papers which relates to the conduct of the Marquis of Hastings respecting the transactions of Messrs. Palmer & Co. with the Government of the Nizam, are of opinion, that it contains nothing that tends to affect the private character, honour, or integrity, of the noble Marquis." It is clear from this that my hon. Friend kept to the very letter of the requisition; and he acted rightly. I felt that there would be some difference on the occasion, and therefore I advised my hon. Friend to send in the specific words of his resolution, that they might be added to the requisition. He did so, but his request was not complied with. The reason is now apparent. It was intended to take the Court by surprise with this extraordinary amendment. I call on the Proprietors to vindicate their proceedings. I call on them to teach those who ought to conduct their affairs correctly, that they shall not act in this irregular manner. (Hear, hear.) Allow such a system to prevail, and if sitting in judgment on the conduct of the present or the late Chairman, we may be surprised by a resolution praising or criminating every other individual belonging to the Direction. (Hear.) I will now refer to the amendment. It says, "That this Court saw no ground for imputing corrupt motives to the Marquis of Hastings, or any member of the Bengal Government." The latter part of this sentence contains a sweeping proposition; but I am ready to argue it with the hon. Chairman, and to prove that Mr. Adam deserves no such praise. (Hear, hear.) I and my friends mean, at a proper period, to impeach Mr. Adam before this Court. (Hear, hear, hear.) At present I shall say nothing farther about him. It would not be honourable to do so. It would seem as if I wished to inculpate one man, while, in fact, my only duty on this occasion is to exculpate another. (Hear.) The latter part of the amendment runs thus: "At the same time, looking at the transactions of Messrs. Palmer & Co. with the native

Government at Hyderabad, the Court must record its approval of the despatches of the 24th of May, 1820; 28th of Nov. 1821; 9th of April, 1823; and the 21st of Jan. 1824." I think that those persons who approve of the despatches in question are afraid of the sound arguments contained in the protest of an hon. Director (Mr. Pattison) within the bar. Those arguments have made a powerful impression on the mind of every man who has perused them. The statement of the hon. Director is manly and candid. His reasoning carries conviction in every line. A few discussions relative to these despatches will, I have no doubt, point out where the cloven foot is concealed. I shall, when the regular time arrives, state my sentiments with respect to those documents. There is not, Sir, in the requisition, any proposition calling for the approval of those despatches; and therefore I must say, that the two additions to the resolution of my hon. Friend, which you have been pleased to move, are quite irregular. I am, however, happy to think that this Court will not allow itself to be taken by surprise; and I hope the Directors will speak for themselves, and show that the amendment belongs not to them, but is the property of the mover and seconder only. (Hear.) On the part of the Proprietors, absent and present, I protest against deciding on the question in this way. I pledge myself to call a Court, if gentlemen desire it, to take into consideration the whole of the proceedings of the Indian Government in the case of Palmer and Co. I will then examine the despatches sent out to India in relation to that business, and state what my opinion is of the directions given respecting the parties concerned. I think it will be seen, when that investigation takes place, that the authorities here have hastily adopted the opinions contained in the despatches of Sir C. Metcalfe and Mr. Adam; and I will show that those two individuals have repeatedly contradicted themselves in their statements. Before the Court of Directors had ventured to come to a decision, the subject, in all parts, ought to have been maturely considered. If it be found that the executive body were not borne out by facts in pursuing the course they have adopted, then I say they ought to be censured; but if they have proceeded on fair grounds, I shall be ready to express an honest approbation of their conduct. (Hear.) The hon. Gentleman who has just sat down may be in the secret; he may have previously seen the amendment. But, Sir, are we to agree to it,—are we to be surprised into such a measure, because the hon. Gentleman reads a number of extracts from the documents, without advancing one solitary argument? I will show, Sir, past dispute, that the dates

of those documents to which he has referred, if brought together, contradict each other most materially: so much so, indeed, as to prove that either some misunderstanding, or a feeling which I will not allow myself to designate, has operated to the prejudice of the parties accused. (Hear.) Let us look, Sir, to the situation in which we stand with respect to those transactions in India. It is necessary that I should do so, because some statements were made by the hon. Gentleman which prove that he is unacquainted with the subject. The hon. Gentleman inveighed against the enormous interest that had been charged. Interest, however, is a variable thing, depending on different circumstances, though the hon. Gentleman appears to think that it should be the same over all the world. In this country the legal interest is 5 per cent., while in Calcutta it is 12 per cent. Perhaps an Englishman, speaking of this, would say, "What an immoderate rate! Do not the laws of England extend to India?" I answer, Yes; but in some instances they must bend to circumstances. It is a curious fact, which will surprise even those who exclaim against the high rate of interest in India, that the loans raised by Mr. Pitt and his successors yielded a *bonus* of thirty-five millions over and above the interest. I can prove it; I have chapter and verse for every pound of it. (Hear, and a laugh.) Will the hon. Gentleman answer me a plain question:—Suppose he had a mortgage on his estate at 24 per cent., could I be considered a rascal, if I lent him money at 18 per cent. to enable him to pay it off? This is exactly the case with Palmer and Co. (Hear, hear.) They lent the Nizam money at a smaller percentage than that which he had paid when he originally got into debt, for the purpose of enabling him to pay off that debt. The rate of interest at Calcutta is, as I have said, 12 per cent.; but the borrower in a native state, where there are no British courts of law, is of course obliged to pay a heavier rate of interest. The difference is superadded to meet the extraordinary risk. This is the plain exposition of a practice which has been designated in such strong terms by the hon. Gentleman. The hon. Gentleman exclaimed, "What a rascally imposition this is!" But though the rate of interest was very high, still it was necessary that the money should be procured, in order to relieve the Nizam's territory from the state of thralldom under which it suffered, and to pay the troops that were supplied by us. If any thing more than another tended to strengthen the power of the Company, it was this circumstance,—that whenever pay-day came round, if by any chance the pay got into arrear, (and I have known arrears of eight months to be

due,) a single shilling was not, in the end, abstracted from the soldier's allowance. Such a circumstance, however, is of very rare occurrence. The troops of the native Princes are generally in arrear; and it is one of the most important duties of the Government of India to take care that troops, who, like the Nizam's, are commanded by British officers, and, where events render it necessary, are called on to assist the British forces, are paid with regularity. Now, Sir, the great benefits which arose from establishing such a house as that of Palmer and Co. consisted in the facilities which it afforded for paying those troops, and getting rid of the arrears. Therefore I contend that the manner in which the troops were paid was not bad or usurious, but was fraught with very great benefit. (Hear.) I must protest against the way in which the hon. Gentleman who has just sat down has treated this subject, because the impression which he wishes to convey to the Court is not founded on the practice of India, nor is it borne out by the documents. It is said that the honour and interest of India are best supported by not interfering with the native states. Now, the Nizam's was a free state, and yet the hon. Gentleman had argued that the individual at the head of it had not a right to grant pensions. The hon. Gentleman complained that the Nizam had granted pensions out of the public money. Pray, whose money was it? Why, Sir, it belonged to the Nizam himself. (Hear.) I heartily wish that pensions in this country were as well earned as those which the hon. Gentleman has referred to. I yesterday saw a paper which has been laid before the House of Commons, purporting to be a list of pensions. There was so much for A, so much for B; but no reason was assigned for the grant. Now I really think that the hon. Gentleman would not interfere with those pensions. (A laugh, and hear.) The hon. Gentleman would only say, "It is public money, and I think very well expended." He would not ask why the pensions were granted. Why then should he quarrel with the Nizam? Had not the Nizam a right to grant pensions if it so pleased him? But who is this William Palmer who has been thus pensioned? He was, as I have before stated, the son of a distinguished an officer as ever served in India. He had been a Resident at different native courts, and was adored by the people of India. I speak of that individual's services from the time of Warren Hastings to the last moment of his being in the Company's employment. (Hear.) Are not the children of such a man to be cherished and respected? There are many men in this country who have little else on which they can build their claim to respect, save the high character which

their fathers have established. Is it just, I demand, that such a principle shall be allowed to prevail in England, and yet be banished from India? I am as great an enemy to improper pensions as the hon. Gentleman; but I do not conceive that the pensions to which he has alluded were improper. In the papers which the hon. Gentleman has read for an hour, and in which mention is made of those pensions, is a letter from Sir C. Metcalfe to the Secretary of Government. The hon. Gentleman has called the attention of the Court, very pointedly, to this pension-list, but he has not stated the explanation of Mr. Palmer on this subject. (Hear.) It is an extraordinary thing, that the parties concerned were ignorant of this letter from Sir C. Metcalfe until the blow was struck, and their house was overturned. It may be well to inquire what Mr. Palmer had done to deserve his pension? I will tell the Court, as the hon. Gentleman has forgotten to do so, that he was for twenty-one years in the service of the Nizam, which is a most important fact. Now, when the Nizam found an active, faithful, and zealous servant, who had supported his interests for twenty-one years, had he not a right to reward him as his merit deserved? The hon. Gentleman seems to have adopted the course pursued by you, Sir, in moving the amendment. He states his opinion boldly, but he does not give the Court the least idea of the foundation on which it rests. He has not furnished the Court with any data whatever. The hon. Gentleman has been guilty, in a very high degree, of the sin of omission, which is often as prejudicial to a cause as that of commission. It is very easy to talk of the rascally conduct, the scandalous imposition of persons who have been put down by the hand of power.

Mr. POYNTER said he was not conscious of having used the word "rascally."

Mr. HUME.—I have marked down several of the hon. Gentleman's words. He has spoken of the conduct of the house of Palmer and Co. as profligate, deceptions, and treacherous. (Hear, hear.) This being the case, then, the hon. Gentleman takes nothing by his motion. (A laugh.) I really felt indeed ashamed to repeat the hon. Gentleman's words. (Hear, hear.) I am sure they will not add to the hon. Gentleman's blushing honours, but will rather consign him to blushing shame. I shall now return to the services of Mr. Palmer. In the war against Scindiah and the Rajah of Behrar, that gentleman was selected to act as brigade-major to the Nizam's troops, at which time he distinguished himself very much. The plans which he formed for the defence of the city of Aurangabad, when threatened by the Rajah of Behrar, excited general approbation. On

one occasion, when the Nizam's troops were in a perilous situation, Mr. Palmer was put in command of the whole of the Nizam's cavalry. (Hear.) The papers which have been laid before us contain a series of services performed by Mr. Palmer, which occupies more than two pages. Surely a man like this deserved to be rewarded; and if the Nizam expressed his gratitude by granting him and his relatives pensions, what has the Marquis of Hastings to do with it? Had his Lordship interfered, and said to Chundoo Loll, the Nizam's Minister, "You are acting wrong in advising your master to grant pensions," he would have subjected himself to severe censure. The doctrine laid down by Parliament and by this Court, is, "Do not interfere with the native Princes;" and had the Marquis of Hastings made any representation on the subject of these pensions, it would have been viewed as an interference, and he would have been blamed. (Hear.) A greater proof of the high estimation in which Mr. Palmer was held, could not be adduced, than the fact of his being placed in command of the Nizam's horse, which was his most important force. That trust was reposed in him at a time when the defection of the horse would have produced the most disastrous effects. Had Mr. Palmer received ten times the amount of his pensions, his services had well earned it. On another occasion he was directed to quell a mutiny in Major Gordon's battalion. On that service he commanded the Nizam's horse. From his local knowledge of the position which the mutineers occupied, he was obliged to act as guide, which necessarily placed him in an advanced and prominent situation. On this occasion he was honoured with the public approbation of Lord Minto. Such is the man whom the Court of Directors and the hon. Gentleman are desirous of bringing into bad odour. Mr. Palmer afterwards presided at the court-martial held on the mutineers. The court passed capital sentence on several of them; and Mr. Palmer has observed, that "had he considered himself subject to any other authority but that of the Nizam's Government, he would not have exposed himself to the danger of being held amenable for his conduct, the business having been proceeded upon without a proper warrant." This transaction, it is to be observed, occurred after the house was established. The Nizam said, "I want your services; take the field, and do those duties which you have formerly fulfilled." I really think, Sir, that the mixing up with the present question any thing connected with these individuals, was exceedingly unfair and uncandid. The hon. Gentleman has alluded to the Board of Control. I believe that this

circumstance will not be very pleasing to the three Gentlemen whom he has mentioned; because what he has said will tend rather to lower than to raise those individuals in our estimation. The hon. Gentleman concurs in the common sentiment, that the character of the noble Marquis remains untarnished, and yet he will couple that declaration, which ought to stand by itself, with an amendment which points at other objects. The purity of the conduct of the Marquis of Hastings, as it has been admitted by Mr. Smith, by the Chairman, and by the hon. Gentleman himself, ought, beyond all question, to be met with a resolution that had no reference to any other subject. Without having exaggerated the matter in any way, I think, Sir, that I have now so cleared the character of the noble Marquis that it may bid defiance to the breath of calumny. The Marquis of Hastings is a man; he is not infallible. To assert that I approve of every act of his, would not be candid. I will not—I cannot go that length. Here however is a tangible question, on which I am quite ready to decide; and I will ask, whether any credit is due to those individuals who mix up other matters with a case of this nature? I pledge myself, if it be necessary, to meet them next week, for the purpose of discussing any of those subjects which are separated from the present question, though an attempt is made to connect them with it. Let us meet Greek to Greek, fairly and boldly, but let us not be taken by surprise. I call on the Proprietors to consider this question maturely, and to do justice to a character which is admitted by all to be free from any kind of stain.—(Hear, hear, hear.)

The CHAIRMAN.—Though I have before addressed the Court, I trust that the Proprietors will in courtesy allow me to trespass on their attention for a very few minutes. I feel it impossible to remain silent under the pointed and personal attack which the hon. Proprietor has made on me. (Hear, and no! no!) I say that is the reason which has induced me again to obtrude myself on the notice of the Court. The hon. Proprietor has talked of my being afraid to do something or other. The only fear I feel is the fear of not doing my duty. The hon. Proprietor, however, has boldly asserted that I have neglected my duty, and that the cloven foot had been exhibited. I am the servant of the Company, and the Proprietors have had an opportunity of observing my conduct. I will not remain in the Chair if I am not protected against such attacks. (Hear, hear.) The hon. Member has accused me of being afraid, and also asserted that I had taken the Court by surprise. I fling the accusation back upon him. It was the hon. Proprietor himself who wished to resort to a trick.

Let those Gentlemen who take an interest in the case of Mr. Adam attend to this. What has the hon. Proprietor told the Court? He said he would impeach Mr. Adam. If so, and the proposition which he supports, should be carried, would it not be used as a triumphant and inestimable argument against Mr. Adam? (x) (Hear.) I hope the Court will consider well, whether it was proper that an individual, in his absence, should be thus held up to public odium? (y) (Hear.) Great and exalted as the Marquis of Hastings is, is this Court to do justice to him alone? Is Mr. Adam, an able and excellent servant of the Company, to sit quietly down under the threat of an impeachment? (z) I will, however, leave the Proprietors to defend that Gentleman's honour.—I can always defend my own. I fear nothing—nothing but a deviation from truth and honour (hear), and I stand here to receive your approbation or censure. (Much applause.) I always regret to address the Court irregularly, but I could not avoid it on this occasion; and I assure you that I feel a very strong gratification, because I find, by your manifestation of feeling, that you approve of my conduct. (Hear, hear.) I now come to the main question. The debate is on the Hyderabad Papers. They are open to every Proprietor, and those who please have a right to deliver their sentiments on them. I, however, did not deem it necessary to argue on them; I followed the temperate course of the hon. Proprietor who introduced the motion. I felt that it was not a long or a short speech that would decide this question. The papers have been long before the Proprietors, and each will vote according to the view he takes of their contents. In consequence of what has passed, I feel it due to myself and the Court of Directors, that the legal opinions, which

(x) Yes; with shallow and unreflecting minds—like those in which this motion seems to have originated—it might be so regarded; but not with those who have sense enough to argue all questions on their individual merits, and not with reference to former decisions, or “precedents,” as they are called.

(y) Mr. Adam, exemplary man! never held any one up to odium in his absence; not he, indeed! He only first banished an individual without trial; then stopped the mouths and pens of every one, on pain of similar treatment, from defending the absent individual; and when all this was done, published a volume at the government press, full of calumnies against this same absent and banished man; which no man dared, but at his peril, to answer! Oh! magnanimous retaliation!

(z) Where the greater harshness of this (even if submitted to), than Mr. Adam compelling men, as excellent and as able as himself, to sit down silent under threats of banishment? The tongue and pen of every man in India is thus silenced; but he who makes a law to threaten all his fellow-countrymen in India, is to have no threat whispered against himself. Excellent spirit of impartiality!

fortify the Court of Directors in their decision, should be read. I therefore call for their being read (Hear.)

Mr. D. Kinnaird rose.

The CHAIRMAN.—I beg that the hon. Gent. will suffer me to proceed. I was in possession of the Court.

Mr. D. Kinnaird continued to stand.

The CHAIRMAN.—Does the hon. Gent. mean to speak to order?

Mr. D. KINNAIRD.—I do. It is customary to dispose of one motion before another is made.

The CHAIRMAN.—I do not mean to make a motion. I will read the opinions as part of my speech.

The Chairman was about to read the first opinion, when

Mr. D. KINNAIRD said—I should wish the case, on which the opinion is founded, to be read.

The CHAIRMAN.—The nine volumes of papers, which have been printed, founded the case submitted to counsel. Does the hon. Gent. wish them to be read? (A laugh.)

Mr. D. KINNAIRD said—I suppose some letter was sent to the counsel with those nine volumes? Let that be read.

A PROPRIETOR observed.—Any person who wishes to read a paper as part of a speech, may read it as he himself pleases.

The Clerk then proceeded to read the first opinion of Mr. Sergeant Bosanquet. It was dated the 27th of Nov. 1823. The learned Gentleman, after enumerating the leading features of the transactions of the house of Palmer and Co., as disclosed in the Hyderabad Papers, stated that the instrument of the 3d of July 1816, obtained by Messrs. Palmer and Co. from the Indian Government, to protect them from the consequences of the 37 Geo. 3. must, to be available for any purpose, be confined to those who were partners in the house at the time it was granted. Any transaction in which a greater interest than 12 per cent. per ann. was taken, was null and void, notwithstanding the instrument; and those who received more than 12 per cent. were guilty of usury, and were liable to be sued for the penalties in the Supreme Court at Calcutta; but that no suit could be maintained for penalties after a lapse of three years. The learned Counsel observed, that many difficulties stood in the way of successfully prosecuting the parties concerned in some of those transactions, but suggested, that, as the house of Palmer and Co. could only get the debts due to them from the Nizam through the Indian Government, the effectual punishment of usury was in their hands. (a)

They could decide strictly on every demand; and thus all persons in the house, whether known or concealed, would lose the chance of realizing any usurious gains.

When the second opinion of Mr. Bosanquet was about to be read---

Mr. R. JACKSON inquired whether that opinion was given by Mr. Bosanquet of his own motion, or had been applied for?

The CHAIRMAN replied, that it was founded on fresh despatches received by the Court of Directors, and sent to Mr. Bosanquet.

Mr. D. KINNAIRD said, it was not possible to wade through all technicalities of those legal opinions at a moment's notice.

The CHAIRMAN wished the opinions to be first read, and then the Court would decide as to the propriety of printing them.

The CLERK then read the opinion of Mr. Sergeant Bosanquet, of the 21st of January 1824, which was founded on two despatches from the Bengal Government. In this he reiterated the sentiments contained in the opinion which had been previously read.

The CLERK next read the opinion of the King's Attorney-General upon the papers which were submitted to him. It was dated Sep. 2, 1824, and the learned Gent. stated therein that he was of opinion, that if a criminal proceeding were instituted against the members of the house of Palmer and Co., it should be in the nature of a charge of conspiracy to obtain, for their own private ends, the sanction of the Bengal Government to a sixty-lac loan. But he could not help entertaining great doubts of the successful result of such a prosecution, not only on account of the complicated nature of the transaction, but because one of the objects of the loan was stated to be the discharge of the debts due to Wm. Palmer. It was not a little singular, that although that was stated to be one of the objects of the loan in one of the letters to the Bengal Government, that Government made no inquiry as to the amount of the debts due to Wm. Palmer, in order that it might be known how much of the loan would be applicable to other purposes. Upon the whole, after considering the case in all its different bearings, he could not see his way so clearly to a successful result as to induce him, in the exercise of his office as Attorney-General, to institute a criminal proceeding on the subject."

An opinion of Mr. Sergeant Bosanquet, dated November 18, 1824, was next read, upon the above opinion of the Attorney-General, in which he stated, that he con-

(a) Here is a modest suggestion truly. A set of monopolists, who themselves make a dividend of 10½ per cent. when all above 5 is "usury," according to law, and who put no bounds to their rapacity in wringing the uttermost farthing from the natives of India—to punish usury in others—and how? By helping a native prince to become a swindler, and refuse the payment of his just debts!! This is the morality of the legal adviser of the East India Company!

concur with the learned Gentleman in thinking that it would be extremely difficult to procure a conviction in the event of a prosecution being instituted against the house of Palmer and Co.

The CHAIRMAN.—The opinions which have been read, furnish in themselves, I think, a sufficient answer to the question why they were not published among the papers which have been printed for the use of the Court. As long as any doubt existed as to whether a prosecution would be instituted, it, of course, would have been improper to publish the opinions of the learned counsel. Bortomed as the Court of Directors are with these opinions, they cannot be expected to alter their opinion of the conduct of the Bengal Government in these transactions. I observed that some Gentlemen affected to sneer at that part of one of the opinions which expressed the doubts of the learned Counsel as to the success of a prosecution which had not been contemplated until two or three years after the license for raising the loan had been obtained. I will shortly explain how that happened. The license was granted on the 1d of July 1816, and was signed by Lord Hastings, Mr. Seaton, Mr. Dowdeswell, and—(we could not catch the other name.)

A PROPRIETOR.—Why are the last names omitted in the printed papers? The name of Lord Hastings alone is there affixed to the license.

The CHAIRMAN.—It is a mere transcript of what was sent to us. No names were affixed to the document.

Mr. KINNAIRD.—Then why put Lord Hastings's name to it?

The CHAIRMAN.—I beg pardon—I am reminded by an hon. Friend near me that a license giving authority to that which cannot legally be done without it, must, by act of Parliament, be the individual act of the Governor-General. That accounts for Lord Hastings's name being affixed to it. The fact was notified to the Court of Directors in a letter written on the 3d January 1817. That letter too, consisted of three hundred and eighty-eight paragraphs; only four of which related to the granting of the license, but no clue was given to direct attention particularly to them. It might be expected that when the letter was at length written, it would have been sent off immediately. But no. The letter did not leave India till May 1816, so that before the Court of Directors received any intimation of the granting of the license, upwards of two years had elapsed. (Hear.) I believe I have already said enough to vindicate the Court of Directors from any charge of remissness. I will now explain how it happened that the letter was not immediately answered. It was owing, in the first place, to the death of the examiner of Indian correspondence,

Mr. Johnstone. The next assistant was at the same taken very ill. These circumstances, as well as the extreme length of the letter, and there being nothing to direct the attention of the Court of Directors to that part of it which related to the loan, prevented the Court from sending out their opinion relative to that transaction as soon as they would otherwise have done. (b). The hon. Proprietor, Mr. Hume, has accused the Court of Directors of a want of courtesy in not publishing a copy of the motion which it was intended to move. For my own part, I had no objection to do so, but my colleagues thought that it would be improper, because the motion might have been changed or abandoned altogether; and it was likewise thought that the forms of the Court would not permit of the communication. I trust that I shall never be guilty of want of courtesy to the hon. Proprietor or any other Member of this Court. I thank you for the attention with which you have favoured me, and beg pardon for having occupied so much of your time. (Hear.)

Mr. KINNAIRD.—I find that in a letter of the Court of Directors to the Marquis of Hastings, dated May 24th, 1820, they for the first time acknowledge his Lordship's letter, drawing their attention to the fact of his having granted the license to Messrs. Palmer and Co, and stateth that they consider it of sufficient importance to make it the subject of a separate despatch. Am I to understand that the Court of Directors had only then received the Marquis of Hastings's letter dated the 3d of January?

The CHAIRMAN.—The letter was received in 1816.

Mr. KINNAIRD.—It was allowed, then, to remain for two years unanswered, although it was deemed of sufficient importance to be the subject of a separate despatch?

The CHAIRMAN.—The delay was owing to the death of the chief examiner of Indian correspondence; the Gentleman next in office being for six months in so lamentable a state that his life was despaired of, and the other circumstances which I before mentioned.

Mr. TWining and Mr. R. JACKSON rose at the same time. The latter moved that the protest of an hon. Director (Mr. Pattison) against the resolution of the Court of Directors, approving of the political despatches to the Bengal Government on the subject of the Hyderabad loan be read.

(b) This is really the most impotent excuse that we ever before heard assigned for delay, even by the East India Company. An examiner dead, his assistant ill, and no one in the vast establishment of Leadenhall-street to fill their places. Twenty-four Directors at the head of a public body, and its proceedings stayed for years by the absence of two clerks!

Debate at the East India House.

The CHAIRMAN.—Mr. Twining is in possession of the Court.

Mr. TWINING.—If there be any truth in the old adage, that a great book is a great evil, the bulky volume before us may well be considered as a great misfortune. (A laugh.) That the matter arranged with so much method and order, should have occasioned some disorder, is not at all surprising. (Laughter.) I am not quite sure that the hon. Proprietor on the other side of the Court (Mr. Poynder) was not a little out of order when he travelled through the papers, not so much, as it appeared to me, with reference to the Marquis of Hastings as to Messrs. Palmer and Co. (Hear.) But I think that my hon. Friend on this side of the Court (Mr. Hume) has balanced the account with him, by going through the Scotch list of pensions. I know not the grounds upon which those pensions are bestowed; but if the most indefatigable industry and perseverance may claim reward, I am sure that no one has a greater right to expect a pension than my hon. Friend. (Hear, and a laugh.) With respect to the question before the Court, I hoped that, from the great consciousness and moderation with which it had been brought forward by the hon. Member, we should have come to a speedy conclusion upon it. The question, however, undoubtedly involves important principles; and though I consider that the conduct of the house of Palmer and Co. is not necessarily mixed up with the case as it applies to the Marquis of Hastings, yet it is but fair to say that there are other parties entitled to our consideration—I mean the Court of Directors—for the pains which they have taken to guard the interests of the Company throughout the transactions which form the subject of the papers before the Court; and I think that we ought to express our satisfaction of their conduct, as well as of that of the Marquis of Hastings. My intention in rising was to submit a resolution, by way of amendment, which shall, if possible, embrace both these subjects. I am aware that many gentlemen may have come into Court with their minds somewhat excited; but whatever difference of opinion may exist with respect to the Marquis of Hastings' conduct relative to the unhappy transaction (I hope I may be allowed to use the phrase) detailed in the papers before the Court, there can be but one opinion with respect to the general character of the noble Lord's administration. (Hear.) At the time when Lord Hastings proceeded to India, there were many points of great difficulty to be got over; but his Lordship easily surmounted them. During nine years' administration, commenced when his Lordship had arrived at an advanced period of life, he displayed all the vigour

of youth, matured by the experience of age, combining in himself the qualities of a warrior and a statesman. (Hear.) He indeed proved himself worthy to be the representative of royal authority in that vast country. Such being the general character of the noble Marquis, it is to be lamented that he should have been connected with any transactions which have excited unpleasant feelings. The transaction to which I allude has been made the subject of inquiry, and it ought not to be dwelt upon longer: it has unfortunately been dwelt upon too long already. I know that opinions different from that which I hold relative to that transaction are entertained by some persons; and they have been expressed in a protest entered by an hon. Director. When I consider the high character of the individual who framed that protest, I feel it to be a misfortune not to be able to go the whole length of that document. At an early part of the debate there seemed to be a disposition on all hands to express a high sense of the honour and purity of Lord Hastings' motives. It is necessary to consider how far the expression of that opinion may not be combined with an expression of the confidence of the Court in the purity of the motives of the Court of Directors, and of their anxious desire to promote the welfare of the Company. (Hear.) It should be recollected that the longer the debate continues, additional points will continue to be brought into discussion which are likely to lead to difference of opinion (c) If we can adopt a course by which we can avoid compromising the honour and dignity of Lord Hastings, as well as the honour and dignity of the Court of Directors, which, permit me to say, were never better represented than by the hon. Gent. who at present fills the Chair, it will send us all home in better humour than is likely to be the case if the debate should continue to be carried on in the tone which it has latterly assumed. (Hear, hear.) I wish that the observations which I have taken the liberty to address to the Court, had proceeded from some individual better calculated to give weight to them. My only object is to do that which I think is consonant to the good disposition of the Court. I will therefore read the resolution which I have taken the liberty of putting in Court; for I was quite unprepared for such a proceeding when I came, and have asked no gentleman to second it. I have to apologize to the hon. Chairman and seconder of the amendment already before the Court, for introducing

(c) This is a good, and not an evil, if truth is thereby to be elicited. If discussions should be checked because they lead to difference of opinion, then all discussion, but those where the speeches are all on one side, should be put down at once.

another which is to supersede theirs. (Hear.) I move that after the word "that" in the amendment, the following be substituted for those at present existing:

"This Court consider, with peculiar satisfaction, from a perusal of the papers laid before them on the proceedings at Hyderabad, that there is nothing brought forward respecting the transactions of the house of Messrs. Palmer and Co. which in any degree involves the character for integrity and purity of motives of the most noble the Marquis of Hastings; but that at the same time this Court feel called upon to acknowledge with satisfaction, that the Court of Directors, in framing their despatches relative to the proceedings at Hyderabad, have been influenced by an earnest wish to prevent the adoption of pecuniary transactions with the Native Powers of India—considering that such transactions may produce effects injurious to the best interests of this country, as connected with the Government of India." (d) That is the motion which I submit to the consideration of the Court, as, in my view, it goes far to remove a considerable degree of unpleasant feeling. I look upon the transaction in this light. The experience of former years has certainly shown that any pecuniary transactions with the Native Powers are attended with great danger; but the Marquis of Hastings, knowing the character of the Natives better than the Court of Directors here can be supposed to do, (e) may not have felt such strong doubts of the propriety of the proceedings as the Court of Directors did, who, in my opinion, could, in what they did, have no feeling of private animosity or jealousy of any individual, but were actuated only by a desire to discharge their duty, and promote the interests of the Company. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. DIXON.—I rise to order. I beg to state that I entertain but one feeling towards the hon. Proprietor who has just sat down; but I submit that the Court cannot entertain two amendments at the same time. (Hear.) I wish to know

(d) This attempt to unite what cannot be united, differs in nothing from the Court's own amendment. If the conduct of the Marquis of Hastings was right, the letters of the Directors censuring that conduct, were wrong; and vice versa. There is no compromise can be effected without a sacrifice of truth.

(e) This is a strange admission. What! shall a Governor-General, who never visited India till he was sixty, and then remained there only ten years, be better acquainted with the character of the natives of India than the Directors, many of whom have passed their lives from fifteen to fifty, in India, as servants, and have sat in the Court ever since as masters, engaged, as Mr. Poynder says, in "continually acting for our benefit." Verily, then, the dulness of these Directors must be great indeed; and Mr. Twining's character of them, though just, far from complimentary.

whether it was stated that the sixty-lac loan was advanced in money, or made up by old debts. My principal object in rising was to observe that it is getting late; and if the discussion of the question is to proceed, I think we had better adjourn to a future period. I believe that the question can be put on a motion of adjournment at any time. Before I make my motion, I will observe, that the charge being a grave and extraordinary one, affecting the character of so high an officer as the Governor-General, every part of what had been read from the papers had been read with good effect: for it has cleared up many points respecting which I was not perfectly informed. I am of opinion, that if it cannot be proved to demonstration that the Marquis of Hastings, either directly or indirectly, sanctioned the conduct of Messrs. Palmer and Co., he ought to be acquitted of all impropriety. I think that the conduct of Lord Hastings should not be mixed up with that of Messrs. Palmer and Co. (Hear.) I will just make one observation with respect to the rate of interest which was taken by Messrs. Palmer: Whatever gentlemen acquainted with India may say as to 12, or even 25 per cent. not being too much, I must acknowledge that to Englishmen such interest appears monstrous. (f) I now move that the consideration of the question be adjourned to a future day.

Sir J. DOYLE.—I wish to have the honour of saying something upon this question; but I find every body about me so much exhausted, that I am sure any further discussion must be unpleasant. I therefore second the motion of adjournment.

The CHAIRMAN suggested that the adjournment should take place to the following Friday, and put the question to that effect.

Mr. CARRUTHERS complained of the conduct of Mr. Dixon, who, having risen to speak to order, expressed his opinions with respect to the subject under discussion, and concluded with moving an adjournment.

Mr. HUGH LINDSAY suggested that it might be inconvenient to adjourn the

(f) Yet Mr. Dixon cannot think it "monstrous" to buy Spanish bonds at 30, for 100, getting a bonus of 77 per cent. and receiving 5 per cent. on the nominal 100, bought at 33, making a real interest of nearly 25 per cent. per annum. Neither would he think it "monstrous" to ship a cargo of goods for a distant port, and get a return of profit at 103 per cent. in six months. The stupidity and ignorance betrayed on this question of "usurious interest," is scarcely credible, in a country where the works of Adam Smith and Ricardo are in every one's hands. Mr. Dixon should be sent to the India College to take lessons in political economy from Mr. Malthus.

Court to Friday, as there was a call of the House of Commons on that day.

The CHAIRMAN said that he had selected Friday as a day which would interfere least with the business of the Company. He knew what a call of the House was. He had been a member for eighteen years, and was not afraid of it.

Mr. TWINING asked, whether his motion was to be seconded next Friday?

A PROPRIETOR said that he would second it now.

The CHAIRMAN observed, that there could only be one amendment before the Court at one time.

Sir G. A. ROBINSON observed, that in the event of the mover and seconder of the first amendment consenting to withdraw it, the amendment of the hon. Proprietor (Mr. Twining) would then be that upon which the opinion of the Court would be taken.

The CHAIRMAN then put the question, "That this debate be adjourned to Friday next," which was carried unanimously, and the Court broke up at five o'clock.

SECOND DAY'S DEBATE.

ON Friday, February 18, a General Court of Proprietors was held, pursuant to adjournment, for the purpose of continuing the "Consideration of the Hyderabad Papers now before the Proprietors, as far as they respect the conduct of the most noble the Marquis of Hastings, late Gov.-General of India."

The minutes of the former Court having been read—

Mr. PATTISON rose and observed, that being determined to deliver his sentiments on the main question, in the course of the debate, he had merely at present to say, that a paper had been handed to him, the contents of which were to the following effect:—"An old Proprietor begs to submit

to the Court of Proprietors the following documents and resolutions of the Court of Directors, relating to the Marquis of Hastings, which ought to be read in the pending discussion."

The first of these documents (observed Mr. Pattison) is dated 7th Jan. 1824, and is signed by Messrs. Elphinstone, Daniell, and Mills. As to the last-mentioned Gentleman, he is entirely out of the question in the present debate, for he is much better and more pleasantly engaged elsewhere, being just married. (A laugh.) Now, I can assure the Court, for the other Gentlemen whose names are attached to this paper, as well as for Mr. Mills, (I am sure I may include Mr. Mills also,) that the paper has not been, directly or indirectly, circulated by them. Indeed,

they have not the slightest knowledge of information respecting it. I will, however, just now call the attention of the Court to a circumstance which I think we should not lose sight of. I allude to a document in the words of the Court of Directors, communicated by letter to the Marquis of Hastings on the 16th of July last. This paper explains their former resolution, passed at the period when his salary and other matters touching him were under their consideration. I could wish to read—

The CHAIRMAN.—I beg to remind the hon. Director, that he is advancing rather too abruptly into the business of the day. Before my hon. Friend proceeds farther, I must state to the Court the special question for discussion, and then give a few explanatory remarks on the additional papers which have been laid on the table for the use of the Proprietors.

Mr. DOUGLAS KINNAIRD.—I likewise wish the requisition, in pursuance of which this Court has been convened, to be read.

The original motion, and the amendment, were then read.

The CHAIRMAN.—I beg to inform the Court, that, on the 16th inst., further papers and documents which relate to the subject now under your consideration were issued. They are laid on the table for the use of the Court.

Mr. Carruthers and Mr. Pattison rose at the same time: the latter Gentleman commenced addressing the Court, but was called to order by Mr. Carruthers, who contended he had risen first.

Mr. PATTISON.—I merely desire the letter of the 16th July to be read. As to the subject of discussion, I do not intend, at present, to offer any observations upon it, but shall reserve myself to a future period: but I considered it proper, as a Director, to let the Proprietors know what the Court of Directors have done in the business. All I wish is, to place the whole information before them.

Mr. WEEDING.—I entirely agree with the hon. Director, as to the propriety of laying before us the fullest investigation on the general question: but I cannot approve of reading any *ex-parte* statement to act as a squib for present effect.

Mr. S. DIXON.—The worthy Director has only requested the reading of a particular paper, which he conceives would throw additional light on the general question, and place the subject on a more rational ground. I cannot think the hon. Director wishes to make

an *ex-parte* statement. He merely calls for a paper calculated to throw further light upon a very intricate subject.

Mr. RIGLEY thought the forms of order ought to be attended to. No Gentleman, (said the hon. Proprietor,) whatever his situation, should be allowed to transgress those forms. It is indisputably incorrect for any Member of this Court to put in one paper at one time, and then call for another and another in this detailed manner.

Mr. D. KINNAIRD.—It is certainly desirable to pay attention to the impartial observance of form. But the Court should not forget the course adopted by the hon. Chairman in the former debate. He, in the first place, made his opening speech, which occupied no inconsiderable portion of time, and ended by moving a proposition. In the course of the same debate, he made another speech, in which he introduced an enormous quantity of documents, the reading of which so fatigued him, that he was obliged to call in the assistance of the Clerk occasionally. (A laugh.) The task was even too hard for one Clerk, and two were placed in requisition. (A laugh.) So that as to the observance of form, the hon. Chairman had set an example against it; and the Court ought to reject the Chairman's example, if they wished not to follow an irregular course.

Mr. FRESHFIELD.—The only thing the Chairman has at present to decide is, whether the hon. Director (Mr. Pattison) is in or out of order. Those Gentlemen who censure the first, and support the last, wish to have two bad precedents instead of one. (Laughter.)

Mr. D. KINNAIRD.—I do not desire to have a bad precedent repeated, but rather to have the regularity of our proceedings restored by not following the example which has been set us.

General THORNTON.—Gentlemen, I beg to state to you the result of a long experience as a Member of the House of Commons. In that place, it is always allowed to call for the reading of any paper connected with the subject of debate, without precluding the Member who calls for it from the privilege of speaking at a future stage of the proceedings. A regulation of that kind is consistent with common sense, as well as convenient in practice. I therefore feel anxious to hear the paper the hon. Director has alluded to. The Court should have all the light that can possibly be thrown on the subject, and the sooner the better.

Mr. PATTISON.—That is my only wish: and if it were decided that my calling for the letter would preclude me from speaking again on the question, I should say that the letter, though short, would be better than any speech of three hours long. The opposition which Mr. Freshfield has offered (if it is allowable to allude to any Member of the Court by name) comes with singular bad grace from him, who has introduced, in like manner, a paper to the Court foreign to the subject-matter of debate, and who, notwithstanding, I know, is prepared to favour us with a long speech on this question. (Hear.) If I have been misinformed of the hon. Member's intention, I ask him, does he not think that he has forfeited the right of making another speech in the course of this debate? if he replies in the affirmative, then I am content to pair off with him. (Hear, hear, hear.)

Mr. FRESHFIELD.—The hon. Director does not state the case quite correctly. When I had the honour of putting a question on a former day to the Chairman, there was no question regularly before the Court. As I was aware of the requisition which had been presented, I merely asked for the production of certain opinions which were reported to be in existence, connected with the subject of the requisition. I did not offer any observations on the question, and it would be unreasonable to refuse me the opportunity of doing so. There is, therefore, no inconsistency in my conduct, nor any reason for bringing my name into a notoriety, for which I have no ambition.

Mr. Carruthers and Mr. Poynder rose, but were unable to make themselves heard, in consequence of loud cries of "Read."

The CHAIRMAN.—The regular course of proceeding is, for me to read the question. But I have no objection to read any particular document if the Court call for it; and when I have done that, I consider Mr. Carruthers to be in possession of the Court.

Mr. RANDLE JACKSON.—The question of who is in possession of the Court is totally distinct from that which is agitated at the present moment. In my opinion, I am in possession of the Court, from the fact of my having risen when we last adjourned. But the Chairman is only now requested to read a particular paper, which, from the information it contains, is supposed will be of use to the Proprietors.

The CHAIRMAN then directed the

Clerk to read the answer of the Court of Directors, dated 15th July 1824, to the letter of the Marquis of Hastings, dated Naples, 24th April. The letter was to the following effect:—"That while the Court of Directors regretted that any pain and anxiety should have been occasioned to his Lordship, by the reserve which they had exhibited, they, at the same time, disclaimed any intention, on their part, to countenance any imputations unfavourable to his Lordship's character. But whilst they made this admission, they were bound to state they could not concur in the doctrine, that they were bound to reply to statements contained in anonymous publications, or to bring a criminal charge against a public functionary, of whom they had expressed an unfavourable opinion."

The document having been read,—
Mr. CARRUTHERS rose and spoke on the question to the following effect:—
Sir, I regret very much that no advance has been made since the adjournment, towards reconciling the conflicting opinions which prevail on this question. I had hoped, that during that interval some step would have been taken for the accomplishment of that object, so that those adverse feelings might have been terminated by some intermediate course, recommended by mutual friends. It is natural to infer, that, since no course of this kind has been adopted, a reconciliation has been found to be impracticable, and I am therefore compelled to the painful duty of entering on the subject; and in so doing I shall endeavour to imitate the conduct of the hon. Proprietor who introduced the original motion, whose temperate manner of bringing it forward has received the gratifying approval of our highest authority. I understood that hon. Proprietor to express a hope that every member would come to the discussion of the subject, after having made himself thoroughly acquainted with the contents of the papers, and having exercised upon them an attention which their importance demands. I trust I have done as much—for the sentiment was candid and liberal. I stand before you, Gentlemen, with the determination of giving my vote on the papers under your consideration, in a deliberate and conscientious manner, divested of passion, of prejudice, or the influence of party. The dread of censure is not to deter me from pursuing this course, unless it be to influence me from avoiding that which would expose me to just animad-

version. It has been said by the hon. Member for Medhurst (Mr. J. Smith), that this question was in his opinion reduced within very narrow limits, since it was admitted on all hands that the Marquis of Hastings was an honourable man. In this opinion, I do not exactly coincide with that hon. Member; true, I believe as he does, that the noble Marquis is an honourable man, but, having admitted this, I am disposed to travel a little further, and ask myself the question, "Do I, or do I not, believe that the Marquis of Hastings, from an unfortunate predilection, through Sir Wm. Rumbold, for the house of Palmer and Co., committed himself in this particular transaction?" To this question I feel compelled to answer "yes." I will go still further and say, "Do I, or do I not, believe the Members of the Court of Directors to be honourable men?" "Yes, I sincerely do;" and moreover, I approve entirely of their political letter to the noble Marquis, which had been brought forward by the hon. Chairman's amendment. The reasons which influence me in coming to this decision, and the evidence on which those reasons rest, I will state to the Court;—and in doing so, I entreat the indulgence of the Court, which I stand in great need of; and I repeat, I will endeavour to imitate the example set by my hon. Friend, (Mr. D. Kiernard) who opened this discussion in so enviable a manner,—in a way so creditable to his feelings and temper. In referring them to the immense mass of papers which have been printed for the use of the Court, I find at page 5, the license which was granted by the Marquis of Hastings in his individual capacity. The reasons which induced the noble Marquis to this proceeding, are therein detailed. The license states, that the Governor-General "has taken into his consideration the benefits resulting to the Government of his Highness the Nizam, and to the commercial interests of the territories of his said Highness, and of the neighbouring provinces of the Honourable the East India Company, from the transactions and dealings of the firm of Messrs. Wm. Palmer and Co. established at Hyderabad, in the territories of his said Highness, and is of opinion that the maintenance and extension of the dealings and transactions of the said firm of Palmer and Co. are a fit object of the encouragement and countenance of the British Government." Now, it is evident, from the words of

this license, that the purpose of granting it was to promote "the benefit resulting to the Government of his Highness the Nizam," and not to form any exclusive benefit to the house of Palmer and Co. In travelling through these intricate transactions, I implore the Court to pay particular attention to dates. Now this license was granted in direct contravention of an act of Parliament, the 18th of Geo. III. which was passed to prevent British subjects from engaging in money transactions with the native powers of India, in consequence of that practice having proved to be productive of great mischief, and crying injustice. Yet did the Marquis of Hastings grant this license to the firm of Messrs. Palmer and Co., and to go by the wording of it,—grant it for the advantage of the British Government, and for the benefit of his Highness the Nizam. Great opposition was expressed,—among the Council of the Governor-General, to the adopting of this measure; and, to obviate the dangers which were anticipated to result from this specific contract, another plan was proposed: you will find at page 45 of the papers a minute of Council, dated 17th June, 1820, at the end of which the Governor-General writes—"I recur, then, to my position, that they who impugn the plan are under the obligation of this alternative:—They must record that they think the existing distresses and apprehended subversion of the Nizam's Government a less evil than the possible consequences of the projected remedy, or they must show some other practicable course, through which the Minister can effect what we have enjoined." It likewise appears that, subsequently to this, both Mr. Adam and Mr. Stuart wished the adoption of a different plan for adjusting the Nizam's affairs, than that which was proposed to be effected by means of Messrs. Palmer and Co.; and they argued, naturally enough, that as the business was intended for the service of the Nizam, and not of that of Messrs. Palmer and Co., a plan more in accordance with reason should be adopted. Those gentlemen therefore made each of them a proposition for adoption in preference to the license. One of these propositions was to advance the money which was deemed necessary to settle the shipwrecked concerns of the Nizam, out of the treasury of Bengal, and advanced on the secured revenues of the Nizam's territory. This was not put in execution, in consequence of

the Marquis of Hastings taking the opinion of the Advocate-General (Mr. Spankie) on the point of law as to the legality of putting such a scheme in force. I shall not stop to inquire into the manner in which the question was framed by his Lordship, or whether, had it been differently drawn up, a different opinion would have been elicited. I shall turn to page 53 of the papers, and there will be found the minute of Mr. Adam, of the 12th July, 1820. In this minute Mr. Adam still expresses great anxiety that the transactions should take place through some other channel than that of the house of Palmer and Co. He says, "I am concerned to find that the plan of assisting the Nizam's Government, by a loan from the British treasury, is viewed with such repugnance by the Governor-General. I certainly did not conceive it to be open to the objections urged by his Lordship and Mr. Fendall, nor on any other grounds materially exceptionable, and with the utmost deference for the authority that has pronounced against it, I must continue to regard it as preferable, in every point of view, to the measure recommended by the Resident at Hyderabad. I imagine Rajah Chundloo Loll to entertain too just a confidence in our good faith, and in the sincerity with which we are co-operating with him in the reform of the administration at Hyderabad, to suspect us of any insidious design, in tendering the loan directly from ourselves." And what plan was this? It was to raise the money for the service of the Nizam by a competition among the monied interest at Calcutta, and there being then a glut of money in the Indian markets, Messrs. Adam and Stuart conceived that a loan might be raised at Calcutta, on very advantageous terms: for whom? Not, to be sure, for the house of Palmer and Co., but for the Nizam's Government.

Mr. D. KINNAIRD. Pray in what year was that glut of money at Calcutta?

Mr. CARRUTHERS. In 1820; but the force of my argument does not depend on that fact. My object is to show what different opinions the members of the Council entertained on the subject.

Mr. D. KINNAIRD. I only wish you to state the date of the glut of money at Calcutta, for I am prepared to dispute the fact at the time you mention.

Mr. CARRUTHERS. I get my information from No. 46, and 14th and 15th paragraph of the minute of Mr.

Stuart. I think the year stated was 1820. I request, however, I may not again be interrupted; as I am unused to public speaking, I hope to be allowed to proceed with my argument. It was thought, I repeat, by the members of Council I have named, that an open competition was the most preferable plan of raising the loan, since it was avowed to be for the relief of the Nizam from his pecuniary embarrassments, and they anticipated, from the glut of money then in the markets, that it might be raised on very advantageous terms. (Hear, from Mr. Kinnaird.) There was at least some reason in this plan. But you will see, by referring to the Marquis of Hastings's minute, inserted in page 206, that the Marquis of Hastings still opposed every measure proposed to relieve the distresses of the Nizam, unless by giving the exclusive privilege to the firm of Messrs. Palmer and Co. The noble Marquis says—"There, then, only remains, what Mr. Adam still thinks feasible without a guarantee, the raising the loan at a cheap rate of interest from the monied men of Calcutta. I can have no objection whatever to the trial, if the persons invited to subscribe shall be given to understand, that they are not to look to this Government for a particle of support, in the event of the Nizam's breach of faith with them. I must not be made indirectly the cause of any Shroff subscribing his money on a fallacious security. There must be no supposition, that although Government professes not to pledge any support, it would, in the hour of need, shield the creditors from any laxity on the part of the Nizam's Government." I cannot, I repeat, comprehend the reason of the Marquis's persevering in his determination to grant the exclusive privilege to the house of Palmer and Co. Further on, in the same minute, the noble Marquis writes, that desirous of its being understood that the purpose of granting the license was for the benefit of the Nizam, and not of Messrs. Palmer and Co., "It would be required by me that the persons who negotiated the loan should be brought to me by the political Secretary, who should in my presence explain to them, that in no possible case would the interposition of this Government be exerted for them, and that the Resident would be enjoined by an order from the Governor-General in Council conformably to the commands of the honourable Court, relative to the loan of Messrs. Palmer and Co.), not even

to employ good offices for them with the Minister. That a loan would be procured here after such an indispensable explanation, other than at an interest which would utterly defeat the object, seems to me a visionary hope. If Mr. Adam continues to think the arrangement practicable, I trust he will take such steps as may ascertain whether it be so or not. I repeat that I have no objection to the attempt, but should wish it to be successful, provided I assure myself no one is taken in by a misconception of the ground on which he would have to stand." I cannot but observe I am still at a loss to reconcile the line of conduct adopted by the noble Marquis with what I conceive to be the propriety of the case. I have devoted all the time I could spare from my avocations, and the pressure of my business in the day, to the reading of these papers. I sat myself down to read them over during the night with the utmost patience and assiduity, and when I arrived at page 733, I was almost tempted to throw the book away in disgust, for I found that at that part I ought to have begun, instead of finishing my task as I expected. I feel that I am bound to follow the letter written by the noble Marquis to Sir Wm. Rumbold on the 4th January, 1825, and I think, that although that document is considered in the light of a private letter—

Mr. D. KINNAIRD. No! it is a public one.

Mr. CARRUTHERS continued. I thought I owed an excuse for reading it. The letter begins in the following way :—

"My dear Sir William,
"The account you have given of the house of Palmer and Co. at Hyderabad, is very favourable, and certainly the details justify your inclination for going to that city in order to inspect the books. I enclose you a letter to the Resident, couched in terms which will ensure to you his attentions and most earnest good offices." (I don't certainly quarrel with his Lordship for using his good offices thus far.) "The partners speculate that your being one of the firm will interest me in the welfare of the house, to a degree which may be materially beneficial to them: it is a fair and honest calculation." (It seems the Governor-General did not fail to weigh the value of his patronage, any less than the others. But I cannot help admiring the free and candid expression of opinion made use of by the noble Marquis in the following pas-

sage.) "The amount of the advantage which the countenance of Government may bestow must be uncertain, as I apprehend it would flow principally from the opinion the natives would entertain of the respect likely to be paid by their own Government to an establishment known to stand well in the favour of the supreme authority here." But to come to the latter part of the letter, I do sincerely confess it has a strong influence upon my mind. Its importance—

Mr. HUME. That is not in the letter.

Mr. CARRUTHERS. I beg I may not be interrupted. "Perhaps a more distinct benefit may attend the firm, from the consequent discouragement to competition with you, by any other British partnership."—("Read on," from Mr. Hume.) I again request I may be allowed to proceed without interruption.

Mr. HUME. Why do you read half a sentence and then stop? Why not reserve your comment until you have finished the whole sentence.

Mr. CARRUTHERS. Allow me to proceed in my own way in reading this next passage—"by any other British partnership to which a similarly professed sanction would not be granted." And why not, I would ask, why not, if it were for the benefit of the Nizam? ("Go on," from Mr. Kinnaid, "and the next sentence will tell you.") I really cannot go on, if I am interrupted after this manner. Can any man read that passage, without feeling a conviction in his mind, that the noble Marquis intended to prevent a fair competition with the merchants of Calcutta. This conclusion cannot be avoided. The last paragraph was expressed in the following words,—"It is on the ground of the service to the Nizam, at the request of our Resident, that I have consented to let the good wishes of Government for the prosperity of this firm be signified. No new establishment could have such a plea." Why not? I ask again, if it was all intended for the Nizam's good, and not for the exclusive privilege of Messrs. Palmer and Co. (Cries of hear.) I beg to repeat the expression,—"It is on the ground of the service to the Nizam, at the request of our Resident." I beseech hon. Gentlemen to pay particular attention to the words, "at the request of our Resident." If we refer to the second page of these papers, we shall see how his Lordship was borne out in the observations he here makes; I allude to the letter of the Resident,

enclosing one from Messrs. Palmer and Co., which solicited the countenance of the Government. The Resident remarks—"The establishment of a commercial firm at Hyderabad, framed upon the principles, and conducted in the spirit, of an English house of business, will, I have no doubt, prove a source of general convenience and benefit." Now, it does not appear that the Resident requested the Governor-General to confer an exclusive privilege on the house of Palmer and Co., and the noble Marquis is not, therefore, I contend, borne out in his statement. I would again call the attention of the Court to the concluding paragraph of that most unfortunately fatal letter of the Marquis to Sir W. Rumbold. The whole transaction hinges on that, and it is conclusive against certain parties. (Cries of hear.) What reason could induce the noble Marquis for asserting that "no new establishment could have such a plea?"

Mr. D. KINNAIRD. The reason evidently was because the house of Palmer and Co. had already rendered services.

Mr. CARRUTHERS. Ay, but no such exclusive privilege was sought for by the Resident at Hyderabad for that house; I repeat, he did not ask for it. Why should any new establishment be cut off from such a plea? Why not have the power of obtaining the same privilege and protection? In that unfortunate letter there is evidence, the most complete and decisive, of the error of the Marquis of Hastings, in suffering himself to bestow this exclusive privilege on the firm of Messrs. Palmer and Co., out of regard to Sir W. Rumbold. This Court, I conceive, stands in the situation, in this case, of a grand jury, and, to furnish grounds for us to go upon, I would desire no better evidence than this letter. But, to return to the papers before the Court, I observe, that the political letter, written by the noble Marquis to the Court of Directors on the 20th Oct. 1822, contains a vast number of affidavits obtained for his justification in the transactions respecting the Nizam. In that political letter the noble Marquis speaks of "voluntary affidavits;" and, I assure the Court, I thought I was treading on burning lava when I entered upon those parts of the documents. I should feel happy to hear some explanation on this head. (Hear, hear.) At page 376 I find the political letter of the Court of Directors, dated 24th January, 1824, in which this passage occurs.—"Considering the de-

ceptive affidavit voluntarily tendered by Mr. William Palmer and Sir William Rumbold, and the delusive character of other statements furnished by the house, we are afraid that little reliance can be placed on the account-current which may be prepared by them in compliance with your requisition." But we shall see in what way the conduct of the Governor-General justified the course of proceeding adopted by the Court of Directors. The nature of the subject I have to handle is such that I am obliged to pass backward and forward among these papers. I will then pass again to the letter of Lord Hastings to Sir Wm. Rumbold, at page 735, in which the noble Marquis states—"I apprised you long ago, that it was expedient for the firm to define upon oath, whether or not any British public functionary had at any time had pecuniary transactions with the house, which could influence him in countenancing your dealings with the Nizam's Government." After this, I beg you to turn to page 158, to the affidavit which is dated 26th June 1821, sixteen days after the date of this letter. On the subject of this affidavit, there is one very material question to be asked. Before whom was it sworn? But I will first read the affidavit itself. It is as follows:—"We, the undersigned William Palmer and William Rumbold, do hereby make oath, and declare, that the partners of our house at Hyderabad, called by the name of Wm. Palmer and Co. are as follow, Wm. Palmer, Esq. Sir Wm. Rumbold, Bart. Hastings Palmer, Esq. George Lamb, Esq. and Bunketty Dos; and that no other persons of any description have, directly or indirectly, any partnership with us, or any interest in any concerns, beyond such as the public has in every other house of agency. We further declare, that no public functionary, at the head of any public office or department, ever had any avowed or direct partnership, directly or indirectly, with us, or any interest in our concerns, which could influence him in countenancing our dealings with the Nizam's Government, or give him any means of deriving any personal advantage from them.—We think it proper to add, that several individuals, natives and Europeans, who supported us with their capital at the commencement of our establishment, did, in consequence of such accommodation to us, derive benefits from our house. These were, however, such

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as we gave them from private friendship, or a sense of private and pecuniary obligations to them; but we repeat, that although we made this declaration for the purpose of being perfectly explicit, no person or resident at the head of any public office or department of Government, or any one to whom we looked for public support or influence, have had any such benefit; and that no persons, of any description, but the above named partners of our house, have been associated with us in any way, since the time we first entered into treaty for the loan we negotiated for the Nizam's Government." This affidavit is stated to have been sworn before Mr. Hans Sotheby, Assistant Resident at Hyderabad. I am compelled, however painfully, to remark upon this fact, which has been mixed up in this unfortunate business—that Mr. Sotheby was a partner in the house. That gentleman, of course, was aware of the contents of the affidavit, and yet he allowed it to be sworn that he did not belong to the firm. It is a very painful task for me to have to make these reflections. At page 711, in that same memorial of Mr. Sotheby's, we will find that he admits, he was a partner in the firm before Sir W. Rumbold joined it. His words are, that "the proposal originated in the private and personal friendship of Mr. Palmer, who was only desirous of stipulating on one hand, that he should not suffer any possible loss which might accrue, and on the other was desirous that the advantage which the business might derive from the extension of its capital in the sum advanced by your memorialist, should be enjoyed by him." Mr. Sotheby justifies himself in forming the original connexion, as a means of doing justice to his creditors, and for relieving himself from embarrassments, which prudence and economy were insufficient, at a former period, to overcome in a most expensive part of India. I must again beg the Court to recollect, that in this statement there is not only an admission of the partnership which Mr. Sotheby had in the concern, but that that gentleman knew what the affidavit contained, and still allowed it to be sworn before him. We will now proceed to page 716, to the 19th paragraph of this memorial, and we shall see that the Marquis of Hastings was not ignorant of his being a partner in the firm before Sir William Rumbold joined it; but also knew him to remain so subsequently, and yet,

with the knowledge of his having signed that affidavit, did his Lordship appoint him the Government Agent at Moorshedabad. In the course of this debate, it has been said, the Marquis of Hastings has been represented as a great warrior and a statesman. I fully acknowledge the eminence of the services of that great man, and agree that they have placed his name on the pedestal of honour, covered with military renown, and clothed with stars and ribbands most deservedly won. It was a painful reflection, that these transactions have shed a dim cloud over the lustre of such fame. This was equally unfortunate for the Nizam as for his Lordship; for the Nizam participated in the general loss sustained by all who had embarked their capital in the firm of Palmer and Co. From all I have as yet stated to you, the question does not appear to be what are, or what are not, the claims upon your consideration in behalf of Messrs. Palmer and Co. Such claims ought to be brought forward in a specific form, and I would be one of the first to do that firm justice, if justice has not been dealt out to them. My motto is *ad rem*, and not *ad hominem*, and I trust I shall always be found on the side of justice. I beg it likewise to be understood that I have read the protest put forth by the honourable Directors who have dissented from the majority. With all respect for the opinions of those gentlemen, I must be permitted to say that their protest had no more to do with the question which occupies this Court, than had the programme of Lord Hastings, which omits entirely the private letter,—a document of the utmost importance in this discussion. In adverting to the debate on a former day, I cannot help feeling surprised at the declaration of the hon. Proprietor (Mr. Hume) in favour of an exclusive privilege. I have always been accustomed to identify that hon. Gentleman's name with every thing liberal and comprehensive in a commercial view. I always took him for the decided enemy of jobs, the opposer of corruption wherever it showed itself, and of sinecures wherever they were found to exist. It was on these grounds that I thought the hon. Gentleman rested his claim, and justly, on public approbation, (Hear, hear, from Mr. Hume,) and on public confidence. I considered him as always being looked up to as the sworn enemy of usurious loans and exclusive contracts, and as the uniform opponent, through-

out his political career, of all restrictive systems, and was consequently quite astonished when I heard the line of argument taken by the hon. Gentleman, a position so much at variance with his previously acknowledged sentiments, and which renders him, if not the advocate, at least the apologist, of usurious loans and exclusive privileges, in the particular case of the transactions between Messrs. Palmer and Co. and the Nizam. This inconsistency, I own, astonishes me exceedingly; but wonders will never cease, I now revert to the question which I intended to ask myself this day, and in so doing I shall follow the example of the hon. Member for Medhurst (Mr. J. Smith.) Do I or do I not believe the Marquis of Hastings to be an honourable man? My answer is, I firmly believe he is an honourable man. Do I or do I not believe that the Marquis of Hastings, from an unfortunate spirit of favouritism for the firm of Messrs. Palmer and Co., arising in his mind from his connexion with Sir William Rumbold, conferred an unjustifiable license to Messrs. Palmer; to the prejudice of other British establishments? To this question my reply is, that I do believe he did. But I ought to put another question, and say, Do I or do I not believe the other members of the Council in India to be honourable men? Again my reply is, I do so. And now I cannot refrain from expressing my astonishment at the threat held out by the hon. Member for Aberdeen. (Mr. Hume) I am both astonished and surprised at it—astonished at the boldness of the notion to impeach Mr. Adam,—a proceeding quite unjustified by any thing I have ever heard or read of that Gentleman; and surprised, because I am aware of the tact and talent in debate of the hon. Member, and should not think he would have held out the threat without having any intention of following it up, (and if he did not, it is the height of ingenerosity to hold it out.) I predict, however, that if an impeachment of that Gentleman should take place, arising out of this inquiry, he will pass through the ordeal with honour, pure and untainted. My last interrogatory, another one on which I intend to pronounce my verdict, is this, Do I or do I not believe, that the Court of Directors stand justified in their proceedings in this affair, and in their political letters, which were transmitted in consequence of it, upon the evidence set forth in these documents? I answer decidedly "Yes," I believe

they do; and I add, that, did they not stand so justified, they would have forfeited all claims on confidence, and would have infringed their oath of office. I consider them entitled to the grateful thanks of this Court for their conduct in that affair, and call on all the Proprietors who are present in this crowded Court to give them their support, which they have a just claim to, for the wisdom with which they have proceeded throughout this arduous question.—(Hear, hear.)

Sir John Doyle, Mr. Poynder, and Mr. Russell, rose at the same moment.

MR. POYNDER.—I merely desire to have the Resolution of the 3d March 1824. read.

The Resolution, in the following words, was then read by the Clerk:—“That there be laid before this Court all such papers and documents respecting the loans made by Palmer and Co. of Hyderabad, to his Highness the Nizam, as may enable this Court to decide on the merits of any claim which the Marquis of Hastings may have on the further liberality of the Company.”

Sir JOHN DOYLE.—My intention in rising, Sir, was to address you on the question before the Court, but as I observe an hon. Proprietor (Mr. Russell) has risen with the same object, and with a claim preferable to mine, for he means to speak in defence of his own character, I therefore willingly waive my right of precedence, and give way to the hon. Proprietor.

MR. RUSSELL then rose and said.—Sir, when this debate began on Friday last, I had not the honour of being a member of this Court; nor should I have been so now, but for the terms in which my name was mentioned on that occasion. Sir, I do not complain of the passages which were read from the printed papers, for them I had seen, and so far as I thought necessary, I had answered. But, Sir, I do complain of the introduction of the opinions of the Attorney-General and the Company's Counsel, into the speech of the hon. Chairman. (Hear, hear.) Sir, the facts which formed the basis of those opinions are either assumed and asserted to exist, or they are hypothetically stated for the purpose of explaining what the law would be if the facts were proved. If they are asserted to exist, the assertion has been made not only without adequate grounds, but without any grounds,—(Hear.)—not only without proof, but without evidence: (Hear, hear.) it has

been made upon the bare statements and insinuations of individuals, who can be considered in no other light than as partisans deeply committed to one side, and deeply interested in advocating and enforcing their own particular view of the question. (Hear, hear.) If the facts are hypothetically stated, then they are entitled to just as much weight, and to no more than any hypothetical conjecture of any hypothetical person on any hypothetical occasion, (Hear.) which, in plain English, is to no weight at all. (Hear, hear.) The object of an opinion of Counsel is to explain the law upon the point at issue; and to suggest the ground to be taken, and the course to be pursued in bringing the question to trial. But, Sir, when your Counsel tells you that you have no ground to stand upon;—that you cannot venture into Court; that you dare not look a jury in the face, is his opinion to usurp the force of every form and order of judicial function? (Hear) Is it to supply the place of accusation, proof, conviction, and punishment? (Hear.) Is it to be made the vehicle and instrument of libel? (Hear) Is a man on such grounds to be denounced to the world as the dupe or the abettor of a conspiracy to defraud? (Hear, hear.) The proposition is not to be tolerated; and if the ground on which I stand is English ground, I have only to state it to expose it to universal abhorrence. (Loud cheers.) I protest against both the principle and the practice. The opinion of Counsel is necessarily confined to a partial and limited view; it is framed upon the case which is laid before him; and if I were allowed to frame my own case, and the power now assumed were given to a mere opinion of counsel, I would undertake to usurp the possession of any estate in England, and to lay the character of any individual prostrate in the dirt. (Loud cheers.) When the vote for printing the Hyderabad papers was passed near a year ago, I applied to the Court of Directors that I might be allowed to have access to them for the purpose of vindicating my own character. There could no longer be any pretext for concealment. The publication had been ordered, and some of the papers were actually in the printer's hands. I thought that if my request were not granted, from bare justice at least, it should be granted out of consideration to an old servant. (Hear, hear.) If that request had been granted, I should have transmitted my vindication to the

Court of Directors, and it would have been printed by them along with the other papers. In that case I should have been spared much that I have since been called upon to do, and I should not have been required on the present occasion to trouble the Court with the various details into which I am now about to enter. (Hear, hear.) I have, Sir, read and examined the papers with as much diligence and attention as any member of this Court, and certainly with advantages of local knowledge and experience which nobody but myself can possess. The Company's Counsel has said that the charges alleged against the house of William Palmer and Co. cannot be proved. Now, Sir, I will undertake to disprove them on the evidence of the papers printed by the Court of Directors; and I stand here prepared to vindicate the transactions with which my name has been mixed up against the aspersions that have been cast upon them. (Hear.) If those transactions had been such as they have been represented, my voice would have been the first and the loudest to be raised against them. (Hear.) The main charge is, that the sixty-lac loan negotiated by W. Palmer and Co. in 1820, was a fraud and a fiction. The Company's Counsel has assumed that it was from first to last a fictitious transaction, and that the parties engaged in it were guilty of a conspiracy to defraud. (Hear, hear.) With that charge, Sir, I shall begin. It has been advanced on two grounds: It has been asserted both that the loan was composed of unsanctioned balances, which were transferred for the purpose of covering them with the sanction of the British Government, and that no cash payments whatever were made on account of the loan. Now, Sir, I undertake to show, and any Gentleman who has made himself acquainted with the accounts among the printed papers, will recognise the accuracy of my statement; first, that when the loan began, the house of W. Palmer and Co. had not one shilling of unsanctioned balances on their books against the Nizam. (Hear.) And secondly, that the loan was mainly composed of actual advances in cash. (Hear, hear.) The arithmetical details into which I am about to enter, I take from Sir W. Rumbold's letter to the Court of Directors; but I desire it to be understood, that I do not take them on the credit of the writer alone. I have myself verified the calculations,

and I now state them on my own voucher of their accuracy. (Hear.) At the time the negotiation of the loan was entered into, the house of W. Palmer and Co. had three separate accounts with the Nizam's Government. It has been objected, I understand, that the transactions of the house were entered in more accounts than one; but that was unavoidable. The accounts were not kept according to the pleasure of the house, but to suit the financial arrangements of the Nizam's Government. Different transactions had originated at different times; they were to be charged upon different districts, or to be provided for by different persons; and if they had all been entered in one account at first, the Minister would have had to distribute them into different accounts. It was more convenient to him, therefore, that they should be entered at once in the accounts to which they severally belonged. Those three accounts were, the Berar Suwar account, the Aurungabad account, and that called the Hyderabad account: the first of them related to the expenses incurred by the Nizam, in equipping and bringing into the field a body of irregular cavalry, which he organized at my recommendation, at the time when the war with the Pindarees and Mahrattas was approaching. Now, it is quite evident, that unless adequate provision had been made for the support of these troops, their services would have been of no avail. The great misery of the troops of native Governments in India is, that they are not regularly paid, and are consequently in want of food. (Hear.) This constitutes the great superiority of the British over the native troops; for the first being assured of regular pay, act with more steady and determined valour, and more perfect discipline. (Hear, hear.) The same means which were applied so well to the British troops, have been, with equal advantage, provided for the native troops of India; and the result has been, that we have, at this day, in our Indian territory, whole regiments composed of black faces, ready to stand or fall with officers who have white ones. (Loud and continued cries of 'Hear.') So much for the first account. When this transaction began, I reported it to Government. I will not trouble the Court by reading that to which, I presume, most of its members are already acquainted. I mean, the answer of the Government approving the proposition. Sir, I know

not whether there be now in Court any military officer who served in this campaign, with any branch of the Deccan army; but if there be, to him I confidently appeal, to bear testimony to the services of those troops. I would ask him, whether, on every occasion, they did not conduct themselves like brave and active soldiers?

Colonel FITZCLARENCE here observed:—Mr. Chairman, after the appeal which has been made, I cannot, as an officer who served in India at the period in question, omit this opportunity of stating, that I never, in my life, saw better or braver troops. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. RUSSELL continued.—I am much obliged, Sir, to the gallant Officer for the honourable testimony he has thus borne to the excellence of those troops. This particular corps, though it formed one body of the Nizam's cavalry, was yet composed of a vast number of small parties, (as all the troops of the native princes are,) each under a separate command, and receiving pay from its own immediate proprietor. These were, perhaps, fifty or sixty in number, and many of them did not possess the funds necessary for the regular payment of the men. I therefore prevailed on the Nizam's Minister to take upon himself the immediate payment of the troops, and to settle with the several subordinate officers in the best manner he could. This method was not only the most simple and easy in itself, but it was the only one by which regularity could be secured. It would have caused the Minister great embarrassment if those accounts had been mixed up and confounded with others. I now come, Sir, to the Aurungabad arrangement, which originated thus: Captain Sydenham, the political agent in Berar had repeatedly complained that the troops were not paid regularly; and, Sir, from my own experience, I was convinced that if they were not paid well they would not fight well. (Hear.) Captain Sydenham proposed to Mr. Palmer to enter into an agreement for this purpose. Mr. Palmer stated it to me; observing at the same time, and I gave him credit for the statement, that in adopting the arrangement he did not anticipate any immediate advantage to his establishment; but as the measure would be useful to the service and acceptable to the English Government, he probably might, on that ground, be considered entitled to future support. The money in this case was to be raised by

assignments on certain districts in the Nizam's territories. These troops belonged to Berar, and it was necessary that the accounts relating to them should be kept separate. The only remaining account was that of Hyderabad, which comprised all the various miscellaneous payments made to the Minister at Hyderabad. By the printed papers, it appears that on the 16th of Feb. 1820, when the loan began, the balances on their amount were as follow:

Balance due to the	
house at Aurungabad.	Rs. 19,50,826 6 6
Dr. for Berar Suwars.	18,36,825 12 3

37,87,652 2 9

And on the Hyderabad amount, instead of there being any balance due to the house by the Minister, a balance is due by the house to the Minister, of—rupees 1,36,620 12 9. The Aurungabad arrangement did not appear to give satisfaction, and long discussions took place in Council respecting its expediency. The result was, that I was directed to call on Mr. Palmer for a statement in figures of particular parts of the accounts. Sir William Rumbold was at this time at Calcutta, and on hearing of the demand, he addressed the Government, protesting against the principle of calling upon a mercantile establishment to give up its accounts, to be discussed, recorded, and transmitted to England. This was Sir W. Rumbold's opinion; but Mr. Palmer thought differently. He said, that if a discussion was to be raised, this was the very point on which he should wish to invite it; and that instead of confining himself to the limited information which had been called for, he was desirous of being allowed to transmit through me a complete and detailed copy of all the accounts. (Hear, hear.) "I know," he said, "that serious discussions have taken place in Calcutta, upon our affairs, but I am so perfectly satisfied of the justice and integrity of these transactions, that if they will not stand the test of examination, nothing will." (Hear, hear.) These accounts, Sir, were forwarded by me to Calcutta, and they were subsequently sent back to me, with directions to return them to Mr. Palmer. It appeared, however, that before this they had been circulated amongst the members of the Government, and they had evidently been examined; for when they came back to me I observed some pencil

marks on the backs of them, which proved that some person had taken the trouble to examine and compare them. Now, although these accounts were laid before the Government of Calcutta, and the arrangement approved, yet it has since been asserted that the rate of interest was not known. This, Sir, is utterly incomprehensible; for the accounts current were accompanied by detailed interest accounts; and at the top of every page the rate of interest was particularly specified at full length. (Hear, hear.) And Mr. Fendall, in one of his minutes, expressly states the interest on the Aurungabad account to have been 24 per cent. If Mr. Fendall recorded this at the Board, and his statement passed without remark or observation,—if the rate of interest was exhibited at the top of every page, could it be said that the Government were kept in the dark as to the grant? (Cheers.) When the loan was made, there were due to Palmer and Co., from the Minister on the Aurungabad and the Berar Suwar accounts, as I have stated, rupees 37,87,652; but on the Hyderabad account, the house owed the Minister 1,36,020 rupees, and they held at the same time *tunkas* or assignments, which were afterwards realized to the amount of rupees 10,56,711; the two sums making a total of rupees 11,92,742, which, deducted from rupees 37,87,652, left a balance on the actual account of rupees 25,94,910, as due from the Minister to Palmer and Co. in February 1820; and no portion of this balance was an unsanctioned balance. The Government knew for what the money had been paid; they knew to what purposes it had been applied; and they knew the rate of interest which was charged by the house. The Aurungabad and Berar Suwar accounts, on which these 25 lacs of rupees were due, had not only been sanctioned by Government, but they had been sanctioned at the interest of 24 per cent. What benefit then, I ask, could the house of Palmer and Co. derive from the transfer of these balances to the loan? The only effect of such a transfer would be a loss to them of 6 per cent. without the bonus of 3½ per cent. with it. To the Nizam it was a decided advantage, and not an injury, that the balances should be transferred; his advantage being manifestly proportioned to the reduction in the rate of interest. Having said thus much to show that the loan was not composed of unsanctioned balances, I

will now advert to the elements of which it was composed. It is asserted in the correspondence printed in the Hyderabad papers, that no cash payments were made on this loan,—that it was totally and utterly a fiction,—and that, in fact, nothing had been paid on it; but it will be seen on referring to the accounts in pages 620, 621, 622, 623, and 624 of those papers, of which a summary is given at page 26 of Sir W. Rumbold's letter, that upwards of 38 lacs of rupees were paid in cash. (Hear, hear.) These payments comprehended the period from the middle of February to the end of August. But it has, I understand, been contended, that the payments, during the first three months, ought not to be included in this account of the loan, as the sanction of Government was not applied for until May. Sir, the making of the loan is one thing, and the sanctioning of it another; and it by no means follows, because the house did not discover until May that the Government was prepared to entertain their application for a sanction, that, therefore, they may not have made conditional advances on account of the loan in the preceding months of February, March, and April. But, Sir, even admitting that May is to be taken for the beginning of the loan, only 5 lacs will be excluded, and even then it will appear that the actual cash payments made in the months of May, June, July, and August, amounted to no less a sum than 34 lacs of rupees. I cannot allow this objection to be reasonable; but even admitting that it were so, the accounts still furnish a complete and satisfactory answer to the charge, that the loan was fictitious, and that no cash payments whatever had been made. (Hear, hear.) Allow me, Sir, here to call the attention of the Court to one remarkable fact, which, I think, will clearly prove that the loan was a real and substantive transaction, and in no respect fictitious:—In Sir William Rumbold's letter, page 27, an account is given of the advances made by Palmer and Co. to the Nizam, in the years 1815, 1816, 1817, 1818, and 1819, being the five years preceding that in which the loan was made. It appears that in that period, a sum of rupees 42,41,542 was advanced by the house of Palmer and Co. to the Minister, being at the average of rupees 8,48,308 in each of those five years, or rupees 4,24,154 in each half year; while, in the six months of the loan, from February to August

1820, a sum of upwards of 40 lacs of rupees, ten times the amount of the former average, was advanced. If the loan were not the cause of this ten-fold increase of payments as compared with former years, it must be accounted for in some other way; and I should be glad to learn, Sir, in what other manner it can be accounted for. (Cheers.) As yet I have not heard of any attempt of the kind being made. Nor did this increased rate of advances occur after the loan. It began with it, and ended with it, and belonged exclusively to it. (Cheers.) I have already shown, that in the six months from February to August, Palmer and Co. had paid, in cash, a sum of 38 lacs of rupees to the Nizam's Minister, and it is not a little remarkable, that when that Minister was called upon by Sir C. Metcalfe to state what sums he had received from the House, he mentioned the identical sum of 38 lacs. (Hear.) I know not any reason the Minister could have had, at that time, for giving a false or fabricated account of the transaction. No cause whatever has been adduced to warrant the supposition, that he spoke on that occasion any thing but the truth. At two subsequent periods, the Minister gave the same account of the sum received by him in cash. He always stated that this was the actual amount of the cash-payments which he had received at Hyderabad on account of the loan. When first called upon, he gave an account of the application of 67 lacs of rupees; and this assertion was eagerly laid hold of, as a proof that his statement was incorrect. How, it was contended, can any reliance be placed on the statement of a man who, having alleged that he had raised a loan of 60 lacs, of which 8 were bonus, renders an account according to what he had expended, 67? Sir, the error was not in the Minister who made the statement, but in those who misunderstood it. I appeal to two Gentlemen eminently skilled in the Persian language, whom I see within the bar, to support the accuracy of my assertion, that there is no word in that language which bears the limited and technical interpretation which we annex to the term "loan." *Qaz*, which signifies "debt," generally, is the word which would be used, and which, unquestionably, was used by the Minister on the occasion now referred to. (Mr. Edmonstone and Col. Baillie intimated their assent.) The account he rendered was

an account, not the application of the sixty-lac loan, but of the whole of the sums which I had, at various times, borrowed from Palmer and Co. In this statement, it appears by the printed accounts, that he was quite correct. (Hear, hear.) When he was afterwards asked how much had been received, and he understood the inquiry to relate specifically to the loan, he answered, that he had received—

At Hyderabad Rs.	38,54,957	1	9
At Ayrungabad	13,45,042	14	3

Making 52,00,000 0 0

To which, if eight lacs of *bonus* be added, there was, at once, the whole amount of the loan. It was, however, discovered by Sir C. Metcalfe, that the Minister some time afterwards explained, in an account of his reductions, that he had applied eleven lacs to paying off the arrears due to troops discharged. From this, Sir C. Metcalfe chooses to infer, that because the Minister had applied eleven lacs to that particular purpose, therefore he had applied nothing to any other purpose, and that for any good end, eleven lacs were the whole amount of the loan. Consequently, in the progress of objections, the first was, that the loan consisted of too much; the second, that it consisted of too little; and soon afterwards it was asserted, that it consisted of nothing at all. (Hear, hear, and a laugh.) Now, really, Sir, when gentlemen assume the province of judging, and come forward confidently, on occasions like the present, where the fortunes, and, what are still dearer to them, the characters, of individuals are at stake, it is intolerable that they should be suffered to proceed upon these crude, vague, and inconsistent conjectures. (Loud cheers from the left side of the Court, and a cry of order from the opposite side.)

Mr. RUSSELL, apparently supposing that the cry of order was addressed to him, said, "That he conceived he was entirely in order;" and was proceeding to justify his course, when

A PROPRIETOR (we believe Sir J. Sewell), rose on the right side and said, "You are perfectly in order, Sir. You are speaking very much to the purpose; and our only wish is, that we may not be prevented from hearing you."

Mr. RUSSELL resumed. — What I meant to say, Sir, was, that when we see persons objecting in different ways to the same transaction, it is reasonable to conclude that their objections, which

are inconsistent with one another, are also inconsistent with the truth. (Hear, hear.) In addition to the 38 lacs of rupees, 49,275 rupees were charged to the Minister in the account of the loan for jewellery, and 97,513 for miscellaneous purchases. These sums run through the same six months I have already spoken of. The amount of them is so inconsiderable, that it can have no effect in mitigating the loan. Yet, even supposing it were deemed objectionable that the sum charged for jewellery and miscellaneous articles should be included, and that the whole payment were required to have been made in money, was there any thing which could have been done with greater facility? What could be more easy than to pay rupees with one hand, and afterwards receive them back for the articles in question with the other? The sum charged for jewellery is less than half a lac of rupees; and even to that small amount, it must not be supposed, that Chundoo Loll bought the jewels for his own use and applied them to bedizen himself or his wife. Any gentleman in this Court, who happens to have seen that Minister, will admit that no man ever dressed more plainly. He generally wore a simple white dress with plain leather shoes, divested of every thing like glitter or ornament. On particular occasions of ceremony at Court, in order to show his respect to the Nizam, he wore a string of pearls, such as was hardly suited to one of his own servants even. The jewellery was purchased for, and was disposed of, according to the Eastern custom on public occasions. Articles of jewellery are denominated *ruccums*, and are given as presents to those who appear at the Minister's or at Court, whether on occasions of business or courtesy; and a man's consequence is estimated according to the number of them which he receives. Whenever we speak of presentations at Court, we say that a man has met with a gracious reception. In the East, it is said that he received so many *ruccums*, and by that number the character of his reception is determined. These jewels are considered, to all intents and purposes, as a branch of the public expenditure. An office is kept in which these jewels are preserved and registered; and it is part of the duty of the Minister to provide a proper supply. As to the other charge for miscellaneous articles, it is made up principally of purchases of cloth and

glass. The glass was, I suppose, chiefly for the Minister's own use; the cloths were probably for presents. The whole of these charges are, however, so inconsiderable, as not to weigh a feather, compared with the general amount of the loan. I have now Sir, I trust, given a sufficient answer to the two objections. First, that the loan consisted entirely of unsanctioned balances; and next, that it was a loan without cash payments. (Hear, hear.) But it has been objected to that transaction, that the Minister having professed to raise it for the purpose of reform, did not, in point of fact, apply any portion of it to that purpose; that it was not only fictitious in its character, but nugatory in its result. Sir, that objection, even if was valid, would not apply as a charge against Palmer and Co. The money which they agreed to pay to the Minister, they were unquestionably bound to pay him; but they were in no respect answerable for his subsequent application of it. That charge, if it applies to any body, applies to me. It was my business to watch as far as I could the expenditure of that money, and to see that it was devoted to objects immediately connected with the reduction of expense. Against me, accordingly, it has been objected, that in the month of September, only one month after the completion of the loan, I reported that 23 lacs of rupees had been applied by the Minister to the reduction of the Nizam's expenses. I was at that time most conscientiously of that opinion. I declare upon my honour, that when I received that report from the Minister, I believed it to be true; I also declare, now, that I still do believe it to be so. (Hear, hear.) The Minister had not deceived me on previous occasions of great magnitude, and I had no reason to believe that he would gratuitously deceive me in that instance. But if there was any deceit in the case, I was not the only person deceived; for a considerable time afterwards Chundoo Loll told Sir C. Metcalfe, in answer to his inquiries, that he had made a further reduction to the amount of 16 lacs more, making in the whole a reduction of 41 lacs. Sir C. Metcalfe was not inclined to believe the statement, but Chundoo Loll challenged him to the proof. He said, "Those people whom I have discharged are naturally discontented. There is a list of the parties I have reduced, and the commanders who suffer by the reduction are not likely to tell falsehoods in my favour."

The men are at your door; if you doubt what I tell you, examine them. I challenge the strictest investigation into the truth of what I assert." These were the words he used;—and if the course he pointed out was not adopted,--if his statement was not repelled,--he is surely entitled to credit. Sir C. Metcalfe has shown no such reluctance to undertake offices, which would be painful to other persons, as to justify the belief, that if he could have thrown Chundoo Loll's assertion into the dirt he would not have done so. (Hear.) He said, indeed, that he did not believe Chundoo Loll's statement to be accurate, but still he admitted that he believed a considerable reduction had taken place, though he could not state to what amount. Another objection made to the loan was, that it consisted of a transfer from one account to another. Now, I cannot perceive how that fact can be urged as an objection at all. If the entries in one account are bad, the transferring them to another will not change their character and make them good; and if they are already good, the mere act of transfer will not make them bad. Shall it be said of a merchant, who retires to his office when the business of the day is over to post the entries into his ledger, that he does so for the purposes of fiction and dishonesty, and that the act of transfer is fraudulent, merely because every entry that he inserts in the ledger had previously been entered in his journal in some other account? (Hear.) Sir, I assert, and I defy contradiction, that your own loans in India are made precisely on this principle. There are many Gentlemen in Court, who know the mode in which those loans are conducted. Persons are appointed to receive subscriptions, and a distant day is announced for closing the loan. When the subscriptions are made, acknowledgments bearing interest are given to the parties, and when the proper period arrives the whole are combined. (Hear, hear.) Interest is added to principal, and the entire sum is transferred from the account in which the details were originally entered to the general register of public debt. What I ask is the difference between the transfer which took place in the books of Palmer and Co., and that which takes place in these transactions? Palmer and Co. were to advance a certain sum of money. They were not to do this all in one day, but as the Minister with whom they contracted wanted the money or might

choose to call for it, they were to make the payments. Of course they made the entries as they made the payments; and when the whole had been paid, they transferred it in one sum to a separate account, not to an old account, but to a new one, of which it formed the sole and exclusive basis. (Hear, hear.) This is what they did, and this is what they ought to have done. The interest which Palmer and Co. charged on their transactions has been much objected to. I am not at all surprised to hear such an objection as this in England; it is always difficult to convey to persons in one country an adequate conception of the usages which prevail in another. The country too, where those transactions took place is not near us; it is at the distance of half the globe, and differs essentially from us in every particular of customs, habits, usages, and manners. The charge of interest has been specifically objected to, first, on account of what is called an exorbitance, and secondly, on account of its alleged illegality. Now, Sir, exorbitance is altogether a relative term; it is precisely the same as the term dearness, as applied to commodities. The rate of interest is exorbitant or moderate, and commodities are dear or cheap with relation to their value, not at distant places, but at the same place. (Hear, hear.) By this scale are the charges of Palmer and Co. to be measured. If they charged 24 per cent. interest when the Nizam might have obtained money elsewhere for 23 per cent. then the charge was exorbitant; but if the rate, whatever it was, was the lowest the Nizam had ever paid, and the lowest at which he could then procure money, as I firmly believe to be the fact, then the charge was only fair and moderate. (Hear, hear.) The charge has also been called a monstrous charge, and, compared with what money may be had for in England, it certainly does appear so. Gentlemen on the Change in London would no doubt stare, at hearing of 17 or 18 per cent. interest, though I dare say they would be glad if they could get such an interest for their money. (A laugh.) Sir, as I understand the word "monstrous," it means something unusual and extraordinary—a deviation from the established course. Thus, for example, 24 or 18 per cent. would be a monstrous charge in London, and 5 per cent. by a parity of reasoning, would be a monstrous charge at Hyderabad, where such a

rate was never yet heard of, and, what is more, where it never will be heard of. (Hear, and a laugh.) But, Sir, be relative rates what they may, I contend that the lowest rate of interest practically known in the country where this loan was negotiated cannot be considered monstrous. As to the *bonus*, it must be considered as part of the interest, which in this case it raised from 1½ to 20¼ per cent. It made an addition of 2½ per cent. to the interest, and gave a sum of about 2 per cent. on the principal of the loan. This has been charged against the House of Palmer and Co. as inordinate profit, which the partners had realized and shared *instantly*. It was called the "booty," which they are said to have actually received and put into their pockets. Now, Sir, I say, notwithstanding these bold assertions, that it is impossible for any man to read these papers, and not perceive at once, that not one single shilling of the *bonus* has been realized to this moment. (Hear, hear.) The assignments for discharging the interest, and gradually paying off the principal, were 16 lacs of rupees a year. One half-year's instalment had been paid, and it was hastily concluded by Sir C. Metcalfe, when he saw the figure "8" at the head of the sum credited by the house, that those eight lacs were the identical *bonus*. (Hear, hear.) If errors of this kind are committed; if misrepresentations of this nature are promulgated, what reliance, I ask, can the Proprietors place on the general accuracy of those who fall into such palpable mistakes? (Cheers.) I do not mean, Sir, that they with whom these mistakes originated, intended to send forth false statements; but nevertheless, such as they were, they did send them forth to the world sanctioned by their authority, and they were calculated to mislead those whose province it was to act as judges. Surely it is very hard, that individuals who had not erred, should be punished for the mistakes of others. (Hear, hear.) The loan, I have already said, was to consist of 52 lacs of rupees, and was to be repaid within a given time with 60 lacs. Therefore the first payment which the House received was in liquidation of the sum which they had actually advanced, and so on with each successive payment, until the whole sum of 52 lacs was repaid—then and not till then could they arrive at the eight lacs which were intended as a *bonus*. This *bonus* has been

spoken of as if it was something abominable and atrocious in its very nature; as if the name alone stamped on it a character of reprobation; as if nothing of the kind was ever before heard of. It is held forth as a sort of bugaboo. It is pointed at as "the head and front of offending," on the part of Palmer and Co. But I beg of hon. Proprietors to remember how few loans of any kind are made without a *bonus*. If the Court will look at their loan of 1818, which was made in the very same month with the contract of Palmer and Co. for paying the Nizam's troops at Aurungabad, they will find that it was raised at Hyderabad on terms which gave, on 60 lacs of rupees, a *bonus* of 7 lacs and 80,000 rupees, which was within 20,000 of the *bonus* on the loan contracted for the Nizam in 1810. In 1819 another loan was raised by the Company, which gave a *bonus* at the rate of five lacs and twenty thousand rupees on the gross sum of 60 lacs. It is therefore quite evident, that the fact of *bonus* or no *bonus* had nothing whatever to do with the integrity of the loan. The amount is the thing to be considered. If that was such as to make the terms higher than those on which the Nizam had raised money before, or could obtain it at that time, then indeed the charge of taking exorbitant interest would not be ill-founded; but if those terms were at as low a rate as the money could be advanced, then the *bonus* must be allowed to be fair and just. Sir, I beg to refer the Court to the printed letter of Sir Wm. Rumbold, where they will see that on examining the books of Palmer and Co., the trustees found that they themselves had paid 18, 20, and sometimes 24 per cent, on the money borrowed by them to make that loan to the Nizam. (Hear, hear.) Why then shall a mercantile body be charged with dishonesty and fraud in a transaction on a portion of which they actually received a lower rate of interest than they themselves were obliged to pay? (Hear.) If they could have raised the money at a lower rate, it is to be presumed, that for their own sake they would have done so; but the Soucaras, the native Bankers, well knew that the house could not command sufficient funds, and would be obliged to seek assistance from them, and they naturally took advantage of that circumstance. Palmer and Co. were in consequence compelled to submit to the demands of these men, and to pay 24

per cent. for money on which they charged the Nizam, *bonus* and all, only 20½ per cent. Sir, I will beg permission of the Court to go back a little in my statement, as I find I have omitted one important feature of the arguments which have been advanced to show that the loan was fictitious. When the accounts, with an accusatory statement, were sent to Government, it was admitted to be equitable that Palmer and Co. should be allowed to make their defence. It was deemed just they should be heard, not before the Government came to a decision, for it appears that they had already made up their minds as to that point, but before they proceeded to the infliction of punishment. It appears, however, that in this respect the Government altered their determination. Summary justice they thought most advisable, and accordingly we find that on the 31st of July 1823, they declared their definitive sentiments without having waited for any explanation. (Hear, hear.) Sir C. Metcalfe, however, when he received the order to call on the house for an explanation, did so in the following letter:—

"Gentlemen,—It appearing from your accounts, that at the time when you obtained the sanction of the British Government for a loan of 60 lacs of rupees to the Nizam's government, that transaction was effected by a transfer of 52 lacs from your former Hyderabad account to a new account, with the addition of 8 lacs *bonus* as a compensation for the reduction of interest on the said 52 lacs, from 2 per cent. per mensem to 1½ per cent. per mensem; and there being no appearance of any payment at that period, which can be considered as a loan of 60 lacs, or any other specific sum, I am directed by the hon. the Governor-General in Council, to call on you to state whether the conclusions above noticed, as drawn from your accounts, be correct or otherwise, or to furnish any explanation of that transaction which you may judge to be satisfactory." The answer of Messrs. Palmer and Co. to this letter was,—“We beg to submit to you, for the consideration of the right hon. the Governor General in Council, that the whole of the loan of 60 lacs of rupees, was not a transfer of an old account, but was a new loan negotiation, and was supported by the several payments in cash or otherwise, which followed the balance of rupees 463,979:2½ anas, as exhibited in our accounts.” Here then is a clear,

distinct reference to a certain sheet of the accounts, which answers to page 620 of the printed papers. Such, Sir, was the call and such the answer. Now for the comment. This is to be found in page 743. There Sir C. Metcalfe, observing on the answer of Palmer and Co. to his letter, thus expresses himself: “Their reply is similar to every production that comes from that quarter—shuffling and evasive, and in my opinion completely confirms the conclusion before drawn respecting that fraudulent transaction.” Really, Sir, I know not what Sir C. Metcalfe wished those gentlemen to do. (Hear, hear.) When called upon to explain the payments of which the loan consisted, how could they do so with more distinctness than by saying: “If you will wet your thumb and turn over the account until you come to a certain page, at that page you will find the particulars of the explanation you desire.” Will it be credited that Sir C. Metcalfe took not the smallest notice of that distinct and conclusive part of their answer? (Hear, hear.)

Mr. POYNDER.—Sir, I beg the hon. Proprietor will take the trouble of reading a little more of Sir C. Metcalfe's letter, and perhaps he will there find the reasons for his conduct fully explained.

Mr. RUSSELL.—I have no objection. Sir C. Metcalfe proceeds to say,—“Instead of stating what sums they did actually advance on account of that pretended loan, they argue that it ought to be inferred that there must have been a loan to the Nizam's Government, because they were themselves obliged to obtain funds. This is by no means a necessary conclusion; for, having above 60 lacs locked up in the hands of the Nizam's Government, and having still to feed, for their own advantage, the minister's lavish waste, and having also to supply, for their own profit, the wants of others, with whom they had dealings, there were abundant reasons why they should endeavour to obtain additional funds. The assertion, that a sum of between 4 and 5 lacs is all that can be considered as a transfer of old debt, does not require any comment. How they could venture on such an assertion in the face of their own accounts, is utterly incomprehensible. The pretence, that the transfer of the whole balance of 20 or 21 lacs, on account of Berar Snawars, was equivalent to a cash payment, is too preposterous to require remark. In the document

herewith transmitted, Messrs. Palmer and Co. state, that the *bonus* of eight lacs was intended to cover them from eventual loss, on account of their exclusive responsibility. In their accounts it was represented as compensation for reduction of interest. I apprehend that their explanation cannot be deemed satisfactory; I shall, therefore, proceed to execute the instructions which I have lately received regarding them." I am very glad the hon. Proprietor gave me an opportunity of reading this dispatch at length; because it proves what I must otherwise have asserted on my own authority, that Sir C. Metcalfe did not allude to the statement of Messrs. Palmer and Co. That statement was, that if Sir C. Metcalfe would turn to a certain page in the accounts furnished, he would there find the items of which the loan was composed. Of all the modes that could be devised for giving the Government clear information on this subject, that which was adopted by Messrs. Palmer and Co. appears to me to have been the very best. When they were interrogated, they said, "Turn to such a page, and you will find the desired information." If Sir C. Metcalfe, having done this, could have shown either that there were no such entries, or that they were entries not connected with the loan, his objection would have been fair and reasonable; but as it is a statement contained in the letter of Messrs. Palmer and Co. it is passed over without a word of notice. Another charge made against the interest of the loan is, that it was wholly illegal. On this subject I must observe, that the question of illegality is still a most important point. It is not yet decided whether the rate of interest taken within the Nizam's territory does or does not come within the scope and operation of British law. One opinion is held by the legal authorities in India—a different opinion is entertained by the legal authorities at home. The former say, it does not come within the scope of the law—the latter maintain that it does. I do not mean to contend that the opinion of the law officer in India is the true one, but I will say, that, when conflicting opinions arise—when Mr. Strettell at one period, and Mr. Spankie (whose opinion is a most elaborate one) at another, declare that the law does not reach contracts entered into in the Nizam's territory, it is too much to accuse Messrs. Palmer and Co. of having wilfully acted in an illegal manner.

(Hear.) It cannot escape observation, that Mr. Strettell's opinion was not surreptitiously obtained by Palmer and Co. for the purpose of enabling them to defend themselves, after having acted improperly. When they applied for the license of Government, to make loans to the Nizam, the Government knew it would be necessary for them to demand more than 12 per cent. interest. A letter was therefore addressed by the Senators to Mr. Strettell, requesting his opinion as to the legality of such a proceeding. Though the letter itself is not amongst the printed documents, fortunately the answer to it is. Mr. Strettell there states that he has no doubt whatever of the law on the subject. In his opinion, the parties had a right to take more than 12 per cent. Therefore, Sir, even supposing his opinion to be erroneous, and that of the Learned Counsel in this country to be right, still, so far as the conduct of Messrs. Palmer and Co. is concerned, their justification is complete. (Hear.) In a moral point of view they have done no wrong, for they acted under the best advice they could procure; and, even in a legal point of view, it has not yet been proved that they were not right. I have always understood it to be the practice of the highest judicial authorities in England, where parties act under the advice of Counsel, although they may be in error, to deal with them in the most lenient manner. The circumstance of their having sought legal advice, so far as punishment is concerned, is never lost sight of. The uncertainty of the law on this subject, has been alluded to by Mr. Canning in a speech delivered by him in the House of Commons, when he was about to undertake the Governor Generalship of India. Amongst other subjects connected with the administration of Indian affairs, that right hon. Gentleman appeared to have turned his attention particularly to this. He said, in speaking of it, "The law is so doubtful on this point, that it requires a declaratory act to set it at rest;" and he called on his right hon. Friend, the President of the Board of Control, to introduce a bill for the purpose of defining it. If, then, Mr. Canning, and Mr. Strettell, and Mr. Spankie, entertained such opinions of the law, can any unprejudiced person condemn Messrs. Palmer and Co. for the course pursued by them. (Hear.) I must contend, whether the transaction were legal or illegal, that, having acted under such circumstances as I have stated, the justification of

Palmer and Co. on this point, is decisive. (Hear.) But, if it be culpable to proceed in this way, then, Sir, I must observe, that very high authorities must be arraigned for a similar error; for such authorities have been guilty not only of suffering individuals to take more than 12 per cent. interest, but of presenting much more than 12 per cent. to be awarded. To understand this, I wish the Court to look at the extracts from the Bengal Regulations of 1793 and 1803, given at pages 8 and 9 of Sir W. Rumbold's letter. Those regulations stand in the place of the statute law of this country. They are, in fact, the statute laws of the Bengal Provinces. They were framed for the guidance of the Judges in the Courts of Judicature beyond the town of Calcutta; they are drawn by the law officers of the Crown and the Company, passed by the Governor-General in Council, registered in the Supreme Court of Judicature, and laid yearly upon the table of the House of Commons. The 15th Bengal regulation, framed in 1793, directs the Courts of Judicature not to decree higher or lower rates of interest than the following:—If the cause of action shall have arisen before the 26th of March, 1780, on sums not exceeding 100 rupees, 37½ per cent. per ann.—on sums exceeding 100 rupees 24 per cent. per ann. If, after the 26th of March, 1780, on sums not exceeding 100 rupees, 24 per cent. per ann. The Bengal regulation (31) of 1803, seems to have had exclusive reference to the territories then recently acquired from the Nabob of Lucknow. It directs, that where the cause of action shall have arisen before the 10th of Nov. 1801, on sums not exceeding 100 rupees, the interest shall be 30 per cent. per ann. and on sums exceeding 100 rupees, 24 per cent. per ann. The first of these regulations was passed 20 years after the 13th of Geo. III. which is now contended to have limited the rate of interest over all India, to 12 per cent.—and the second regulation was framed 30 years after the passing of that Act, 10 years later than the 33d of Geo. 3., and 6 years later than the 37th of Geo. 3.; yet it directs the Judges in the Company's Courts, to decree 30 per cent. per ann., in some cases, and 24 per cent. per ann. in all others where the debts were incurred before the 10th of Nov. 1801, in the territories which the Nabob of Lucknow had then ceded to the Company. I contend, Sir, that the territories of the Nabob at that time,

and of the Nizam at present, are similarly situated. If, in 1793 and 1803, a higher rate of interest than 12 per cent. were sanctioned—if the Judges were then desired to award 30 per cent. interest in territories similarly circumstanced with those of the Nizam at present, why should those who now require a larger rate of interest be visited with reproach and vituperation? Why should you confound ignorance of the law with a wilful determination to do wrong? (Hear.) If the act of the 33 of Geo. 3. had been supposed to restrict the rate of interest all over India, neither of the regulations I have quoted would ever have been framed. If that act had been construed to extend to the territory of the Native Prince, the regulation of 1803 would not have been sanctioned. Sir, I now come to a part of the subject which is personal to myself. In order to vilify the House, (Hear.) and give an unworthy character to its transactions, it has been insidiously alleged that I had an interest in its concerns. In the very first page of a letter to the Court of Directors, which I published some months ago, I declared the fact of my having confided a sum of money to the care of Mr. Samuel Russell, an old and intimate friend, who had resided for many years at Hyderabad, and had been in the habit of employing his own friends in the market there. Circumstances of that kind are of every-day occurrence in all countries, where individuals intrust the management of their money to those private friends who are more conversant with such matters, and have more leisure for attending to them than they have themselves. Why did I withdraw that money? because I thought that the transactions in which it was likely to be employed were objectionable; not in themselves, for I neither did nor do think them so; but objectionable for me in my situation to partake in. When did I withdraw it? at the very time when a substantive establishment was about to be formed, and when, if profit had been my object, it could have been employed with increased advantage and security. (Hear.) And how did I withdraw it? In so abrupt a manner, and accompanied by a course of such peremptory measures, as to produce a rupture not only with Mr. Palmer, but with my own old friend, who not thinking the reason I assigned sufficient, could not be persuaded but that my real purpose was to injure them. If I had been influenced by undue partiality, should I

have acted in a manner to produce a rupture with my friends. (Hear.) If I had entertained any apprehension of their power to injure me, should I have provoked them to open hostility, and have encouraged them to assail me if they could? (Hear.) There are, I believe, gentlemen now in Court who were at Hyderabad at the time, and I challenge them to say that my rupture with Mr. Palmer, and his hostility to me, were not open and notorious. (Hear.) It has also been asserted that my brother, Mr. Charles Russell, was connected with the House, and that he continued connected with them up to the day of his leaving India. To this assertion I have a very short answer—it is totally unfounded. (Hear.) I do not see that it has any where been attempted to show that I had any interest of any kind, direct or indirect, in any of the transactions which have been made the ground of censure on the House. If any such insinuation has been made, I now meet it personally, as I have before met it in print, by a solemn, total, unqualified denial. (Hear.) It has also been urged, that the Nizam might have procured money elsewhere at a more moderate rate of interest. I assert, however, on the ground of twenty years' experience at Hyderabad, that he could not have procured money from any other person at a lower rate of interest. As to the Aurungabad transaction, which I believe to be the largest the House ever had with the Nizam, it appears in page 17 of Sir W. Rumbold's letter, that, in four years, from 1818 to 1822, the actual payments made by the House amounted to 111 lacs of rupees; and that, on the sum so advanced, the charges of the House, of every description, amounted to 6 lacs and 43,000 rupees, being less than a charge of 6 per cent. on the net payments. (Hear.) If gentlemen will turn to the accounts, they will find, that, in 1820 and 1821, the House not only made no charge of interest, but sustained a charge of interest themselves; the payments of the Nizam at those periods having exceeded their advances, they gave him credit for the overplus. To prove, however, more completely, that the Nizam could not have borrowed money at a lower rate, I beg the attention of the Court to a transaction which occurred in 1820. An attempt was then made to contract a loan of 6½ lacs of rupees for the Rajah of Nagpore. The resident there wrote to the resident at Hyderabad, requesting that he would

invite proposals for a loan to that amount. He did so, and the lowest offer was 24 per cent. It should be known, too, that the loan was to be transmitted by the resident at Hyderabad to the resident at Nagpore, and that repayment was to be made at Hyderabad. Here then, in addition to 24 per cent., was the charge of transmitting the loan to Nagpore, and afterwards, when the payments came round, of sending the money back to Hyderabad. If, under a regular guarantee, the two residents could not raise money for less than 24 per cent. why should it be supposed, that the Nizam could have procured it at a more moderate rate? (Hear, hear.) The Nizam's government had no credit. The moneyed men reposed no confidence in it. One reason, which is to be found in the printed papers, will sufficiently show why. When Chundoo Loll was negotiating about the payment of the Nizam's debts, Sir C. Metcalfe said to him, "you have provided for the house of Palmer and Co. but here is money due to the native bankers, how do you mean to pay them?" "Pay them!" answered the minister, "why I don't mean to pay them at all!"—(a laugh)—they have received interest over and over again, and I'll pay them no more!"—(a laugh.)—Under such a system as this, was it likely that individuals would lend money without the guarantee of the British government? I think, Sir, this argument is conclusive, in opposition to the assertion that the Nizam could have raised money at a cheaper rate in some other quarter. I will now refer to another instance, in which it was found impossible, even by Sir C. Metcalfe himself, to raise money at a moderate rate of interest. From the statement contained in Sir W. Rumbold's letter (page 113), it appears that "the Dookan, or House of Ma-at hahund Rams, of the Beguin Bazar Hyderabad, advanced a sum of 20,000 rupees to the Minister, on the resident's guarantee; but he arranged matters so as to acquire 5½ per cent. for a two month's loan." This is at the rate of no less than 33 per cent. per annum. The charge did not appear under the head of interests: That course he avoided by giving bills at a premium of one per cent. whilst they were marketable at a discount of two and a half per cent. This sum of three and a half per cent. with two per cent. interest, gave the amount I have stated. In this instance, the small sum of 20,000 rupees, was actually borrowed at an

interest of thirty-three per cent. per annum—(Hear.)—and yet gentlemen talk of the ease with which loans might be procured at a moderate rate.—(Hear.)—I now beg to refer the Court to page 40 of Sir W. Rumbold's letter, in which the result of Sir C. Metcalfe's efforts to raise money, after the Aurungabad contract was put an end to, is described. Sir C. Metcalfe, in one of his letters, observed, that "The Aurungabad arrangement had been effected at a considerable charge to the Nizam's government, which, with proper management, might have been avoided." How, then, when that arrangement was at an end, did Sir C. Metcalfe proceed? When he found it necessary to borrow, he exerted his best diligence, and yet it appears that the task turned out to be a very difficult one. The picture he draws of the result of his endeavours on that occasion is most striking. It is contained in a passage of Sir W. Rumbold's letter, and with permission of the Court I will read it. "An end having been thus put to the Aurungabad contract, Sir C. Metcalfe, of course, pursued that method, in providing for the payment of the troops, which, in his judgment, ought to have been followed originally. He did, no doubt, the best he could both for the Nizam's Government and for the troops; yet what was the result of his experiment? At the expiration of a year and a half, in November 1823, he himself described it in the following remarkable terms:—"The payment of the regular troops has been effected only by incessant attention on our part. At first I trusted to the minister's positive assurance, that he had actually supplied the requisite funds; but it at length appeared that a portion of the troops had been for five months without receiving any pay, and that in some instances, *the recruits had fainted in the ranks from the want of wholesome subsistence.* (Hear.) It became necessary to give more direct attention to this subject; and partly by continual urgency, partly by persuading the native bankers to advance money at 12 per cent. interest, and partly by occasional recourse in emergency to the extreme measure of advancing cash from the treasury, on the security of the Feisheush, the troops have latterly been paid with tolerable regularity. The subject will, however, continue to require incessant attention, for no reliance can be placed on the most solemn promises of Chundoo Loll; and if the payment of the troops be left to his ma-

nagement, without continual inquiry and urgency on our part, the arrears will rapidly increase, until the pressure become insupportable for the troops, and relief impracticable on the part of the Government." (Hear.) I wish the Court to recollect the particular crisis of the Company's affairs, when Messrs. Palmer and Co. entered into the Aurungabad arrangement, which was perfectly effective. We were then in the midst of the most perilous war which we have ever waged. The danger did not arise from the hostility of avowed enemies, but from the treachery of hollow friends. The Courts of Poonah and Nagpore declared against us. In every quarter danger was to be apprehended. Alarm and insecurity were universal, and Hyderabad was the only capital that remained true and faithful to its connexion. (Hear.) I feel myself justified, Sir, in claiming the merit of this. (Hear.) No false modesty shall deter me from doing so. (Hear.) By my personal influence, and by the manner in which I directed the application of his resources, I kept the Nizam faithful to his engagements, and made him an useful active ally. It is not to be supposed that he did not partake of the general feeling. He was unquestionably wavering; and if I had held up my finger, it would have been sufficient to turn him against us. (Loud cheers.) In 1818, when the Aurungabad contract was made, money was so scarce that the bankers of Calcutta were borrowing even on deposits of Government paper, at 12 per cent. In 1823, when, with great difficulty, and with the security of the English Resident, Sir C. Metcalfe borrowed from the native bankers a very small sum at 12 per cent. profound peace prevailed throughout the whole of India, and money was so abundant, that in Calcutta, the houses of agency allowed only 6 per cent. on fixed, and 4 per cent. on floating balances. It appears then, that in 1823, when no extraordinary difficulties existed, in the midst of a profound peace—Sir C. Metcalfe, (who could scarcely get food for his fainting soldiers,) was obliged to pay at Hyderabad, on a small sum, an interest of 12 per cent., being double the rate charged at Calcutta at that period. What valid objection then, can be alleged against the terms of the arrangement made by Palmer and Co. in 1818, when the same relative proportion of interest prevailed between Hyderabad and Calcutta? If, in the midst of the war of 1818, I had suffered the

troops to be so ill-paid and fed as to be fainting in the ranks, what co-operation could they have afforded to the Company's forces? And what, Sir, would have been said to me, if I had been called on to account for such a state of things? (Hear.) I should have had to stand before you this day to answer for my conduct. I do not mean to say, Sir, that we could not have fought without the aid of the Nizam's forces—but, without them, we must have contended at great disadvantage—and a protracted warfare most probably would have ensued. If a speedy conclusion had not been put to hostilities, we would have been subjected to the expense of lacs, nay of crores of rupees, in carrying on a number of consecutive campaigns. A time of war is not the time to expose great interests for the sake of petty expenses, and to hazard the prolongation of hostilities, while you are higgling for a few rupees. I now contend, that the money was borrowed at as cheap a rate as it could be procured for, and more could not be expected. I have been accused of negligence in not particularly reporting the nature and objects of Messrs. Palmer and Co.'s transactions to Government. Sir, I deny the charge. Some surprise has been expressed, that I did not act in conformity with the order of the Directors. But, Sir, that order did not reach Hyderabad until I had left the place. In point of fact, however, I had reported the particulars of those transactions;—they were distinctly exhibited in the three accounts to which I have before referred. The Berar Suwar's engagement was laid by me before Government, and approved of and sanctioned by them. (Hear, hear.) The Aurungabad contract, exhibiting the rate of interest at 24 per cent., was laid before Government in complete detail. (Hear.) As to the Hyderabad account, it was of so miscellaneous a nature, that, unless a daily account were made out, it would have been impossible to explain all the items it contained. An outline was, however, furnished to the Government, quite sufficient to put them in possession of the nature of those transactions; and, on the balance of that account, I have shown that at the time the loan-negotiations were entered into, the house had not a claim on the Nizam for one single rupee, Sir. (Hear.) As an answer to the charges which have been alleged against Messrs. Palmer and Co., I shall now, as a matter

of justice to them, point out some of the advantages of which their transactions were productive. But for the aid afforded by that House, the Government of the Nizam could not have stood. In my opinion, the assistance given by Messrs. Palmer and Co. contributed, in no common degree, to the benefit both of the Nizam's Government and that of the Company. Without their assistance, the Nizam could not have brought his troops into the field at all—much less could he have brought them in that state of discipline, which enabled them to co-operate effectively with the Company's forces. With the advances derived from Messrs. Palmer and Co., I was enabled to raise and equip a body of troops for the Nizam under the command of English officers, which served with distinguished honour throughout the campaign,—which secured the internal tranquillity of the Nizam's country, and facilitated the introduction of retrenchment and reform, and which, at this very moment, when a war is raging beyond our frontier, will enable the Government to send our own troops against the enemy, and trust their interests at Hyderabad to the troops of the Nizam. In spite, therefore, of all that has been alleged against them, I will affirm that the members of that House are entitled to the liberal consideration of the East India Company. (Hear.) On the subject of the question immediately before the Court, as it affects the character of the Marquis of Hastings, I can have no personal feeling or interest whatever. I never saw the noble Marquis in my life, nor ever had any intercourse with him but what arose out of my official duty. But, Sir, I will never remain silent when the honour of that noble person is assailed, or when it becomes a question whether his services to his country were entitled to reward. (Hear.) The Court may certainly withhold from him the merit that he has earned, but they cannot, without injuring themselves, pass any vote which will have the slightest imputation on the character of the noble Marquis. (Hear.) There are, however, other and much larger interests involved in this question; and I implore the Court, before they adopt the amendment, to examine its real purport; to mark the end for which it is designed, and the result to which it may finally lead. I call upon them to look at it not only in its immediate effects, but in the remote consequences with which it is likely to be

attended. I trust that nothing will be done to shut the door against future redress. The Company's Counsel, in the opinion to which I have already referred, declares that there are no means of legally punishing Messrs. W. Palmer and Co., but he says that the Court of Directors have the means of punishing them in their own hands, by withholding payment of their claims. The amount of the penalty thus recommended to be inflicted is no longer problematical; for the authorities in India have acted in anticipation of the advice of the Company's Counsel, and have already mulcted the house in the enormous sum of 500,000*l.* (Loud cries of Hear.) by interposing their authority to prevent their recovering their outstanding demands to that amount. Is it to be tolerated that such a power is to be exercised in a free country? (Hear.) Is punishment to be inflicted in this arbitrary manner? If so, and if such as that here assumed does reside in any hand in England, it is high time for English Gentlemen to take refuge under the freedom and security of the Inquisition. (Hear, hear.) Honourable Proprietors cannot conscientiously give a vote which involves considerations of this magnitude,—which may destroy not only the fortunes but the characters of individuals occupying an honourable station in society,—and which may reduce hundreds of innocent persons to beggary and destitution, without carefully, diligently, and dispassionately examining both sides of the question, and without weighing what the House had said in its defence, as well as what had been advanced against them. Gentlemen's minds must be very differently constituted from mine, if, before they have heard both parties, they can give a blind vote on such a question as this, and then go home and lay their heads quietly on their pillows. (Loud cheering from both sides of the Court continued for some time after the honourable Proprietor sat down.)

Mr. FRESHFIELD was about to address the Court, when

Sir JOHN DOYLE rose and intimated that as he had given way, out of courtesy, to the Gentleman who had last spoken, he conceived himself to be in possession of the Court.

The CHAIRMAN was of opinion, that the hon. Bart. had waived his right, and could not, therefore, claim precedence.

Mr. FRESHFIELD.—It is impossible, Sir, to have heard, without a feeling of interest, the speech of the hon.

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Gentleman who has just addressed you. It was interesting on account of the manly way in which that Gentleman delivered his sentiments; (Hear.) it was also interesting, because he spoke in his own defence—whether necessarily, or unnecessarily, I will not take upon myself to decide. I have paid the utmost attention to his observations, though many of them were introduced at the expense of some very valuable time. I will, however, ask of the Court, whether a great part of what has been stated by the hon. Gentleman, indeed I may say all, except the few concluding sentences of his speech, might not have been spared us? I would be one of the last men to decide against the claims of Palmer and Co.—and, whatever vote I may give this day, will not, I am sure, preclude them from seeking justice, if they have been harshly dealt with. I will not trouble the Court with that which I really do not understand, and consequently cannot explain—the subject of the accounts of the house of Palmer and Co.; but it seems to me, that, without going very minutely into those accounts, I may come to a decision on the question propounded by the hon. Proprietor who brought this subject forward. When, however, the hon. Gentleman who has just sat down introduced the accounts of Messrs. Palmer and Co., I think he ought to have told the whole story. Quoting from Sir W. Rumbold's letter, he has informed the Court that 32 lacs of rupees were advanced to the Minister of the Nizam, between the months of February 1820 and the July of the same year; (Mr. D. Kinnaird said “August;”) that, Sir, is not the case; between the months of February and August the advances amounted to 39 lacs. I am willing to be corrected, if I am wrong—but as I did not interrupt the hon. Proprietor, I hope he will be good enough not to interrupt me. It appears then, that, up to the month of July, 32 lacs of rupees had been advanced; and I have learned, from a statement which has been published, that, early in the month of February 1820, this 60 lac-loan was under consideration. The matter appears to have been referred to the hon. Proprietor, who was then Resident at Hyderabad, for the purpose of procuring the sanction of Government to the arrangement. (Mr. Russell said “The guarantee of Government”) I say the term used was not guarantee. The hon. Proprietor says, in his letter, “So

satisfied was I that Government would not give the sanction requested, that I refused to forward the representation to Calcutta." This took place early in 1820. At that period, and for a great while after, no one fact appeared to prove that any sanction was obtained for this loan. (Mr. Russell, "so far as I knew.") Why, Sir, the hon. Proprietor has stated, and the Proprietors are in possession of that statement, a fact, which puts the matter beyond all dispute. "I find," says the hon. Gentleman, "amongst my papers, a copy of a note written by me to Sir W. Rumbold, on the 1st of May, 1820, in which I say, that I have just received a letter from the Minister, which altered, in the most essential manner, his first proposal. He before stipulated for the sanction of the Resident, but he now stipulates, that the Resident shall call on the house to make the loan." Can any one doubt, after this, that, at the time the letter was written, there was no settlement between Palmer and Co. and the Minister on the subject of a loan? Here was the representation of the Minister to the Resident, which the latter incorporated in a letter to Sir W. Rumbold, clearly proving the fact. The Minister appears, at that moment, to have been calling on the Resident to press the house of Palmer and Co. for a loan, and, at the same moment, we have it in evidence that Messrs. Palmer and Co. were making advances to the Nizam's Government without the shadow of a sanction. I shall say but one word more with respect to the hon. Proprietor, I think he has proved rather more than he need have done. In taking merit to himself he has certainly gone too far. If he have not alarmed the fears of the Proprietors, I hope he has aroused their caution, when he gravely tells them, that, if he had but held up his finger, the Nizam would have turned against the Company. It seems, that, if the hon. Proprietor but held up his finger, the Nizam would have deserted an ally from whom he had received the most munificent treatment. Was the Nizam attached to this Government by gratitude? was he awed or influenced by the power of England? It appears not; it seems he was entirely guided by the finger of the hon. Proprietor. If so much depended on the prudence of a gentleman holding the rank which the hon. Proprietor at that time filled, how much more must depend on the prudent conduct of a Governor-General? I mention this, not because it has

any thing to do with the subject, but because it has been forced on the notice of the Court. One point, which has been adverted to by the hon. Proprietor, as well as by the hon. Member for Aberdeen (Mr. Hume): I wish to notice, the hon. Proprietor has told us, and so has Sir W. Rumbold in his letter, that interest is relative, and that the rate which would be looked upon as moderate in one place, might be viewed in another as exorbitant; therefore, those gentlemen argued, "you must not come with English notions to the consideration of Indian money transactions." This, I conceive, has little to do with the present question. Those who have read these papers will observe, that one of the great reasons assigned for demanding a high rate of interest, is the difficulty of securing the repayment of money lent. As the hon. Member for Aberdeen, when this question was last before the Court, indulged in some severe animadversions on the alleged ignorance of an hon. Friend of mine (Mr. Poynder) with respect to Indian transactions, it is a pity that he did not, at the same time, impart to the Court some of the information which he, of course, possessed on these subjects. But, it seems, that the hon. Member for Aberdeen has not derived much knowledge, even from the perusal of these documents. It appears from the papers, that, whether the individuals who lent money to the Nizam were to be paid or not, mainly depended on the influence of the Minister. As there were no courts of justice in the Nizam's territories, all that could be done was, to make an appeal to the Minister. What better security could be desired than an appeal to Chundoo Loll, who appeared to be in the perfect confidence of his master? He could, with even less than the upheld finger of the hon. Proprietor, influence the Nizam to do what he pleased. Could he not, if applied to, enforce the necessary payments? How was Chundoo Loll described in the political consultation of the 1st Jan. 1820? In this manner:—"He is indebted exclusively to our Government, for both his elevation and his support, and he is bound to us by the surest of all ties,—that of knowing that the very tenure of his office depends upon our ascendancy. If we were to lose our control over the Government, he would certainly lose his authority, and probably his life. On all occasions, of what magnitude soever, where we may require his co-operation, we may confi-

dently depend upon him to the utmost of his power." From this statement, it is evident that the Government could do what they pleased with the Minister: but, beyond this, it appears, from a letter, dated the 12th Oct. 1822, that Messrs. Palmer and Co. frequently acknowledged that they would not have entered into these transactions with the Minister, if they were not confident, that, as British subjects, they would be distinguished from other creditors. I mean to infer, from these statements, that there was no want of security for the repayment of the loan; and therefore, that there was no reason for exacting so high a rate of interest. If 12 per cent. were the legal rate of interest, no more should have been taken. In a case of that nature, the very lowest rate of interest was the highest that should have been demanded, because an appeal could be made to the Minister; and it is clear, from the extract which I have read, that such an appeal to Chundoo Loll would not have been a fruitless one. (Hear.) The hon. Member for Aberdeen has been pleased to renew his threat, relative to the impeachment of Mr. Adam. I was astonished at the observation, and I mention the subject only to separate it from the present question. I will tell the hon. Proprietor, that, if he ever ventures on a direct attack on Mr. Adam, he will find that that Gentleman is not without defenders. (Hear.) It is, in my mind, unbecomingly and unmanly, (I do not mean to use the phrase in an offensive sense,) to advert, in such terms, to Mr. Adam or to any other person in his absence. (Hear.) When the hon. Proprietor mentioned impeachment, I am sure he could not have meant what he said. The declaration, however, went abroad, and many individuals might be led to believe that he was in earnest. There may be an impeachment of judgment—an impeachment of discretion—an impeachment of common sense; but to speak of a legal impeachment, as the hon. Proprietor has done, is perfectly absurd: so much so, that I think it was a pity for the hon. Proprietor to introduce the word. The opportunities selected by the hon. Proprietor for threatening impeachment, have been very ill chosen. When he first mentioned the subject, the question of Mr. Adam's proceedings was hardly before the Court; and on the second, which occurred at the last Court, I asked certain questions relative to the opinions of counsel, and was informed by you, Sir, that they

did not, in any way, relate to Mr. Adam. The hon. Mover has brought forward his proposition with a great deal of mildness. This, he thought, was the most likely mode of getting successfully through the business. He provoked no discussion, for he had not advanced a single argument in support of his motion. He confined himself to the mere statement, that the grounds of his motion are to be found in the papers which have been laid before the Court. That motion states—"that after a due consideration of the Hyderabad papers, the Court could see nothing that tended to reflect, in any degree, on the personal character of the late Governor-General of India." I find it very difficult to construe the language the hon. Proprietor has chosen. Personal character! What, I wish to know, is the personal character of a public officer? We may, I suppose, infer with justice, that his individual character is his personal character, whether private or public. With his private character, in the strict sense of the word, we have little to do; private character mixed itself up with private feelings of affection and respect. But, with the noble Marquis' personal character, in his public capacity, we have a great deal to do. How, then, is it possible, with these papers before us, to say, that the individual character of the Nobleman given is of such a nature, that we cannot attach any particle of blame to it? We have heard, in the course of the debate, of the extraordinary letter written by the noble Marquis to Sir W. Rumbold. With such a document before us, how can we support the motion of the hon. Proprietor? The noble Marquis, elevated as was his situation, and important as were the duties entrusted to him, had evidently adopted a system of favouritism. How could he have brought himself to say to an individual favourite, "You and your friends shall enjoy exclusive advantages?" This, however, he had done; he had given to a favourite, and to the house with which he was connected, the exclusive right to certain profitable advantages, with a sanction and encouragement which no other person could hope for; and, having done so, how can his friends stand forward and say, that he was not guilty of any partial conduct?—(Hear.) The effect of the noble Marquis' letter is, to assure the person whom he addresses, that his house never shall have any rival. The hon. Mover may comment on that letter, and give his own explanation.

nation of it. I have found it necessary briefly to give mine. Not knowing the noble Marquis, but respecting him, I have put no forced construction on that letter; for, if it be my lot to err, I would rather err on the liberal side of the question.—(Hear). The hon. Gentleman (Mr. Russell) has referred us to a publication which has been handed about to individual Proprietors. He has told us, that that letter—the letter of Sir W. Rumbold, is of so important a nature, that we ought to get it by heart. That we ought not to proceed a step further until we have made ourselves perfect masters of its contents. Sir, in that very letter I found the statement which I have deemed it right to notice, of advances having been made by Messrs. P. and Co. to the Minister, between the months of February and August, 1820. It appears, however, that Government were not applied to for their sanction to the 60 lac-loan until the 19th of May, many advances having been previously made, which were transferred to that loan: it also appears that the sanction was not conceded until the 19th of July, and that it did not arrive at Hyderabad until the month of August. On that account I separated the advances made in the month of August, (amounting to seven lacs,) which were supplied after the sanction of Government had been received, from those that were made between February and August without any sanction. It appears from a published paper, in which reference is made to the hon. Proprietor who has just spoken, that when the subject of the Government sanction to the intended loan was made known to him, “so satisfied was he that the sanction would not be granted, that he refused to forward the representation to the Government.” The hon. Proprietor adds—“The letter containing that passage proceeds then—‘My share in the transaction amounted to this,—that I refused to communicate the original proposition to Government; that I forced the house to abandon, at the time, the project of obtaining the sanction of Government; and if they made the loan at all, at that period, it could only be with the ordinary assistance and support which the Resident of the Government had already afforded them.’” At the commencement, therefore, the loan involved no sanction of Government, but rested on the same foundation as any previous transaction between Messrs. P. and Co. and the Nizam’s Minister. But

it seems, that while these discussions were carrying on at Hyderabad, Messrs. P. and Co. wrote to the Government; and, in a document which is in the possession of the Court, the hon. Proprietor who has recently addressed us said, “Sir. W. Rumbold showed to me a letter from the Marquis of Hastings to Mr. J. Palmer, of Calcutta, in which his Lordship expressed his surprise that I should have hesitated to lay the representation of Messrs. P. and Co., relative to a sanction, before the Government.” Sir, I wish chastely, correctly, and strictly to confine myself to the motion now under consideration; and actuated by that feeling, I am bound to say, that there is here evidence of that unfortunate partiality which the noble Marquis cherished for the interests of an individual. Unquestionably he had a right to cherish that partiality, but he should not have permitted it to interfere with his public duty. By writing such a letter as this, he superseded the authority which was vested in the Resident.

No Governor-General, who felt correctly and delicately, as Lord Hastings was likely to feel on all occasions where his unfortunate partiality was not called into exercise, would have received a memorial under such circumstances. It was his duty to keep his mind blank until he received the opinion of the Resident. I am most unfeignedly unwilling to weary the attention of the Court with quotations from the mass of papers in our hands; but there are some circumstances connected with the voluntary affidavit, which I feel it my duty to bring under the consideration of the Court, and which may have escaped the notice of some Proprietors who were unwilling, or wanted leisure, to travel through the papers with that degree of minute attention which was necessary to a proper understanding of the subject. In page 109, I find the subject of the affidavit notified in a letter of his Lordship, dated August 20, 1822, in the following passage:—“A considerable time after, it struck the members of the firm, that what had passed in Council did not leave a registered exoneration of them from a suspicion so injurious to their reputation, as the possibility of their having seduced a public functionary to promote their interests unflinchingly. From that reflection, they sent to me the affidavit, a copy of which is annexed to this letter.” I am at a loss how his Lordship could know what was passing in the minds of the members of a commercial

house, as this passage implies that he did. A Governor-General certainly could not, with any degree of propriety, have held communication with the house on the subject; and yet, unless he did that, I can't conceive how he knew what was passing in their thoughts. The subject is again referred to in the political despatch from Bengal, dated December 20, 1822, as follows:—"On that occasion, his Lordship produced an affidavit, forwarded by two of the members of the house, in consequence of his Lordship having incidentally expressed regret, that he had not persevered in his proposal of having Sir W. Rumbold sworn at the Council Board to answer to the point." It appears from this, that his Lordship incidentally let fall an expression, which induced the house to take a step, of which his Lordship afterwards made use. His Lordship becomes, I will not say the agent of the house, but the medium of communication between them and the Council; and he produces the voluntary affidavit, which had its origin in an expression "incidentally" dropped by him. I now beg the attention of the Court to a passage which I shall read from the statement of Sir W. Rumbold, in page 730: "On the 10th of June 1821, Lord Hastings addressed a private letter to Sir W. Rumbold, desiring that, with a view to remove any doubt on his own mind, the firm of Palmer and Co. should define upon oath, whether or not any British public functionary had at any time had pecuniary transactions with the house, which could influence him in countenancing their dealings with the Nizam's Government. In the end of this letter, Lord Hastings expressly states the object of his inquiry to relate to Mr. Henry Russell. In this letter, Lord Hastings refers to a former communication he had made to Sir W. Rumbold, stating the expediency of Mr. Palmer's making a similar declaration the preceding month of December 1820. On that occasion, Sir W. Rumbold waited on Mr. Metcalfe, the Resident, and communicated to him Lord Hastings' wish, and at the same time read to him the declaration, to which Mr. Palmer was ready to swear. He also stated to Mr. Metcalfe the fact of Mr. Sotheby having been at one time a partner in the house whilst he occupied the station of assistant to the Resident. Here we find the "incidental expression" which his Lordship dropped, and which incidentally reached the ears of the

house. Why, it appears that his Lordship expressly desired the fact to be asserted in a direct communication to Sir W. Rumbold. (Hear.) In page 737 is a letter from Sir W. Rumbold to Lord Hastings, dated December 22, 1820, enclosing the affidavit, in which Sir W. Rumbold says—"I trust it will be satisfactory in proving, that whatever support we have received from public officers has been disinterested and from a view of justice to us. I will, however, beg of your Lordship merely to use this paper, in the event of your wishing to send it to England. Of course, our inclination, as well as our duty, would lead us at all times to give your Lordship any information you require; but we should not like such a declaration to be used officially in Calcutta, because we might be liable to be perpetually called upon in the same way." I have no desire to put a forced construction upon the conduct of gentlemen with whom I am not acquainted. Sir W. Rumbold has the reputation of being an honourable man, and I believe him to be so; but when Lord Hastings had involved himself in difficulties from this ill-advised connexion, in swearing to what was strictly true, should yet shape his course with considerable dexterity,—I do not mean to use the phrase offensively—but Sir William was placed in difficulties,—and he, like a prudent man, and I do not blame him for it, was very cautious with respect to what he swore. The affidavit is to be found in page 158. It declares that the partners of the house are "Wm. Palmer, Esq., Sir Wm. Rumbold, Bart., Hastings Palmer, Esq., George Lamb, Esq., and Bunketty Dos; and that no other persons of any description have, directly or indirectly, any partnership with us, or any interest in any concerns, beyond such as the public has in every other house of agency. We further declare, that no public functionary, at the head of any public office or department, ever had any avowed or direct partnership, directly or indirectly with us, or any interest in our concerns, which could influence him in countenancing our dealings with the Nizam's Government, or give him any means of deriving any personal advantage from them."

I ask the Court, I ask any individual, even the hon. Mover (Mr. Kinnaird) himself, to state that this affidavit, which Lord Hastings called for, does not introduce new cause for suspicion, instead of giving satisfaction? After

naming the partners who could safely be named, it states—not that no persons connected with the Government of India, or in any public situation, had not, nor ever had, any interest in the house,—but confines itself to two points; it preserves *two salvos*—first, that no persons at the head of any public office were partners in the house; and secondly, that no connexion which any public functionary had had with the house, could have influenced them in countenancing their particular connexion with the Nizam. (Hear.) The gentlemen who made the affidavit avoided mentioning that an individual in a public department (Mr. Sotheby), an Assistant Resident, before whom it was sworn, had been in partnership with them; I will turn merely to Mr. Sotheby's memorial, in pages 716 and 718, in which that gentleman excuses himself for having, in his character of commissioner or magistrate, framed the affidavit, and states, that the Marquis of Hastings knew that he had been a partner in the house at the time he received it. I ask whether this be not personal conduct, and whether, after this, if we are to acquit his Lordship of corrupt intentions, we are also to acquit him of all impropriety of conduct. (Hear, hear.) It seems to me impossible, after the manner in which I have commented on the papers, and especially taking into consideration all the bearings which may be given to facts by those who have leisure and inclination to undertake that labour, that the Marquis of Hastings can, in the language of the motion, be acquitted of the slightest degree of personal misconduct. (Hear.) What then is the next question for our consideration? An amendment has been moved from the other side of the bar, and I must say that the only thing which I regret with respect to it is, that it did not come from this side of the bar. (Hear.) It appears to me, although there is nothing in the amendment but that which I hope the Court of Proprietors would declare twice over if it were necessary, that the Court of Directors, who have so well deserved our thanks and gratitude, should have received them through the medium of a resolution which emanated from us. I cannot understand the original motion in any other way than that which I have stated. If it were the intention of the hon. Mover to praise only the private character of the Marquis of Hastings, I apprehend that that would not be

worth a motion. If it be intended to go further, and say that his Lordship's personal conduct in his public character is free from all reproach, I think the hon. Proprietor asks a great deal more than he will obtain at the hands of the Court. The amendment declares that there is no ground for imputing corrupt motives to the Marquis of Hastings, or any member of the Bengal Government, and at the same time calls upon the Court to record their approbation of the political despatches of the Court of Directors. I am sorry that I do not see my hon. Friend the Member for Medhurst (Mr. J. Smith), in his place. I may say that I regard that hon. Gent. with a feeling even beyond friendship, and it gives me great pain that I cannot view this cross question in the light in which he does. My hon. Friend says, that because a question is proposed to him, which if he answer at all he must answer in the affirmative, that therefore he is bound to answer it.—I disagree with him. I say that we have before us a variety of documents, involving the names of a variety of persons. The conduct of one person is never separated, but is mixed up with the conduct of others. There are before us expressions on the part of Lord Hastings, such as ought never to have been made use of by a public man in his despatches. I say they are disrespectful expressions, (Hear, hear) and directed against the Court of Directors. (Mr. Kinnaird said, "read.") I am surprised to hear the hon. Proprietor say "read." I have abstained from reading from the papers at greater length in deference to the feeling of the Court, that we should endeavour to finish this debate to-day, if possible. My humble opinion is, that if it were only on account of the letters of his Lordship to the Court of Directors, it would be impossible to agree to the original motion. In those letters he reflects, in the most unqualified terms, on the members of the Government who acted with him. He arraigns their conduct, and assails them with sarcasm. (Hear.) It is impossible to read his Lordship's expressions without regret; yet the whole of this is, I contend, brought under our consideration by the motion of the hon. Proprietor. If a question be put to me arising out of these mixed transactions, how am I to answer? If it be said "You have heard a great deal about Mr. Stuart, Mr. Adam, the Court of Directors, and the Marquis of Hast-

ings, do you not think that, in this transaction, his Lordship is free from the slightest personal misconduct?" (Mr. Kincaid—"Those are not the words of the motion.") I attach little importance to words: it is the sentiment only I regard. If such a question be proposed to me, I maintain that no principle of honour or fair dealing calls me to answer it without qualification. I would reply, "The conduct of the individual whom you have selected for praise is connected with transactions which involve the character of many other persons, whose honour is dear to them;—do you mean to imply that there is any doubt with respect to their character, and why do you object to say that they are equally as free from blame as his Lordship?" (Hear, hear.) Have I not a right to ask that question? Is it not fair dealing?" The question is one which the supporters of the motion may answer with the utmost ease. Let them answer it, and we shall know what they mean. The amendment, whilst it acquits Lord Hastings of corruption, very properly acquits the other members of the Government also. I was sorry, on a former day, to hear the word *trick*, as applied to the Court of Directors, drop from the lips of the hon. Member for Aberdeen. I am sure it was an inadvertency. It is impossible that the hon. Member could mean it. (Mr. Hume, "I did mean it.") Well, I cannot deny that that is plain language. The hon. Member is vernacular at all events. I will charge nothing of the sort on the hon. Mover of the original motion; but I am sure that that hon. Proprietor would, if the motion were carried, be the first to regret, when he came to reflect, that he had cast the weight of odium on persons not mentioned in the motion. Believing this, I wonder it did not occur to the hon. Proprietor, and those who act with him, to have some saving clause in the motion, which would have rendered it unnecessary for the Chairman to have moved the amendment. Whether the question be one of conduct or misconduct, let us have the whole of the transaction under consideration at once. I do not feel disposed to trouble the Court further on this very important subject. I would, however, wish it to be recollected, that whilst this question is important to Lord Hastings and his personal friends, and those of Messrs. Palmer and Co., it is also very important to the E. I. Company, and to England itself. (Hear, hear.) If

Lord Hastings should obtain the vote which is proposed, farewell to the high honour and liberal feeling which has been accustomed to characterise the conduct of our public functionaries towards the native Princes; farewell to the earnest endeavours to stop the course of corruption in India; farewell to the observance of the wholesome laws which were intended to prevent British subjects in India from lending money to native Princes at a rapacious rate of interest. By agreeing to the motion, the Court will deviate from the safe course which the Company has been long pursuing, and instead of progressing towards good, we shall retrograde into evil. I call upon the Court to prevent their honourable servants from being inoculated with avarice and a desire to get back to that state of things which was formerly the disgrace of India. If persons are to make advances to the natives, let them do it at their own risk, and not, backed by the authority of the Governor-General and a Resident, to act upon the hopes and fears of a Minister who owes his elevation to the Bengal Government. If the Court should agree to the motion, we shall have other Hyderabad papers before us, and other Governors-General conducting themselves as Lord Hastings has done, and we shall be bound to declare them free from the slightest blame. If the amendment be rejected; if you refuse to persons equally honourable with the noble Marquis, but not having conducted themselves as he has done, your slight approbation for the caution which they exhibited,—for the resolution contains nothing more,—you will do an act of injustice to them, and will hold forth no inducement to public officers to discharge their duties honestly. When we see how the Court of Directors have been goaded and attacked in the despatches of Lord Hastings, shall we refuse to record our approbation of their despatches, which are fair and moderate. (Hear, hear.) The despatches of the Court of Directors only contain orders necessary to enforce obedience, which they almost failed in doing. (Hear.) If we do not approve of the conduct of the Court, we shall hold out no encouragement to future Directors to do their duty. On the whole, it appears to me that the amendment is deserving of the support of the Court; for whilst, on the one hand, it does liberal justice to the Marquis of Hastings, on the other it deals fairly by the Court

of Directors and the Indian Government, who are strongly entitled to our gratitude. (Hear.)

Mr. RUSSELL.—I beg leave to explain, that I used the expression "if I had held up my finger, &c." in a figurative sense. I meant to express, that the minds of our Native Allies were in such a state of indecision, that very little influence would have determined them one way or the other.

Sir J. DOYLE.—I have reason to lament that I rise at this late period of the day to trespass on your attention, because, in addition to great illness, I feel extremely exhausted. But I feel it quite impossible to continue silent, after what has just fallen from the hon. Proprietor (Mr. Freshfield). Before I enter upon the subject of debate, allow me to guard myself against the imputation of being wanting in respect to the Court of Directors generally, if, on this subject, I most materially differ from certain individuals of that body. On the contrary, I feel for the combined wisdom of the Court of Directors unfeigned respect, and I have the honour of ranking amongst the number of my most valuable and valued friends, many of its members; and I can never forget the manly and generous conduct of some members of the Direction, on a very trying occasion, when the character of one of our first executive officers was basely assailed by calumny, and in his absence, when one little word from the Chairman of that day would have put down the slander, and exposed the malignity of its author; but, unfortunately for all, but more particularly for that hon. Gentleman himself, that little saving word was pertinaciously withheld, doubtless from a sense of duty, which however would, I think, on that occasion have been "more honoured in the breach than the observance." (Hear.) At that time the hon. Director to whom I allude, (Mr. Pattison,) preferring substantial justice to the pedantry of mere form, stood forward, and with straight-forwardness, which belongs to his manly character, declared, that to his own knowledge, the paragraph was a gross and infamous falsehood. (Hear.) The forms of debate prevent me from naming the hon. Director, but I may designate him as the author of a protest, which does equal honour to his head and heart, and which, for sound principles, manly reasoning, and chasteness of composition, will bear a comparison with the best protests or public papers which have ever been

written. (Hear, hear.) That, hon. Director was preceded in his generous course by another hon. and venerated Director (Mr. Elphinstone), with respect to whom, I am confident, I speak the sentiments of all who hear me, when I say that his happy restoration to health has filled with joy and gladness the heart of every man to whom his virtues and high character are known. (Hear.) I think I see him now as he appeared at that moment, rising with native dignity, of true high caste, conscious virtue beaming from his benign countenance, the fine expression of which was heightened by a transient glow of indignation, and placing his hand on his heart, declared by his unsullied honour, that the charge against the noble Marquis was false. (Hear.) With these recollections, if I were hostile to the Court of Directors as I am the reverse, there is a redeeming grace in the virtues of such men as those to whom I have alluded, sufficient to expiate and absolve the errors of the whole conclave. (Hear, hear.) The friends of the Marquis of Hastings have been arraigned for provoking a discussion, and fighting with a shadow; there being in point of fact no charge against the noble Lord. As to provoking discussion, I do think, that if there be any set of words in the English language less calculated than another to produce such an effect, they are the identical words which my hon. Friend has made use of in his motion. (Hear.) I think, also, that there can be but one opinion in the Court respecting the just, temperate, and considerate manner in which my hon. Friend brought forward the motion. As to fighting with a shadow, he recollected, that by the conduct of the former Chairman, by his refusing to do an act of common justice, the shadow was embodied into a very substantial form, and an anonymous libel acquired the character of a direct and positive charge. (Hear, hear.) It is really enough to put out of all patience, to think of the manner in which Lord Hastings has been treated; but if I were to die on the spot, I should have the satisfaction of knowing that I had died in supporting the honour of such a man. I have known the noble Marquis for 40 years, in the strictest intimacy, the most unbroken friendship, and if this were the last moment of my life—if the termination of my speech should be the termination of my existence, I would declare solemnly, that I never in my life met with a being

more pure in principle than his Lordship. (Hear.) I do not speak this from any other motive but the honest motive of a love of justice. In expressing these sentiments, it is not very likely that I shall advance my interests, at least in this Court. If ever there were a man of whom it might be said, that his honourable nature would permit him to have a window in his breast, I believe the Marquis of Hastings to be that man. I do not say that he is free from errors. Infallibility is not to be found amongst men—that belongs to the Deity. (Hear, hear, hear.) I do not stand here to defend all the petty and minute measures of a nine year's administration of the most arduous Government in the world, in a period of unparalleled difficulty. (Hear.) And why not? Because the author of those measures was a man, and liable to the errors of our frail nature. (Hear.) I shall not follow the hon. Proprietor who spoke last through all the mazes of his special pleadings and Jesuitical sophistry, (a laugh) but will touch only upon two or three points which he has dwelt upon. The hon. Proprietor, who seems ambitious of the character of a great logician, has forgot one of the rules of his school; for he has actually produced the *argumentum ad absurdum*. (A laugh.) If you carry the hon. Gentleman's argument as far as it will go, see how it stands! In the first place, he says, that the motion attacks so many people. One would think that the hon. Gentleman and myself were speaking of different papers. Yes, that is his argument,—that if you declare the noble Marquis to be a man of integrity, you abuse the whole Court of Directors. What does this amount to? Why, this is,—that, as long as you leave the noble Marquis a suspected character, the Court of Directors and he are very good friends; but when you declare him to be an unimpeachable character, the Court of Directors and he can't agree at all. (Cheers and laughter.) I cannot, however, pass by another hon. Proprietor, (Mr. Poynder,) who, on a former day, favoured us with a lecture of two hours from the book which has been for six months in the hands of all the Court. It is very true that he failed most completely in convincing the Court; but he completely succeeded in clearing it. (A laugh.) Still, however, I can't help passing him a high compliment for the generosity which he exhibited in holding forth the ample shield of

his protection, to cover all the gentlemen composing the Government abroad, the whole Court of Directors, the Board of Control, Mr. Bathurst and Mr. Wynne. (Some Proprietor said, "Mr. Canning also.") An hon. Friend reminds me that the hon. Proprietor likewise took Mr. Canning under his protecting wing. I knew that, and only intended to keep the right hon. Gentleman for the last. (A laugh.) First of all, I must admit that the hon. Proprietor evinced a great deal of spirit in defending people who were never attacked; but, next to that, I must hold up to admiration the generosity and amiableness of the hon. Proprietor, in spreading the shield of his protection over poor Mr. Canning, who, as every body knows, is unable to say a word for himself. (Much laughter.) I rather think that Mr. Canning, although, of course, infinitely obliged to his eloquent defender, (a laugh,) will still, having a classical taste, be inclined to address to him these words:

"Hand tibi auxillo, hand defensoribus istis."

(Cheers.) As far as I can understand, there is no person who seems to deny the praise of purity of motive to be due to Lord Hastings, except the hon. Proprietor who spoke last, (Mr. Freshfield.) Even the worthy and respected Baronet who seconded the amendment, in what he said, did himself great credit and his Lordship much honour. I say, then, that all parties, excepting always the hon. Proprietor, seem to agree that the honour and integrity of the noble Marquis are pure; but some persons are inclined to impute to him an error of judgment. (Hear.) Possibly that might be the case. I will admit it!—but what then would I do? I beg pardon for presuming to dictate to hon. Gentlemen within the bar, but I would say thus:—"I have considerable doubts as to the course of policy pursued by his Lordship, and think that he has fallen into many errors of judgment." This would be debatable ground upon which an angry word could not be elicited. Some persons might think the policy of the noble Marquis bad;—I think it good, and imagine that I should be able to prove it so:—but if the Court should damn his policy, I cannot help it. It is the supposition of some gentlemen, that the Marquis of Hastings, though very pure himself, has, through an unjustifiable partiality, allowed others to be very impure. This is a kind of com-

promise which I reject. I never will consent to a compromise which reflects on other persons. I deny the proposition;—put that apart, I never would bring a friend clear off by imputing misconduct to others. (Hear.) I think the Court are indebted to me for having given way to the hon. Proprietor, (Mr. Russell,) by which they had an opportunity of hearing one of the most sound, unornamented, and convincing speeches that I have ever listened to. I am never at any time a candidate for precedence. Nine times out of ten I would give way to any other Proprietor who might desire to address the Court; but I should have been as savage and unjust as I know some people to be, if I had not immediately yielded precedence to a gentleman who was not only capable of enlightening us, with respect to the Marquis of Hastings' conduct, but desirous of vindicating his own character. I would have willingly left the noble Marquis' case in the hands of the hon. Gentleman; but my special-pleading Friend (a laugh) made it quite unavoidable that I should not say a few words. The points with reference to which the noble Lord's conduct has been attacked, are the Aurungabad transactions, the sixty-lac-loan, and the continuance of the license to the house of Messrs. Palmer and Co. Those, I believe, are all the charges against the noble Lord: if there be any more, let them be stated. The hon. Gentleman above me (Mr. Russell) has stated, first, with respect to the army, that the troops of the Nizam could not have been efficient without the assistance of Palmer and Co. The hon. Proprietor, although he spoke only in his own defence, has made out a case as complete as possible for us. If the hon. Proprietor has succeeded in clearing his own character, he must *a fortiori* have been successful in clearing that of the noble Marquis. I will state to the Court a case in point: A man was once indicted for having suborned another to commit a murder. The unfortunate fellow who was supposed to have committed the murder, had been tried and convicted; and the person who was stated to have suborned him to commit the crime, was about to be treated in the same way, when, by some unaccountable means, the murdered man walked into Court, and affirmed that he was not killed,—(Great laughter,) then the murder was out. (Laughter.) One charge out of the ninety-nine which have been brought against the

house of Palmer and Co. is, that it did no good. I beg leave to read a despatch of the commander at Nagpore, dated December 22, 1823, in which he speaks in the highest terms of praise of the steadiness, courage, and discipline of the Russell Brigade in the service of the Nizam.

An hon. Proprietor then read for the worthy Bart. an extract from Sir T. Hislop's despatch, in which that officer bestowed great praise on the native troops in the service of the Nizam and their officers.

Sir JOHN DOYLE resumed.—Here follows a list of the killed and wounded of the brigade, which amounted, in five days, to 134. (Hear.) That was at least a proof of their efficiency. I do not know how a man can better prove his efficiency in the field, than by losing his life. And how was this efficiency produced? it was the result of the assistance rendered by Messrs. Palmer and Co. under the good regulations of the hon. Proprietor (Mr. Russell) (Hear, hear.) It is not a little extraordinary, that neither the Nizam nor his Minister had ever complained of the conduct of Messrs. Palmer and Co. It was only the benevolence of Sir C. Metcalfe's nature that induced him to lament the transactions in which he had engaged with Messrs. Palmer and Co. Now I will show you how the unfortunate Nizam was used, and I have no doubt you will say that he was treated very cruelly. (A laugh.) It is well known that the troops of the Nizam formed very nearly one half of the native troops present at the battle of Nagpore, and it has been proved that they could not have been there at all, had it not been for the assistance of Messrs. Palmer and Co. By their co-operation the battle was won—and what was the consequence? The success of the whole campaign was the result of the victory of Nagpore. (Hear.) And what did the poor Nizam get by the victory? He kept in his pocket five millions of hard cash, which he would have had to pay to the Pshaw, the remission of *chout* to the amount of 300,000*l.* a year, and the acquisition of territory yielding him 400,000*l.* (Hear, hear.) Why, it is like "the House that Jack built."—This is the good the Nizam got,—this is the battle that got the good the Nizam got,—these are the troops that won the battle that got the good. (Loud laughter prevented the hon. Bart. from proceeding with his simile.) I am not much surprised that the Proprietors of this Court should have been pas-

sive on this question, or indeed I may say adverse to us, for they really have never been in possession of the real facts of the case. I wish that, to the consideration of the Aurungabad transaction, the respectable bankers and merchants, his brother proprietors, would bring only their British understandings, and they will soon arrive at the truth. It has been stated, that the sanction which was given to the transactions between the Nizam and the house of Palmer and Co. was the act of Lord Hastings alone. At the time the license was granted to Messrs. Palmer and Co., the Bengal Government consisted, in addition to Lord Hastings, of Mr. Edmonstone, Mr. Seaton, Mr. Dowdeswell. England could not produce three men better fitted, by their knowledge and experience, to fill the situations which they held. Did any of those gentlemen dissent from the measure? If they thought it improper, and did not record their dissent from it, they failed in their duty; but the fact is, that they all agreed upon the subject. I have not heard it stated, whether any of these respectable gentlemen were partners in the house of Palmer and Co. (A laugh, and hear.) But were these gentlemen content with their own opinions on the subject? No. What then did they do? They did that which they were directed to do, when any point involving a legal question arose, namely, to consult the first law officer of the country. The Advocate-General declared the proceeding to be legal. But it was said, that the Attorney-General and Mr. Serjeant Bosanquet had decided that it was illegal. Be it so: it only proved that lawyers as well as doctors could disagree, and when such great legal authorities could differ on the subject, is it to be wondered at if four men who were not lawyers should err? (Hear.) But when the arrangement was made, the Marquis of Hastings was up the country, employed in putting down the Pindarrees, who, if they had not been put down, would have put us down. When he left Calcutta upon that expedition, he enjoined his Council of all things to put the Nizam's contingent in such a state of efficiency, as to enable it to proceed to the frontiers. Having acted the part of the statesman, the noble Marquis proceeded up the country to conduct the war; for as the hon. Proprietor's *protégé*, Mr. Canning, had observed, when speaking of the Marquis, "it abates nothing of military skill to be aided by political

sagacity." The compliment was well applied by Mr. Canning, and well merited by the noble Marquis. What did Lord Hastings do on his return? His first act was to write (Mr. Adam was then his Secretary) to the Resident, desiring to know whether money could be obtained on easier terms. The answer was, that it was impossible. This is pretty good authority, but I have better authority,—that of Mr. Adam himself. Mr. Adam, in one of his minutes, gives the following explanation of his reasons for agreeing to the Aurungabad transaction. "There seemed, at the moment, no other equally convenient and economical mode of securing the supply of the required funds, at a specified time and place, for the regular payment of the troops, on the punctuality of which their efficiency was understood to depend. The ordinary resources had failed, or at least were in such danger of failure as to make any reliance on them wholly insecure. The terms offered by Messrs. William Palmer and Co. were represented, and I believe correctly, to be more favourable than any other that could be obtained by the Nizam's Minister on his own credit or of that of the state, while the condition of the money market and of our own treasury did not enable us to assist him in procuring funds elsewhere, or by direct pecuniary advances. On the whole, it appeared to be as favourable an arrangement for the Nizam as circumstances would admit of, and as such, a fit object for the sanction of a British Government so deeply interested in the welfare of its ally, and in the permanence of an establishment so conducive to the preservation of our ascendancy, and of the general tranquillity, as the Nizam's regular forces." Mr. Adam afterwards adds—"In dissenting from Mr. Russell's recommendation, I distinctly disclaim the slightest suspicion of his having been influenced by any other motive in bringing it before us, than a sense of public duty. I am satisfied that he considers the plan to be the best that can be followed for the benefit of the Nizam's Government, and although I cannot agree in this view of the subject, a doubt of his integrity never entered my mind." The latter passage reflected credit on Mr. Adam, as a man of honour. I will read another letter written by Mr. Adam. If it were a private communication, not even the success of the cause which I have in hand would induce me

to betray its contents. (Hear, hear.) I will not stop here to inquire into the wisdom of Sir W. Rumbold's conduct in delivering up the private letters of the firm to those who were known to be hostile, not only to the house, but to him individually. I am not sorry, however, that it has been done, for on those letters, which have been supposed to afford matter of crimination, do I found their vindication. I will now refer to a minute of Mr. Stuart—and when I mention Mr. Stuart's name, I beg leave to say, that, whether he be absent or present, I shall never utter a sentiment of disrespect towards him. He has always, it is true, been in opposition to the Marquis of Hastings, but I do not blame a man for political hostility. I have, for my sins, been in opposition a great while, and though I am not much richer by it, I do not think I am much the worse for it. In the beginning of Mr. Stuart's minute, dated 1820, the honourable Gentleman expresses his surprise that, in the large city of Hyderabad, native bankers could not be found to lend money to their prince; but he very good naturedly accounts for the circumstance by stating, a little further on, that it is clear the native merchants dread to lend money to their Government; and if they have any to lend, they will lend it to Messrs. Palmer and Co. And why was this? Because the assignments given by the Minister, as securities, were not worth the piece of paper which I hold in my hand. They were frequently recalled without any ground being assigned. While I am on this point I will read a letter which I have received from Lord Hastings. It is not a public, but a private letter. It is a very important communication, and I request the attention of the Court to it. It had struck me that Lord Hastings, instead of being the indiscriminate supporter of the house of Palmer and Co., from criminal motives or extreme good nature, had been more severe upon it than any other person whatever. This letter accounts for it. I must here observe, that the distant spot at which his Lordship is living, Malta, and the consequent impossibility of frequent communication, is not one of the least difficulties which his friends have to contend against. It has been stated that every act of his Lordship was an act of indulgence towards the house. All that his Lordship said was this:—"I do not think I have a right to withdraw my protection from these people, unless some substantial and tangible charge shall be brought against them. I

do not wish to condemn them on the surmises of their personal enemies. (Hear.) Before I sit down, I will show, under Sir C. Metcalfe's own writing, that he was a personal enemy of the house. All the evidence on which the amendment is founded is furnished by that gentleman. The legal opinions, to which I shall presently refer, depend all upon an "if." Shakespeare says, that an "if is your only peace maker;" and so, he had no doubt, it would appear on the present occasion. I do not wish to give offence, but I must declare, that throughout these transactions, Sir C. Metcalfe appears to have been blinded by rage or something else. I never saw Sir C. Metcalfe, but to judge from his despatches, I should think that he ought rather to be a resident in Bellam than any other place. (A laugh). Sir C. Metcalfe is said, by those who know him, to be a very clever man. It may be so,—

"Great wit to madness nearly is allied."

I have no right, nor do I wish to impute improper motives to him, but whether he be "mad with rage or mad with wine," the effect is the same. His Lordship's letter, which is dated Malta, October 29, 1824, commences by declaring, that "of all things he should be most sorry to be supposed to place himself in opposition to the Court of Directors." This, it should be recollected, is a private letter: at the time it was written, his Lordship could have no idea that its contents would have been made public. He then accounts for not taking any measures against the house, when its enemies were inciting him to it, and proceeds as follows:—"Mr. Metcalfe did, indeed, charge the house with having sunk upon Government the existence of large debts due from the Nizam to it; we having demanded and received a list of such demands. This was done with such confidence and specification, that I gave full credit to the assertion, and caused a *most severe letter* to be written to the house; when, on explanation, the whole matter was found to have arisen from an outrageous act of Mr. Metcalfe himself. A short time before the house had sent the list demanded by Government, the Nizam's Minister had given to W. Palmer and Co., in liquidation of part of their demands, assignments on revenues, which were to be so speedily payable that the house agreed to take them as ready cash; their amount was struck off, accordingly, from the account of

debts. Metcalfe pleading necessity for immediate payment to some of the Nizam's troops, arbitrarily insisted that W. Palmer and Co. should surrender those assignments, and should take, in their stead, others payable at a distant date, with an intimation that it must depend on the Nizam's convenience, if they were paid even at that period. The firm's yielding to such oppression will not appear extraordinary to any one who knows the uncontrollable despotism usurped by a Resident, and the dread which attends his power; but it will be perfectly intelligible, that the house was justified in restoring to the account, and to charge interest on, those sums which they had, in a liberal confidence, regarded as discharged. An assignment is not, in truth, even a security; since the Minister can give the collectors a private hint for pleading want of means to honour it. This the Nizam's Minister had actually done in former instances, incurring a debt so alarming to W. Palmer and Co., that they were obliged to solicit the Resident's intervention. He had, on the latter occasion, given them such solemn personal assurances, that they placed full faith in the validity of the assignments which he then gave to them. After this, you will comprehend the doubts with which any statement from Metcalfe is to be received. The house may have been guilty of various improprieties that have never come to my knowledge, though I must desire better evidence of the fact than the venomous and unsifted accusations of avowed enemies: but, were there ever so much turpitude in its procedures, I have nothing to do with that matter, by any possible implication. In the only transactions of the house which I sanctioned, my opinion had the perfect concurrence of the Council; for, as you will see by Mr. Adam's letter, the object of the sixty lac loan, (especially the reduction of interest on the Nizam's debt) was distinctly approved: the only difference being the notion of the members of the Council, that the money might be obtained for the Nizam on cheaper terms. The only expedients they could propose for this end were decidedly irreconcilable to my duty. This preliminary, though I could not omit, is essentially extraneous. The real point contested with me is so odious in its proper shape, that my opponents were forced to give it a borrowed colour; it was the maintenance of

that insolent despotism exercised by our Residents in the Courts of the native Princes. Convinced that it had been the source of general irritation against us throughout India, while no advantage could result from it to the Company, I, at an early period, undertook to correct it."

With regard to the sixty lac loan, it was in this way. Nobody, as far as I can make out, ever objected to the necessity of it. All that they differed about was, the best way of effecting it. The Resident said, that in his opinion, the best way of doing it would be by letting it be paid through the house of Palmer and Co. The Marquis of Hastings was inclined to support that proposition, as the best and the most practicable. Before he determined to adopt it, he mentioned it to Mr. Adam, and said to him, "What is your opinion of it, Mr. Adam? If you think it worthy of approbation, say so; if you know a better way, explain it to me, and if I agree with you, I will abide by it." What was Mr. Adam's answer to this? Why, he said, "I admit that I have no right to oppose the Resident's plea, unless I can propose a better. I think that I can do so;" and then Mr. Adam proposed a plan, which he considered more advisable. Mr. Stuart, being applied to by the noble Marquis, also proposed his plan. These plans, after they had been communicated to the noble Marquis by Mr. Adam and Mr. Stuart, were sent by him to the Advocate-General for his opinion. The Advocate-General replied, that both of these plans were in direct contradiction of the law. As it was, therefore, impossible to put them into practice, I need not enter into any explanation why the third plan, I mean that of the Resident, was adopted, unless indeed I say, that it was not tainted by any illegality.—So far for the illegality.

I will now give you Mr. Adam's private opinion regarding it, as he expressed it in a letter which he wrote about a year after this time. In that letter, he approves not only of the Aurangabad transactions, but also of the sixty lac loan. That letter was written by Mr. Adam to the political secretary, Mr. Swinton, for the purpose of being submitted to the consideration of the noble Marquis. It is to this effect:—

"Garden Reach, Feb. 18, 1821.

"MY DEAR SWINTON,

"I beg you will offer my best thanks to Lord Hastings for his obliging attention to the observations. I took the

liberty of making on the proposed instructions to the Resident at Hyderabad. As the draught now stands, I can have no objection to it; and I trust his Lordship will receive this as the most convincing proof I can afford of the entire absence from my thoughts of any imputation on the honour and fair dealing of the house of W. Palmer and Co. If my note seems to convey such a meaning, I desire pointedly and unequivocally to disclaim it. No suspicion of their integrity having been expressed or implied in the communication made to the house, I did not feel the necessity for disavowing it, or for passing an encomium on proceedings which were not questioned. I now perceive that I gave a wider construction to this part of the sentence than it was intended to bear; for I conceived it to apply to the general dealings of the house, of which we had no particular information, and not exclusively to the transactions with the Nizam's Government, with the particulars of which we were informed.

"Still I cannot discover, in the matter or terms of my note, any thing implying a doubt of the integrity of the house. If I had entertained any, or if the line I had adopted in this affair had been founded on any such suspicions, I should have had no hesitation in avowing them; but my opinions rested on quite different grounds, as has been fully explained in the different minutes which I have recorded on the subject. With regard to the benefits derived from the Nizam's Government, I have never wished to deny them. They have, on the contrary, always been admitted by me, and are so even in the note already referred to. The only difference of sentiment was as to the mode in which those benefits could best be attained; and having a very decided opinion on that point, I conceived that I could not, consistently with that opinion, join in an unqualified approbation of a measure in which I had not concurred. On this account, I should still wish that my concurrence in the present draught be stated on the proceedings as given with a reservation of the opinions expressed in former minutes. This may be done by a few words on the proceedings, and will not require a separate minute. You will oblige me by communicating the foregoing explanations to Lord Hastings, to whom I trust they will be satisfactory.

Yours ever,
(Signed) J. ADAM,

On the conclusion of this letter, there was a general cry of "Adjourn" in the Court, and also some cries of "Chair," and "Go on."

Sir JOHN DOYLE.—As it is the wish of the Court to adjourn (Cries of No, no, go on.) I am ready. (Great confusion.)

Mr. S. DIXON.—If it shall appear good to this Court to adjourn, owing either to its own state of exhaustion, or to that under which the hon. Baronet appears to labour, I trust that it will be generally understood, that Sir John Doyle is in possession of the Court, and is entitled to resume his speech on the day to which we may adjourn. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. IMPEY.—If Sir John Doyle should, from his advanced age, or from any other cause, be so exhausted to-day as to have any difficulty in finishing his speech, I am sure that it will be the unanimous opinion of the Court, out of respect to him, and also out of a wish to omit nothing which can bring it to a proper conclusion on this important question, that we should adjourn instantly, and without any delay. (Hear, hear.)

At this moment there was a conflicting shout of "Adjourn, adjourn," and "Go on, go on."

General THORNTON.—I really think, that in the present exhausted state of the Court, and of the hon. and gallant General, who must be tired from the length of time he has been waiting to address us, we ought, without any further inquiry, to adjourn at once. (Hear, hear.)

The CHAIRMAN.—The person whose feelings are to be most consulted on this subject, is the hon. and gallant Baronet, who is now in possession of the Court. If he states it as his wish to proceed, I have no doubt that the Court will willingly hear him. (Cheers.) If he should prefer to adjourn, I am equally certain, that the Court will have no objection to oblige him upon that point also. Of course, I need not say that he is fully at liberty to pursue that course which he may think best. (Hear, hear.)

Sir JOHN DOYLE.—I return my sincere thanks to the hon. Chairman and the Court, for the civility they are so anxious to extend to me. I must own, that I do feel somewhat exhausted, both from what I have said and what I have heard this day. (Hear.) I am grateful for the attention which has been paid to my feelings, and thank my brother Proprietors for it with all

my heart and soul. I certainly had something more to say, but I think you had better adjourn, than allow me to trespass at present further on your time than I have done already. (Hear, hear, and cries of "Adjourn, adjourn," from all quarters of the Court.)

The CHAIRMAN.—The Court seems to have made up its mind to adjourn. I have, however, to remind it, that it is not the mere question of adjournment that we have to settle; we have also to say, to what day we shall adjourn. I should propose that it be to this day week. ("No, no; to-morrow, or an early day.") I trust the Court will extend its favour to me for a few moments. I heard some Gentleman proposing that our adjournment should only be till to-morrow. I have one word to say upon that subject. The ordinary business of the Company, the Court must be aware, is of some importance. If it be not carried on in the usual manner, it is evident that great inconvenience may arise from its

postponement. Now Saturday is a holiday for almost every person connected with the House, except the Chairman and the Directors. Monday is the day generally set aside for the meeting of the Directors. I do not see that we shall gain any advantage by adjourning to an earlier day than this day week, and I therefore propose that that be the day to which we adjourn this debate. (Hear, hear, hear, hear.)

Sir JOHN DOYLE here asked whether he was to be considered as in possession of the Court on the day of the adjournment?

The CHAIRMAN.—Certainly; I consider Sir John Doyle entitled to open the discussion on this day week, if the Court shall think proper to adjourn to that day.

The CHAIRMAN then put the question for an adjournment to that day, which was carried in the affirmative.

The Court broke up at half-past 5 o'clock.

[For the Third Day's Debate, see page 477.]

CIVIL SERVICE OF INDIA.

BENGAL.

Calcutta.—July 22. Hon. W. H. L. Melville, to be Resident at Fort Marlborough; Capt. C. T. G. Weston, 29 N. I. to be Superintendent of Telegraphic Communication.—August 13. Mr. J. Vaughan to be Collector of Land Revenue and Customs at Dehlee; Mr. H. Smyth to be Deputy Collector of Government Customs and Town Duties at Meerut, and Ex-Officer Deputy Collector of Land Revenue at ditto.—26. Mr. S. G. Palmer to

be Register of the City Court of Moorshedabad; Mr. G. F. Brown to be Register of the Zillah Court at Etawah.

MADRAS.

Fort St. George.—Sept. 24. Mr. J. Paske to be Judge and Criminal Judge in the Zillah of Chingleput; Mr. D. Benneman to be Sub-Collector and Assistant Magistrate in Madura; M. R. Nelson to be Head Assistant to the Collector and Magistrate of Madura.

EAST INDIA COMPANY'S ARMY.

BENGAL.

MILITARY APPOINTMENTS.

Fort William.—July 17. Lieut. Col. G. Becher, 5th light cav. to be President of Arsenal Committee on Stores, received into Arsenal of Fort William.—22d. Lieut. H. C. Clarkson, 42d regt. N. I. to be Interpreter and Quartermaster, vice Steele, removed; Lieut. E. T. Richardson, 46th regt. to be Interpreter and Quartermaster, vice Wade, removed.—Aug. 5. Dep. Com. Lieut. J. Cartwright to be a Com., and Lieut. J. Paton, of artillery, to be a Dep. Com., vice Walcott, deceased; Lieut. Codrington, 49th N. I. to act as an Assistant Engineer under Lieut. Crommelin at Chittagong.—9. Lieut. Lamb, Ma-

dras artillery, to be Adj. and Quarterm. to Chittagong division of artillery; Lieut. H. Fowle to be ditto to 43d N. I.; Lieut. and Adj. Urquhart to be ditto to 54th N. I.—11. Lieut. F. Mullins to be ditto to 12th N. I.—12. Lieut. F. Jenkins, 47th N. I., and J. W. Wakefield, regt. of artillery, to be Assistants to the Secretary of Military Board.—26. Col. H. Fraser, of the Madras establishment, to be Brig. Gen. in command of the Madras division of the troops employed against the dominions of the King of Ava, vice Mac Bean, resigned.

Fort William.—Aug. 11. The following Postings and Removals are to take place in the Regiment of Artillery, consequent to the late promotions.

Colonels and Lieutenant-Colonels Commandant, to battalions, as follows.

Horse Brigade. T. Harwick, G. Pennington (new prom.)

1st Bat. J. MacIntyre, R. Hetzler, C.B. (new prom.)

2d Bat. N. Carnegie, A. MacLeod, C.B. (new prom.)

3d Bat. A. Caldwell, C.B.; C. Brown (new prom.)

4th Bat. J. D. Sherwood (ditto.)

Lieutenant-Colonels.

Horse Brigade. H. Stark (new prom.)
H. Faithful (ditto.)

1st Bat. M. W. Browne, G. Swiney (new prom.)

2d Bat. J. Ahmuty, A. Lindsay (new prom.)

3d Bat. W. Hopper, G. Pollock (new prom.)

4th Bat. C. Parker, (ditto.)

Majors.

Horse Brigade. J. P. Boileau, J. Rodber (new prom.)

1st Bat. J. A. Biggs from 3d bat., S. S. Shaw (new prom.)

2d Bat. J. F. Dundas from 1st bat., W. S. Whish (new prom.)

3d Bat. W. H. L. Frith (new prom.)
W. McQuhae (ditto.)

4th Bat. W. Battine (ditto.)

Captains.

G. G. Denniss (new prom.) to 13th comp. 4th bat., vice Whish; C. Smith (new prom.) to 2d comp. 2d bat., vice Frith; G. Everest from 6th comp. 2d bat., to 11th comp. 4th bat.; J. Rawlins (new prom.) to 6th comp. 2d bat., vice Everest; R. Roberts from 4th comp. 1st bat., to 3d troop horse brigade, vice Rodber; H. C. Baker, (new prom.) to 4th comp. 1st bat., vice Roberts; G. H. Woodrooffe (new prom.) to 8th comp. 1st bat.; T. Blair (new prom.) to 7th comp. 4th bat.; S. Parly from 3d comp. 2d bat., to 8th comp. 4th bat.; I. Pereira from 2d comp. 1st bat., to 3d comp. 2d bat., vice Parly; H. Ralfe (new prom.) to 2d comp. 1st bat., vice Pereira; R. B. Fulton from 8th comp. 1st bat., to 2d comp. 4th bat., vice Walcott; W. Bell, (new prom.) to 5th comp. 1st bat., vice Shaw.

1st-Lieutenants.

C. Grant from 1st to 6th troop horse brigade; W. R. Maidman from 3d to 7th ditto; J. S. Kirby from 1st comp. 3d bat., to 1st comp. 2d bat., vice Smith; J. Alexander (new prom.) to 1st comp. 3d bat., vice Kirby; C. H. Wiggins (new prom.) to 2d comp. 1st bat., vice Denniss; J. R. Revell (new prom.) to 5th comp. 1st bat.; O. Baker from 7th comp. 1st bat., to 6th comp. 1st bat., vice Bell; F. Brind (new prom.) to 7th comp. 1st bat., vice Baker; E. F. Day, (new prom.) to 6th comp. 2d bat., vice Rawlins; E. C. T. B. Hughes (new prom.) to 3d comp. 2d bat.;

W. Oliphant from 5th comp. 2d bat., to 3d comp. 3d bat.; P. A. Torekler from 4th comp. 1st bat., to 5th comp. 2d bat., vice Oliphant; W. Anderson (new prom.) to 4th comp. 1st bat., vice Torekler; H. Humfrey (new prom.) to 5th comp. 3d bat., vice Woodrooffe; G. Twenlow from 6th comp. 3d bat., to 3d comp. 4th bat.; J. Turtton (new prom.) to 6th comp. 3d bat.; H. Delafosse from 6th comp. 3d bat., to 7th comp. 4th bat.; R. G. Beddingfield from 8th comp. 2d bat., to 6th comp. 3d bat., vice Delafosse; J. T. Lane (new prom.) to 8th comp. 2d bat., vice Beddingfield; C. G. Dixon from 5th comp. 3d bat., to 17th comp. 4th bat.; J. L. Mowatt (new prom.) to 5th comp. 3d bat., vice Dixon; T. P. Ackers (new prom.) to 19th comp. 4th bat.; B. Browne from 5th comp. 2d bat., to 5th comp. 4th bat.; P. B. Burlton (new prom.) to 5th comp. 2d bat., vice Browne; H. B. Dalzell (new prom.) to 18th comp. 4th bat.; C. R. Cranford from 8th comp. 3d bat., to 2d comp. 2d bat.; E. Blake (new prom.) to 8th comp. 3d bat., vice Cranford; W. Connell from 7th comp. 3d bat., to 8th comp. 3d bat.; G. R. Scott from 8th comp. 3d bat., to 7th comp. 3d bat.; F. S. Sotheby from 4th comp. 3d bat., to 16th comp. 4th bat.; G. H. Dyke (new prom.) to 4th comp. 3d bat., vice Sotheby.

2d-Lieutenants.

F. Grote from 4th comp. 2d bat., to 3d comp. 2d bat.; E. F. O'Haulon from 6th comp. 2d bat., to 8th comp. 3d bat.; F. R. Bazely from 6th comp. 2d bat., to 6th comp. 3d bat.; G. Campbell from 8th comp. 2d bat., to 7th troop horse brigade; W. S. Phillans from 8th comp. 2d bat., to 1st comp. 2d bat.; G. H. Swinley from 8th comp. 3d bat., to 6th comp. 3d bat.; J. Abbot from 7th comp. 2d bat., to 5th comp. 2d bat.; F. Dashwood from 7th comp. 2d bat., to 4th comp. 3d bat.; W. E. J. Hodgson to 3d comp. 2d bat.; E. D. Todd to 2d comp. 2d bat.; H. Daniel to 4th comp. 1st bat.; A. P. Begbie to 4th comp. 1st bat.; J. Brady to 4th comp. 3d bat.

Lieut. and Adj. Wood, 3d bat., to proceed to Agra, and assume charge of adjutant's office of 1st bat.

Aug. 12.—The undermentioned ensigns, the seniors of those who do not stand first for promotion in their present regiments, are removed to be first ensigns in the corps specified opposite to their names respectively, and directed to join, viz. W. Brownlow from 26th to 46th N.I., in Assam; J. Stephen from 11th to 18th N.I., Agra; M. W. Gilmore from 5th to 2d Europ. regt., Dinapore; W. S. Menteath from 8th to 62d N.I., Sylhet frontier; W. Biddulph from 63d to 45th N.I., Chittagong.

Cornets and Ensigns posted to Regiments Light Cavalry. Cornets W. L. L. Scott, 1st, at Sultanpore Benares; E. Vibart,

2d, at Mhow; J. Woore and D. Wiggins, 3d, at Nusserabad; C. Lowth, W. W. Apperly, and H. Lawrell, 4th, at Kur-naul; A. Wheatley and J. Bott, 5th, at Muttra; B. D. Brooke and G. A. Paxton, 6th, at Keitab; H. Moffat and W. B. Reade, 7th, at Neemuch; R. W. Hogg and J. Milner, 8th, at Nagpore.

Infantry. Ensigns A. Grant and G. Miller, 1st Europ. regt. at Nagpore; G. D. Harvey and A. Stewart, 2d Europ. regt., at Dinapore; P. Harris, 2d N. I., at Sultaupore Oude; H. Wilson and J. Wilcox, 4th, at Neemuch; C. W. Haig and E. R. Spilsbury, 5th, at Moradabad; J. Stubbs, 6th, at Assergurh; J. Iveson and H. J. McGeorge, 7th, at Dacca; J. P. Farquharson and S. J. Grove, 8th, at Baitool; A. Fisher, 9th, at Bareilly; C. H. Thomas and T. F. Blois, 11th, at Allahabad; Hon. R. V. Powys, 12th, at Meerut; W. J. Cade, 13th, at Cuttack; P. Innes, 14th, at Sylhet frontier; G. Abbott, 15th, at Mhow; E. R. Mainwaring and T. H. G. Besant, 16th, at Barrackpore; J. Powell, 17th, at Nagpore; A. R. J. Swinton, 18th, at Gorgaon; G. W. A. Nares and C. Symes, 19th, at Agra; H. J. Ximenes and W. J. Rind, 20th, at Secro-ra; J. M. McGregor, 21st, at Lucknow; J. Hunt, 22d, at Lucknow; H. Becher, 23d, at Futtighur; R. H. Turnbull, 24th, at Hansi; J. A. Wood and E. S. Lloyd, 25th, at P. W. Island; R. B. Lynch and W. E. Robertson, 26th, at Barrackpore; P. Hopkins and L. W. Gibson, 27th, at Chittagong; W. Murray, 28th, at Pertab-gurh Oude; A. Park and C. Hutchinson, 29th, at Neemuch; J. Lang, 30th, at Chittagong; E. T. Milner, 30th, at Mirzapore; R. S. Trevor and J. S. Davies, 32d, at Cawnpore; J. D. Nash, 33d, at Muttra; B. Halliwell and C. B. Leicester, 34th, at Loodcanah; A. G. F. J. Young-husband and W. Gibb, 35th, at Loodcanah; F. H. Nicolay, 36th, at Nusserabad; T. F. Fleming and A. Spottiswood, 37th, Nagpore; W. Hislop, at Sylhet frontier; F. B. R. Oldfield and G. M. Pilgrim, 40th, at Cheduba; G. Gillman, 41st, at Etawah; R. E. Blackburn and J. L. Brown, 42d, at Berhampore; H. W. Matthews, 43d, at Kurnaul; H. T. Wheeler, 45th, at Chittagong; T. J. Nuthall, 45th, at Assam; C. J. Whitfield, 46th, at Assam; A. Mackenzie, 48th, at Saugor; R. F. Macvittie and E. Lion, 49th, at Dinapore; K. Young and C. Hunter, 50th, at Nusserabad; C. Dickson, 51st, at Jubbulpore; J. W. H. Jamieson and W. Maccay, 52d, at Sylhet frontier; J. Beresford and G. Tylee, 53d, at Saugor; R. Hill, 54th, at Benares; J. Fulton, 55th, at Mhow; F. E. Smith, 56th, at Delhi; L. Hone, 57th, at Rungpore; J. Higginson, 58th, at Nusserabad; E. Kelly, 59th, at Banda; R. Drought, 60th, at Bhopal-pore; H. C. Talbot, 61st, at Barrackpore; W. T. Johnson and H. Boyd, 62d, at Barrackpore; H. Foquett, 63d, at Cawnpore; L. N. Kerr, 65th, at Dinapore; T. L. Egerton, 66th, at Cawnpore; J. W. Hicks, 67th, at Benares; C. S. Maling, 68th, at Barrackpore.

ADJUSTMENT OF RANK.

Fort William, August 5.

The Right Hon. the Governor General in Council is pleased to assign rank to the following officers, as 2d-lieuts., cornets, and ensigns, from the dates expressed opposite to their names respectively:

Engineers. 2d-Lieuts. G. T. Greene (not arrived), 18th Dec. 1823. S. Mallock (not arrived); do. H. Goodwyn (not arrived), do.

Artillery. 2d-Lieuts. F. Gaitskell (not arrived), 18th Dec. 1823. J. D. Shakespeare (not arrived), do. G. D. Scott (not arrived), do. G. T. Graham (not arrived), do. F. K. Duncan (not arrived), do. E. D'Arcy Todd, do. T. E. Sage (not arrived), do. J. H. Daniell, do. A. P. Begbie, do. J. Brady, 7th Feb. 1824.

Cavalry. Cornets A. Conolly, 30th July 1823. C. Lowth, 7th Jan. 1824. J. Woore, 9th do. R. Digby Brooke, do. A. Wheatley, do. R. W. Hogg, 14th do. H. Moffat, 17th do. D. Wiggins, do. W. L. L. Scott, do. W. W. Apperley, 14th April. E. Vi-hart, 1st May. G. A. Paxton, do. J. Bott, do. J. Milner, do. W. B. Reade, do. H. Lawrell, do.

Infantry. Ensign J. A. Wood, 18th Aug. 1823. C. H. Thomas, do. H. J. Ximenes, 14th Dec. C. W. Haig, do. T. J. Nuthall, 7th Jan. 1824. W. T. Johnson, do. A. Grant, do. F. B. R. Oldfield, do. R. S. Trevor, do. B. Halliwell, do. E. R. Mainwaring, 9th do. J. Beresford, do. C. S. Maling, do. R. B. Lynch, do. J. Iveson, do. R. F. Macvittie, do. G. W. A. Nares, do. A. Park, do. J. P. Farquharson, 14th do. H. Wilson, do. R. E. Blackburn, do. G. D. Harvey, do. H. Becher, do. P. Hopkins, do. T. F. Fleming, do. F. E. Smith, do. R. Hill, do. W. Hislop, 15th do. G. Abbott, 16th do. J. Lang, do. K. Young, do. A. R. J. Swinton, do. A. G. F. J. Younghusband, 16th Jan. 1824. J. D. Nash, do. J. W. H. Jamieson, do. J. Powell, do. H. T. Wheeler, do. A. Fisher, do. R. H. Turnbull, do. P. Innes, do. E. S. Lloyd, do. T. F. Blois, 17th do. W. J. Rind, do. G. Gillman, do. E. Kelly, do. E. R. Spilsbury, do. C. H. Whitfield, do. H. C. Talbot, do. L. Hone, do. H. Foquett, do. L. M. Kerr, do. J. W. Hicks, do. H. Boyd, do. F. G. Nicolay, do. W. Murray, do. G. Miller, do. W. J. Cade, do. G. M. Pilgrim, do. J. S. Davies, do. G. B. Leicester, do. J. Stubbs (not arrived), 10th Feb. do. W. Mackay, do. A. Mackenzie (not arrived), do. H. R. V. Powys (not arrived), 18th do. R. Drought (not arrived), do. P. Harris (not arrived), do. S. J. Grove (not arrived), do. J. Hunt (not arrived), do. G. Tyler (not

arrived), do. T. L. Egerton, 19th do. W. Gibb, do. J. Fulton, do. J. Higginson, 21st do. W. E. Robertson, do. H. J. M^cGeorge, do. E. Lyon, do. C. Symes, do. C. Hutchinson, do. J. M. Macgregor, do. T. H. G. Besant, do. J. Wilcox, do. J. L. Brown, do. A. Stewart, do. C. Hunter, 23d do. L. W. Gibson, do. C. Dickson, do. A. Spottiswood, 25th do. H. W. Matthews, 3d March. E. T. Milner, do.

MADRAS.

GOVERNMENT GENERAL ORDER.

Augmentation to the Army.

Fort St. George, Aug. 26, 1824.—The Hon. the Governor in Council is pleased to direct, that the establishment of the native infantry regiments at this presidency, employed on foreign service, shall be increased to 900 privates, with an additional havildar and nainque per company, and that any corps hereafter warned for foreign service, shall from that date be upon the increased establishment.

The Commander-in-chief will be pleased to issue the necessary subsidiary orders for carrying this increase into effect, either by drafting volunteers from the regiments of the line, or by recruiting.

The Hon. the Governor in Council is further pleased to direct, that the establishment of the remaining regiments of native infantry be for the present fixed at 800 privates.

MILITARY APPOINTMENTS.

Fort St. George, Aug. 27.—Lieut. (Brev. capt.) J. J. James to be quartermaster, interp. and paymast. to the 7th N. I., vice Hendrie.

Lieut. (Brev. capt.) A. Hendrie to be adj. to 7th N. I., vice James.

Lieut. (Brev. capt.) J. T. Webbe to be adj. to 19th N. I.

Lieut. W. E. Brooshooff to be quartermaster, interp., and paymast. to 35th N. I., vice Bruce, prom.

Sept. 3.—Capt. J. G. Bonner of artillery to be assist. adjt. gen. of artillery, vice Rudyerd, deceased.

PROMOTIONS.

Fort St. George, Aug. 24.—18th Reg. N. I. Ens. W. E. T. Bradley to Lieut., vice Lyons, dec.; date of com. 13th July 1824.

8th Regt. L. C. Sen. Cornet J. R. Robertson to be Lieut., vice Pryce, dec.; date of com. 22d Aug. 1824.

Sept. 3.—*Artillery.* Sen. Maj. S. Cleaveland to be lieut. col.; Sen. capt. J. Wilkinson to be Major; and Sen. 1st-Lieut. J. M. Ley to be capt., vice Nixon, invalided; date of com. 4th Sept. 1824.

19th Regt. N. I. Sen. Lieut. (Brev. capt.) J. H. Bennette to be Capt., and Sen. Ens. G. Nott to be Lieut., vice Hardy, dec.; date of com. 29th Aug. 1824.

FURLOUGHs.

Fort St. George, July 23.—Assistant Surg. T. Tomkinson, for health to Europe. Aug. 24. Lieut. C. Forsted and Cornet E. Gaitskell, 5th L. C. to Europe, for ditto. 27. Major W. Jollie, 4th N. I., to Europe, on furlough. Sept. 3. Lieut. Col. J. M. Coombs 38 N. I., to Europe on furlough. Major R. Davis, Invalid Estab. ditto. Lieut. B. S. Ward, 2d Enro. regt. for twelve months to the Cape on sick certificate.

BOMBAY.

GOVERNMENT GENERAL ORDERS.—INTERPRETERS TO REGIMENTS.

Bombay Castle, May 13, 1824.—The serious and responsible duty of correctly interpreting the proceedings of native courts-martial, having led the Hon. the Court of Directors to sanction the united appointment of interpreter and quartermaster to each native battalion, as announced in the General Order by Government, dated the 31st May, 1819, and the frequent demands that are made by the European corps for the attendance of the interpreters from native battalions, on occasions of regimental courts-martial, or other inquiries in which the natives are concerned, forcibly pointing out the necessity of a similar appointment with the European corps, independent of affording the means of communicating with the natives when on the line of march or detached duties; the Governor in Council is pleased to sanction the appointments of interpreters in the Hindoostanee and Mahratta languages to his Majesty's and the Hon. Company's European cavalry and infantry serving on this establishment, distinct from the office of quartermaster, on the following scale, viz.

Hindoostanee	Rs. 60
Contingencies	10
	<hr/>
Total 70	
Additional.	
Mahratta	30
	<hr/>

Total, when united in } Rs. 100
the same person

The same scale is applicable to officers attached as interpreters to the extra battalions which have no quartermaster on the establishment.

In such corps throughout the army where the same officers may not be qualified to hold the two appointments, the Governor in Council is pleased to sanction a second, or Mahratta interpreter,

in the following scale, and to declare that the officer holding such appointment has succeeded (provided he be also qualified in Hindoostanee and Mahratta) in interpreter with the quarter-master attached, where the offices may be united in the first vacancy.

Mahratta	Rs. 30
Contingencies	10
	—
Total	40
	—

ALLOWANCES TO PERSONS SHIPWRECKED IN THE BLENDON HALL.

Bombay Castle, Aug. 20, 1824.—In pursuance of instructions received from the Hon the Court of Directors, it is hereby notified that all persons who were shipwrecked in the Blendon Hall, in 1821, are permitted to receive their pay-allowances from the 1st Sept. of that year, the probable period at which they would have reached Bombay, if the unfortunate accident had not occurred.

KING'S FORCES IN INDIA.

[From the London Gazettes.]

BENGAL.

14th Foot. Lieut. C. S. Tinling, from 7th Foot, to be Lieut., vice Wood, who exchanges; dated 3d Feb. 1825.

59th Foot. Hospital - Assistant, W. Fenio, M. D., to be Assistant-Surgeon, vice Thomson, promoted to 4th Light Dragoons; dated 20th Jan. 1825.

MADRAS.

13th Light Dragoons. J. E. Alexander, Gent., to be Cornet by purchase, vice Bigge, who retires; dated 20th Jan. 1825.

1st Foot. To be Captains:—Capt. J. L. Guay, from 1st Roy. Vet. Bat., vice Suckling, appointed to 90th Foot; dated 13th Jan. 1825. Lieut. J. Stoyte, by purchase, vice Dobbin, who retires; dated 27th Jan. 1825.

54th Foot. Lieut. R. Woodgate to be Captain without purchase; dated 11th Jan. 1825. To be Lieuts. without purchase:—Ensign F. Considine; dated 11th Jan. 1825. Second Lieut. H. Gascoyne, from Rifle Brigade; dated 12th Jan. 1825. And Ensign J. Dalgety, from 70th Foot, vice Woodgate; dated 13th Jan. 1825. Gent. Cadet, G. Man, from Royal Military College, to be Ensign, vice Considine; dated 13th Jan. 1825. Ensign W. Fothergill, from 64th Foot, to be Lieut. without purchase, vice Campbell, appointed to 31st Foot; dated 25th Jan. 1825.

89th Foot. Second Lieut. the Hon. C. D. Blayney, from Rifle Brigade, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Bell, promoted; dated 27th Jan. 1825. To be Lieuts. without purchase:—Lieut. W. H. Plibbs, from 2d Roy. Vet. Bat., vice Keith, appointed to 2d Foot; dated 25th Jan. 1825. Ensign J. Thomas, from 20th Foot, vice Harding, appointed to 31st Foot; dated 25th Jan.

BOMBAY.

20th Foot. Ensign C. G. Stokes, from 49th Foot, to be Lieut. without purchase, vice Young, appointed to 65th Foot; dated 25th Jan. 1825. S. Berdmore, Gent., to be Ensign without purchase, vice Knox, promoted to 2d Foot; dated 25th Jan. 1825.

47th Foot. Capt. J. Pennycuik, from half-pay 78th Foot, to be Capt., vice J. Pasly, who exchanges; dated 13th Jan. 1825. Lieut. W. Ashe, from 65th Foot, to be Lieut., vice Snow, who exchanges; dated 21st Jan. 1825.

67th Foot. To be Lieutenants:—Ensign W. M. P. Sweedland, without purchase, vice Munro; dated 27th Jan. 1825. Lieut. J. M. Wood, from 14th Foot, vice Tinling, who exchanges; dated 3d Feb. 1825.

CEYLON.

45th Foot. F. Pigott Gent. to be Ensign, without purchase, vice Hodgson promoted in 63rd Foot, dated 3d February 1825.

83d Foot. Ensign J. S. Hodgson, from 45th Foot, to be Lieut. without purchase, vice O'Brien deceased, dated 3d. Feb. 1825.

ISLE OF FRANCE.

56th Foot. I. P. Hind, Gent. to be Ensign without purchase, vice Leighton promoted in 2d Foot, dated 25th January 1825.

CAPE.

6th Foot. Lieut. T. Walsh from half-pay, 3d. Dragoon Guards, to be Lieut. without purchase, dated 19th December 1824.

49th Foot. T. Sparks, Gent. to be Ensign without purchase, vice Stokes promoted in 20th Foot, dated 25th January 1825.

MEMORANDUM.

His Majesty has been pleased to approve of Ensigns of the Royal Staff Corps being in future Commissioned as Second Lieutenants.

ARMY IN INDIA.

By the last returns which have been received from the different Recruiting Parties in Ireland, it appears that 1,192 men have been enlisted for the British Regiments now serving in India.

Detachments belonging to the 4th (the Queen's Own) Light Dragoons, and to the 2d, 6th, 8th, 13th, 24th, 27th, 30th, 31st, 41st, 43d, 44th, 45th, 46th, 47th, 64th, 67th, 69th, and 89th Regiments of

Foot, and to the East India Company's Artillery and Infantry, embarked on the 26th ult. under the command of Staff Serjeant Brady, at Dublin, for Bristol, on route to the depots of their respective Corps.

Detachments belonging to the 2d, 5th, 13th, 18th, 31st, 44th, 47th, 67th, 83d, 85th, 89th, 94th, and 97th Regiments of Foot, and to the Royal African Corps, the East India Company's Artillery and Infantry, embarked on the 28th ult. under the command of Serjeant Chantry, at Cork, for Bristol, on route to the depots of their respective Regiments.

Detachments belonging to the following Regiments of Infantry, viz:—The 2d, 8th, 13th, 20th, 21st, 27th, 30th, 31st, 34th, 37th, 38th, 41st, 43d, 44th, 45th, 46th, 47th, 48th, 54th, 67th, 69th, 89th, 98th, and the Royal Staff Corps, embarked on the 25th ult. under the command of Staff Serjeant O'Doherty, at Dublin, for Bristol, on route to the Depots of their respective Regiments. The 67th (South Hampshire) Regiment of Foot, is to return from India, to England.

A Detachment of men, belonging to British Regiments in India, proceeded from Albany Barracks, on the 7th ult. to Chatham, for the purpose of embarking on board the Herefordshire East Indiaman, for Madras. The 2d (Queen's Royal) Regiment of Foot has embarked on board the Kellie Castle and luglis, Indiamen, for India.—The 31st (Huntingdonshire) Regiment of Infantry, embarked on the 6th ult, on board the Kent Indiaman, and another vessel, for India.

[From the India Gazettes.]

BENGAL.

MILITARY APPOINTMENTS.

Head Quarters.—July 22d, Lieutenant Hawkins, 44th Regt. to be Aid-de-Camp to Brig.-Gen. Morrison.

PROMOTIONS.

Head-Quarters, Calcutta, Sept. 2d.—1st. Regt. Foot, Lieut. M. Rafter, from half-pay 84th Foot, to be Lieut. vice M'Couchy appointed to 84th Foot, 26th March 1824.—Ensign A. Graham to be Lieut. by purchase, vice M'Beath who retires, 4th March 1824.—J. B. Kerr, Gent. to be Ensign by purchase, vice Graham, 4th March 1824.

13th Foot. Lieut. P. Bain from half-pay 32th Foot, to be Lieut. vice Campbell appointed to 99th Foot, 25th March 1824.

20th Foot. Lieut. J. Ovens, from half-pay 27th Foot, and Lieut. W. F. Warren, from half-pay 30th Foot, to be Lieuts. vice Darroch and Armstrong, 25th March, 1824.

30th Foot. Lieut. S. Tresider, from half-pay 60th Foot, to be Lieut. vice Ramus appointed to 25th Foot, 4th March 1824.

EXCHANGES.

Head Quarters, Calcutta, Sept. 2d.—4th Light. Dragoons, Capt. T. D. Burrows, from 8th Light Dragoons, to be Capt. vice Butt who exchanges, 26th February 1824.

1st. Foot. Capt. T. J. Harvey, from half-pay 56th Foot, to be Capt. vice J. G. Conell who exchanges, 19th February 1824.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

BENGAL.

Births.—Aug. 1. At Calcutta, the wife of Capt. S. Cale, commanding the brig Caroline, of a son. 3. Mrs. G. Scott, of a daughter. 6. At Ghazepoor, the lady of H. Smith, Esq. Civil Service, of a son. 9. Mrs. C. C. Arratoon, of a son. 10. At Delhi, the lady of Capt. G. R. Pemberton, 56th N. I., of a daughter. 11. At Gyah, Behar, the lady of H. P. Russell, Esq. Civil Service, of a son. 13. At Dacca, the lady of J. Mackay, Esq. of a son. 14. At Patna, the lady of R. M. Tilghman, Esq. Secretary to Board of Revenue, in Central Provinces, of a daughter; at Hameerpore, in Bundelcund, the lady of Lieut. W. Bignell, 63d Regt. of a daughter; at Dum-Dum, Mrs. Paine, wife of Mr. H. Paine, Inspector of Provisions, of a son. 16. Mrs. R. Hollow of a daughter. 17. At Dacca, the lady of Brev. Capt. A. Dickson, adj. Dacca Prov. Bat., of a son. 18. The lady of J. F. Sandys, Esq., of a daughter.

19. Mrs. C. Scott, of a daughter; the wife of Mr. E. Leggart, of a son. 27. At Burdwan, the lady of Lieut. T. Betts, his Highness the Nizam's service, of a daughter.

Marriages.—Aug. 2. At the Cathedral, W. Moore, Esq., to Miss J. Adams. Mr. J. H. Burn, to Miss Dorothy Pereira. At Muttia, Lieut. E. M. Blair, 5th Cavalry, to Miss S. Kennedy, second daughter of Major Kennedy, commanding that Regiment. 4. At Cuttack, Mr. E. Cooper, to Miss J. Cooper. 9. At Futtyghur, Major W. Dunlop, 52d Regt., to Miss Morton, only daughter of T. Morton, Esq., of Pangbourn, Berkshire. 13. At St. John's Cathedral, J. M. De Verinne, Esq., eldest son of the late C. J. De Verinne, Esq., to Ann Frances, only daughter of the late Capt. W. H. Wallis, 24th Light Dragoons, and latterly of Poosa. 16. At Dacca, Lieut. P. Craigie, 38th Regt. to Mrs. Gilbert, second daughter of the late S.

Oliver, Esq., of Castle Oliver, county of Limerick. 19. At Patua, C. W. Smith, Esq., Judge and Magistrate of Ghazepore, to Anne Jessie Mackenzie, fourth daughter of the late D. Mackenzie, Esq., of Hartfield, Ross Shire. 20. At the Cathedral, Lieut. L. Hobson, in the service of his Highness the Rajah of Nagpore, to Mrs. S. Thompson.

Deaths.—Aug. 1. At Allypore, Mr. C. S. Parrock. 2. At Benares, Leonora Emma, eldest daughter of C. D. Russell, Esq., aged 4 years. 3. At Barrackpore, Miss E. Innes, eldest daughter of Lieut. Col. Com. Innes, aged 17 years (not Mr. H. Innes, as stated in our last.) At Diamond Harbour, Mr. E. Steel. 4. At Calcutta, Miss H. McKenny. 19. Mrs. E. De Cruz.—Sept. Major J. Canning, late Aide-de-Camp and political agent to the Right Honourable the Governor-General.

MADRAS.

Births.—Aug. 13. At Berhampore, the lady of J. T. Austly, Esq., C. S. of a son. 15. At Trichonopoly, the lady of Lieut. Suter, roy. reg., of a son. 16. At Arcot, the lady of Lieut. Naylor, 89th Reg., of a daughter. 22. At Secundrabad, the lady of Capt. Crisp, of a son. 23. At Bangalore, the lady of Capt. J. Wilson, of a daughter. Sept. 3. At Arungabad, the lady of Capt. F. Patterson, Arungabad Division, of a son. 10. At Vepery, the lady of Capt. F. J. W. Cleveland, 38th Reg., N. I., of a son. 17. At Bellary, the lady of Capt. B. McMaster, of a son. 18. The lady of C. H. Clay, Esq., of a son. 20. At Vepery, Mrs. Sherman, of a son. 23. At Royapooram, Mrs. M. Leipenstein, of a son. 24. The lady of F. A. Robson, Esq., of a son.

Marriages.—Sept. 5. At Mangalore, Mr. J. S. Vieira to Miss R. de Rozaio. 18. At Madras, Mr. J. P. Saalfelt to Miss M. Solomon; Lieut. F. Senior, 35th Reg., to Mary Ann, third daughter of Mr. J. S. Therman. 21. At Madras, Rev. J. Hallowell, M. A., to Mary, daughter of W. Thompson, Esq., M. D., Wexford, Ireland. 27. At Madras, Capt. C. H. Campbell, Bengal Artillery, to Miss A. Murray, second daughter of the hon. L. G. K. Murray, Collector of Madras.

Deaths.—Sept. 7. At Parsewauk, Mr. J. Walden. 9. At Cuddalore, G. P. Jamieson, Esq. 12. Miss E. U. Luxa, daughter of Mr. J. Luxa; Ensign F. Hirtzel, 44th Reg., N. I., at Negapatam; Capt. W. Hardy late commanding the Escort of the Residency at Tanjore. 14. At Guntoor, Lieut. T. Roberts, commanding that station. 15. Mr. H. Bacon, Deputy Assistant Commissary. 20. At the Presidency, T. De Fries, Esq. 21. Rebecca, relict of H. Sewell, Esq. 23. At Choultry Plain, Captain A. E. Pattullo, commanding the Governor's

Body Guard. 26. At Chindatrepai, M. Wilkinson.

PENANG.

Births.—July 26. The lady of Capt. H. Burney, of a son. 28. Mrs. Porter, of a son.

Deaths.—June 23. Mrs. P. M. Gachen. July, 28. Capt. W. Scully, C. S.

CEYLON.

Births.—Aug. 5. At Colomba, the lady of J. P. Foenander, Esq., Sitting Magistrate of Calpenhy, of a daughter. 6. The lady of Capt. Hilton, Ceylon dragoons, of a daughter. 28. At Rockhouse, Lady Giffard, of a daughter.

Deaths.—May 7. Mrs. M. Brechman, widow of the late J. H. Brechman, Esq. July 31. At Colombo, Mrs. Anna Weinman, aged 25, only daughter of the late Quart.-mast. T. Blake, H. M. 19th foot, after having been delivered of three male still-born children, one on the 28th, and the other two on the 31st July. Aug. 4. At Colombo, Lieut. F. O'Brien, 83d regt. assistant engineer. 15. At Hambantotte, the hon. and ven. T. J. Twistleton, D. D. Archdeacon of Colombo. 20. At Colombo, M. J. Smyth, Esq., late of Ceylon civil service. 24. At Colombo, S. W. Holderness, aged 32. 27. At Colombo, Mr. J. Litson, master of the ship Thames.

GREAT BRITAIN.

Birth.—Jan. 21. At Pentonville, the lady of Captain George Beach, of a daughter.

Marriages.—Jan. 17. At Exeter, H. Passmore, Esq. of Calcutta, to Emily M'Leod, third daughter of the late J. Rollo, Esq. M. D. Surgeon-General and Inspector of the Ordnance Hospital, Woolwich. At Edinburgh, E. B. Glass, Esq. E. I. C. civil service, to Catherine, second daughter of J. C. Scott, Esq. of Sinton. Feb. 8. At Twicken-lane, R. Jeffery, Esq. to Mary Eleanor, widow of the late W. Simpson, Esq. of Madras. 12. At Westham, J. T. Hodgson, Esq., of Calcutta, to Miss Marshall, grand-daughter of C. Frisby, Esq. of Stratford Green. At St. Pancras Church, John Henry, youngest son of the late Capt. H. H. Toriano, of the hon. E. I. C. corps of Engineers, to Elizabeth, daughter of the late J. Jones, Esq. 15. At St. Martin's in the Fields, Lieut. W. G. T. Lewis of the hon. E. I. C. S. to Caroline, second daughter of Mr. Hume, of Long Acre.

Deaths.—Jan. 29. At his house, Cornwall-terrace, Regent's-park, K. Mackenzie, Esq.; at Kensington, Amelia, widow of Capt. J. Warburton, 17th Madras N. I. and daughter of C. Brown, Esq. Feb. 4. At Hastings, Major J. Sharp, of Kincarrathie, Perthshire, and late of the Bengal Establishment; at Cheltenham, Mrs. Haldane, relict of the late J. Haldane, Esq., of Calcutta, aged 58. 13. At Heavilltree, Capt. J. Davie, R. N., after a

long illness, which commenced on the St. Helena station, where he commanded H. M. S. Conqueror.

Casualty.—For some time past the town of Gravesend has been kept in the utmost state of anxiety, in consequence of the untimely death of Mr. William Bignell, the mate of the Hythe East Indiaman; and the extraordinary circumstances with which it is attended, are the principal subjects of conversation amongst the townspeople. On the 8th Jan. Mr. Bignell and one of his brother officers went on board one of the Honourable Company's ships lying off Gravesend, and a short distance a-head of the Hythe, to spend the evening with the Captain and the other officers. They were rowed on board by one of the Gravesend watermen, who was desired to wait with his boat alongside, to convey them to the Hythe. About ten o'clock at night, Mr. Bignell and his brother officer got into the boat, and the waterman proceeded with them back to the vessel; the other officer got on deck first, leaving the unfortunate Mr. Bignell to settle with the waterman, who demanded six shillings for his trouble. Mr. Bignell refused to pay such an exorbitant demand, and called to the other officer, who stood looking over the gunwale, saying the waterman wanted to charge him six shillings. The other said, "Curse him! he is like all the other Gravesenders;—give him two." Mr. B. presented him the money, which was rejected by the waterman, who told him he was no gentleman for offering such a trifle. This roused Mr. B.'s indignation, and he made a blow at the sculler, who missed it by stepping aside, and the unfortunate young gentleman fell overboard, and sunk to rise no more. The drags were instantly procured, and

persons employed themselves the whole of that night, and for days after, in endeavouring to find the body; but up to Monday last all their exertions proved ineffectual; and it being known that a large whirlpool is near where the melancholy occurrence took place, it is feared his body has sunk to the bottom. The unfortunate young man had in his pockets at the time a valuable musical snuff-box, about thirty sovereigns, and a silver hunting-watch.

Suicide.—An inquest was held, early in the month, at the Townhall, Gravesend, on the body of John Browne, Esq., aged 26, the second officer on board the East India Company's ship Waterloo. It appeared that about five years since the deceased formed an intimacy with a young lady; but his friends, who were not on friendly terms with her, were desirous that the connexion should be terminated. On Sunday the 23d Jan. he brought this lady and her sister from London, and on the road from thence to Northfleet he fired a pistol through the chaise window; but the ladies, who were in the greatest alarm, were appeased by his assurances that no harm was intended. The ladies remained at Northfleet on Sunday night, and on Monday they took their leave of the deceased, and returned to London. The deceased jumped into a boat, and desired to be rowed to Gravesend, where his vessel was at anchor. The boat had reached the vessel, when the deceased stood up and fired a pistol at his head: the ball lodged in the brain, and he fell dead. The deceased attempted his life twice before:—once by shooting himself, and the other by taking a quantity of laudanum.—Verdict, insanity.

COMMERCIAL INTELLIGENCE FROM INDIA.

The season for ships leaving Bengal is extremely unfavourable from May to October, in consequence of the S.W. monsoon blowing up the bay. There have been therefore few arrivals from Calcutta of late: but in another month, ships sailing after October may be expected in greater numbers and more frequently.

The following are Extracts of Commercial Letters from Calcutta, dated the 10th of September, received via Madras, by the ship Clyde, Captain Driver, the latest ship from India:

INDIGO.—No quotations—a few musters of new Indigo had appeared in Calcutta, but no sales had been effected. The quality is said to be in general superior, and the proportion of good Indigo unusually large. Of the quantity we have heard many estimates: we do not think the crop has failed so much as reported, and incline to the large number of maunds stated, viz. 90,000, although we have seen reports which speak of 75 to 80,000 maunds.

COTTON.—Nothing doing in this article except trifling sales for country consumption;—the ardour for shipments to China has materially abated.

SAFFLOWER.—Little or no good flower procurable, and altogether scarce.

SALTPETRE.—1st quality, 5l. to 5l. 4s. 2d quality, 4l. 4s. to 4l. 12s. 3d quality, 2l. 12s. to 4l.

FREIGHTS TO LONDON.—Dead Weight, 5l. per Ton. Measurement, 7l. 10s.

METALS.—The market is completely glutted with Tutenague and Spelter. The prices declining, owing to the heavy quantities on hand.

Tutenague, 17l. 8s. to 17l. 12s. Spelter, 16l. 10s. to 16l. 12s.

Block Tin is looking up, and rather inquired after.

IRON is in steady demand at the following prices:—Swedish sq. rs.7 8as. to rs.7 12as. per factory maund; Swedish flat, rs.7 4as. to rs.7 8as.; English square rs.5 8as. to rs.6; ditto flat, rs.4 4as. to rs.4 8as.; ditto bolt, rs.9 to rs.10; Nails, sizes, rs.18 to rs.20.

LEAD, Pig, stamped, rs.9 12as. to rs.10; ditto unstamped, rs.9 10as. to rs.9 as.

QUICKSILVER, from rs.2 14as. to rs.3 in much demand;

STEEL, from rs.16 1as. to rs.16 8as.

TIN PLATES, rs.27 to rs.29 per box.

SPIRITS. Brandy, rs.2 6as. to rs.2 10as.; Hollands, rs.1 4as. to rs.1 8as.

COPPER.—Dull, little inquired after till within the last week, when some few sales have been effected at our last quotations.

BOTTLES.—The market unstocked with, and will probably be down to the price of 1818.

The remittable loan is at 36 Rs. 8 as.: the Exchange at 1s. 10½d. to 1s. 11d. per rupee: some bills have been given at 1s. 11½d. to 2s., and the general expectation is, that the rate must still rise soon to 2s. 2d. or 2s. 3d., as money is getting much scarcer in the market just now; and the Natives know well how to manage when a loan is contemplated.

INDIAN SECURITIES.

CALCUTTA, SEPT. 9, 1824.

Rates of Premium.

	Rs.	As.
Remittable Loan	36	8
Now remittable	2	7
Bank Shares	50	0

Bank of Bengal Rates.

Per Cent.

Discount on Government Bills	4	4
Do. on Private Bills	5	6
Interest on Loans on Deposit, open date	4	8
Do. 2 Months certain	4	0

Rates of Exchange.

On London, 6 Months' sight, 1s. 11d. to 2s. 6d. per sicca rupee.
 Madras, 30 Days' sight, 94 to 98 sicca rupees per 100 Madras rupees.
 Bombay, ditto, ditto 92 to 93 sicca rupees per 100 Bombay ditto.

SHIPPING INTELLIGENCE.

ARRIVALS IN ENGLAND FROM EASTERN PORTS.

Date.	Port of Arrival.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Port of Departure.	Date.
Feb. 6	Off Dover	.. John Barry	.. Roche	.. Bombay	.. Sept. 28
Feb. 6	Dowas	.. Arethusa	.. Strong	.. Cape	.. Dec. 2
Feb. 10	Dowas	.. Antelope	.. Munnings	.. Cape	.. Nov. 17
Feb. 17	Dowas	.. Clyde	.. Driver	.. Bengal	.. July 131

ARRIVALS IN EASTERN PORTS.

Date.	Port of Arrival.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Port of Depart.
Aug. 26	Calcutta	.. Henderson	.. M'Callum	.. Liverpool
Sept. 23	Madras	.. Beucoolen	.. Kirkwood	.. Liverpool
Sept. 24	Madras	.. Cornwall	.. Bunyon	.. London
Sept. 28	Madras	.. Exmouth	.. Owen	.. London
Sept. 30	Madras	.. Pyramus	.. Brodie	.. London
Oct. 25	Mauritius	.. Timandra	.. Wray	.. London
Nov. 29	Cape	.. Phoenix	.. Dixon	.. London
Dec. 2	Cape	.. Nereid	.. Boyes	.. London
Dec. 6	Cape	.. Hero of Malown	.. Garrick	.. London
Dec. 6	Cape	.. Kirswell	.. Armstrong	.. London
Jan. 16	Madeira	.. Palmyra	.. Lamb	.. Falmouth
Jan. 17	Madeira	.. H. M. S. Athol	.. ———	.. Portsmouth
Jan. 18	Madeira	.. Elizabeth	.. Collins	.. Portsmouth
Jan. 18	Madeira	.. Isabella	.. Wallace	.. Downs

DEPARTURES FROM ENGLAND.

Date.	Port of Depart.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Destination.
Feb. 6	Deal	.. Amity	.. Johnson	.. Bombay
Feb. 8	Deal	.. Pero	.. Rutter	.. Mauritius & Ceylon
Feb. 9	Deal	.. Kellie Castle	.. Adams	.. Bombay and China
Feb. 12	Deal	.. Burdon	.. Pearson	.. St. Helena
Feb. 13	Cowes	.. Rosetta	.. Evans	.. Singapore
Feb. 13	Cowes	.. Royal George	.. Ellerhy	.. Bombay
Feb. 13	Cowes	.. Waterloo	.. Alsager	.. Bengal and China
Feb. 13	Cowes	.. Britannia	.. Hawkins	.. Cape
Feb. 14	Liverpool	.. New Jersey	.. Whittall	.. China
Feb. 15	Portsmouth	.. Sarah	.. Milne	.. Cape
Feb. 18	Yarm. Roads	.. Royal George	.. Thomas	.. Bengal and China
Feb. 18	Portsmouth	.. Inglis	.. Seile	.. Bombay and China
Feb. 18	Portsmouth	.. H.M.S. Boadicea	.. ———	.. Madras and Bombay
Feb. 18	Deal	.. Gilmore	.. Laws	.. Bengal
Feb. 18	Deal	.. Maria	.. Moffatt	.. Batavia & Singapore
Feb. 18	Deal	.. Malvina	.. Phillips	.. Cape
Feb. 18	Deal	.. Mary	.. Steele	.. Batavia & Singapore
Feb. 18	Deal	.. Guardian	.. Sutherland	.. Batavia & Singapore
Feb. 18	Deal	.. Bengal	.. Norman	.. Bengal
Feb. 19	Deal	.. Kent	.. Cobb	.. Bengal and China
Feb. 19	Deal	.. Horneo	.. Ross	.. Cape and Bengal
Feb. 21	Portsmouth	.. General Palmer	.. Truscott	.. Madras
Feb. 21	Deal	.. Mary	.. Hutton	.. Cape
Feb. 22	Portsmouth	.. Coromandel	.. Boyes	.. Madras and Bengal
Feb. 22	Cowes	.. Farquharson	.. Crurikshank	.. Bombay and China
Feb. 22	Portsmouth	.. Scaleby Castle	.. Newall	.. Bengal and China
Feb. 22	Cowes	.. Owen Glendower	.. Christian	.. Cape and Mauritius
Feb. 22	Portsmouth	.. H.M.S. Samarang	.. ———	.. Cape

SHIPS SPOKEN WITH AT SEA.

Date.	Lat. and Long.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	From whence.	Where bound.
Jan. 12	On the Equator	Ogle Castle	.. Weynton	.. London	.. Bombay
———	Lat. 4 N., Long 10 W.	Dorothy	.. Garnock	.. Liverpool	.. Madras

GENERAL LIST OF PASSENGERS, &c.

PASSENGERS HOMEWARD.

By the *Arctura*—From the Cape: Mr. H. B. Everest, H. M. 6th Regt.; J. Pike, and H. Pullen, 1st and 2d Officers of the late Ship *Mary*, Capt. Ardlic.

By the *Antelope*—From the Cape: H. Combe, Esq. late Judge at the Mauritius; Mr. P. Gurnot, Mrs. Oliver, and Mrs. Rack.

By the *Clyde*—From Bengal and Madras: Capt. Bourdlew, H. C. S.; Mrs. Bourdlew, Mr. and Mrs. Bryce, Mrs. Gabb, two children and five servants from Bengal; Lieut. Col. Stewart, H. M. 46th Regt.; Mast. Stewart, Dr. Forster,

14th Light Dragoons; Capt. Abdy, H. C. S., and two Masters Abdy; Capt. Morgan, H. C. S.; Capt. Webb; Lieut. Norman, H. M. 60th Regt.; Mrs. Norman; Mast. Young, Mrs. Hardy, two Misses Burton, Rev. Mr. Forbes, Master Forbes, Miss Traveller and four servants from Madras.

By the *Greenock*—From Bengal: Mr. C. Melverie.

By the *Lord Hungerford*—From Bengal: Mrs. J. Palmer, Mrs. Conroy, Mast. W. Kenn two Masters Conroy, H. J. Palmer, Esq.; A. Reid, Esq. H. C. S.; Mr. M. M. Eugene; Mr. D. Etchigoyen, and Mr. Bessus.

DEBATE AT THE EAST INDIA HOUSE.

THIRD DAY.

On Friday the 25th inst. a Court of Directors was held at the East India House, by adjournment, for the purpose of continuing the "Consideration of the Hyderabad Papers now before the Proprietors, as far as they respect the conduct of the most noble the Marquis of Hastings, late Governor-General of India."

At 12 o'clock, the Court having assembled, the minutes of the last Meeting were read from the chair, together with the motion and amendment before the Court. (For which see the proceedings of the 11th inst.)

General SIR JOHN DOYLE then rose to address the Court, but from the very low tone in which he spoke, it was quite impossible to collect, for a long time, even the substance of his observations. Great part, indeed, of what the hon. Baronet said, was so entirely inaudible, except to those immediately about him, that we could not rely upon reporting even the effect of it with accuracy.

Before he resumed the argument which he had left unfinished at the last Meeting, he had to return thanks for the hearing and attention with which, on that day, he had been honoured. As he appeared before the Meeting in the character of a personal friend to the Marquis of Hastings, perhaps he should deserve less merit for what he might say or do than many gentlemen who were present. He appeared as the personal friend of Lord Hastings, but there were those there who appeared only as the friends of justice and of truth,—coming forward from pure disinterested feeling, to defend a nobleman from calumny, who had been among the most faithful, most zealous, and most efficient servants of the Company. Standing, however, before the Meeting as a mere individual Proprietor of East India Stock—although he deeply regretted, in common with many others, the discussion in which it was engaged,—a discussion which could do the Company no good, and might be the production of infinite mischief—still, standing where he did, he desired to ask the hon. Chairman whether the amendment which had just been read, was to be taken as moved by him under the order of the Court of Directors, or

on his own account, simply as a Proprietor of East India Stock.

The CHAIRMAN.—I have to apologize for not having made myself fully understood by the hon. Baronet, and perhaps by others, upon this point, when I first moved the amendment. I beg now to say, that the amendment is moved by me simply in the character of an East India Proprietor. But I ought to add, that every reason leads me to believe that that same amendment would have been the motion of the Court of Directors, if time could have been afforded them for coming to a decision. A proposal, that no objection should be made to the motion of the hon. Baronet, was, in fact, submitted to the Court; and, from the state of the numbers as they appeared upon that question, I am convinced that, had time been afforded, this amendment would have been the act and deed of the Direction.

SIR JOHN DOYLE apologized for not having understood the statement from the Chair in the first instance. The opposition, then, was now directed, not to the motion of the Directors, but to the view of the hon. Chairman. The hon. Baronet then proceeded to notice the two loans—the sixty-lac loan, and the loan of Aurungabad; and contended that the pre-sing necessities of the Nizam had justified the permission of both these transactions. Mr. Stuart's minute, as to Sir W. Rumbold's refusal to give up the accounts of the house, on the ground that the firm was not at liberty to publish the affairs of its constituents: this minute might have been justified at the time it was written; but it ought to be recollected, that, subsequent to that period, the other partners had transmitted the whole of their accounts. As to the sixty-lac loan, he would say but few words upon that: all parties had agreed upon its expediency. Upon the other point, the loan of Aurungabad, he would simply quote the opinion of Mr. Adam—first, because that Gentleman was known to be in opposition to Lord Hastings; and secondly, because he believed him incapable of making any statement which was not true. Mr. Adam distinctly said that he knew of no other loan which the Nizam could obtain upon equally economical terms; that, upon the whole, it ap-

peared to be the most favourable for his Highness that could be suggested; and, as such, was a proper object for the sanction of the British Government. Again, as to the loan of 61 lacs, Mr. Adam's words were, as distinctly, that he confessed he did not feel entitled to deprive the Nizam of it, unless he could furnish him with a better. So still further, in Mr. Adam's letter to Mr. Swinton, 18th of February 1821, "With respect to the benefit arising to the Nizam's Government from the loan, I never doubted it." But the statements of Mr. Metcalfe were of considerable importance at present, because by them the public mind had been a good deal prejudiced and impressed; and the fact was, that in these statements, there was not one word which could be relied on. It would be dishonest to make a charge of this kind and not sustain it; he (Sir John Doyle) meant to sustain it with chapter and verse. He would not follow Mr. Metcalfe's example, and raise his own argument by lowering the characters of other people; he would show Mr. Metcalfe's own character by his own conduct, and in no way else. And it would be no answer to this charge for Gentlemen to come forward and say that they knew Mr. Metcalfe—(he begged pardon)—Sir Charles Metcalfe, to be the most honourable man in all the world. He might be so—perhaps he was so—but there were passions to which the human heart was subject—passions like envy, hatred, and uncharitableness, which deadened a man's honour and the feelings of his heart sometimes. And he would show such a catalogue of these feelings in the heart of Sir Charles Metcalfe, as, perhaps, had never appeared in any human heart before. This house of Palmer and Co. which Sir Charles Metcalfe was striking at, with a view to reach and distress a higher power; for the cast seemed levelled at their firm; but the hope was by *ricochet* to reach the heart of the Marquis of Hastings. Why, Sir Charles Metcalfe himself had declared that, by these loans which he so much objected to, the Government of the Nizam had been effectually served. In the letter, page 191, Sir Charles Metcalfe spoke in these words:—"The government was undoubtedly relieved from much pecuniary embarrassment by the loan, and was enabled to pay off large arrears, which had accumulated in several branches of expenditure; but I have been disap-

pointed in finding the relief was not so much of a permanent nature as I had expected, and that the loan was not appropriated to the permanent reduction of expense to such an extent as I had supposed." Why, what did this mean?—Permanent relief! Why all this discussion arose out of Sir Charles Metcalfe's charge, that the whole loan had been fictitious; that not a rupee had been advanced. No money—none at all. First, Sir Charles Metcalfe said there was usury in the transaction; next, that the whole was a total loss. He did not arraign the Court of Directors for having attended to these statements of Sir Charles Metcalfe's; he did not even complain of them as dupes. In fact, the Marquis of Hastings had been the dupe of Sir Charles Metcalfe's statements, for a time, as much as the Directors were: so far taken in by them as to write a severe letter—not to call it an unjust one, in consequence, to Messrs. Palmer and Co. For the charge of favouritism, let it be asked plainly, What favouritism had the Marquis of Hastings shown, which had been injurious to any private individual, or hurtful to the public interest? The charge of favour was to be proved by two or three letters from the Marquis of Hastings; and chiefly by a letter written by him to Sir William Rumbold, the gentleman who had married his ward. Sir William Rumbold had given this letter up, with what degree of judgment it was not for him (Sir John Doyle) to determine; but he would read the letter to the meeting, praying them to listen to it as Englishmen, and without calling for special pleading, to furnish a meaning for it, to their aid. Sir William Rumbold wrote to the guardian of his wife, saying, "I have a great inclination to join this house of business, (Palmer and Co.) but would it be wise to do so, or not? The answer of Lord Hastings contained every argument he could use in the way of dissuasion. Sir W. Rumbold persisted in his wish, and went on to give additional reasons to Lord Hastings, why the speculation would be an advantageous one. These reasons produced a second letter from the Marquis, and of rather a different tone from the first: "My dear Sir William,—The account you give me of Hyderabad, is certainly a favourable one, and does justify the inclination you express." He then goes on to speak of the amount of advantage which the firm would derive from the countenance of Government: "The

amount of advantage which the countenance of Government may bestow must be uncertain, as I apprehend it will flow principally from the opinion the natives would entertain of the respect likely to be paid by their own Government to an establishment known to stand well in the favour of the Supreme Authority here; perhaps a more distinct benefit may attend the firm, from the consequent discouragement of competition with you, by any other British partnership, to which a similarly professed sanction would not be granted. Dated January 4, 1815." Now, what favour was there here but such as every man felt himself at liberty to afford, or to accept? Here was nothing given that might not be given with perfect justice; nothing, the gain of which was not the ordinary effect of connexion. Every man knew the value of connexion, and the advantages accustomed to be derived from it. What was more common than to hear, "Such a one has made a good match; he has married the Lord Chancellor's daughter, or the Lord Chief Justice's niece?" And why was Sir W. Rumbold to be shut out from these benefits, which were enjoyed by every person else? But the advantage to be derived from Government patronage was not the only advantage which the house of Palmer and Co. would naturally possess over any who might oppose them. Mr. W. Palmer was a native of India. He had been for 23 years an officer of the Nizam, and had quelled a dangerous mutiny among the troops at that time, in consequence of which he had been appointed to the command of the Body Guard. These would be some advantages which no stranger could possess. The Court would remember how this letter of the Marquis of Hastings came before them. It was not an intercepted letter, but was produced openly by Sir W. Rumbold himself. And he (Sir J. Doyle) hoped that a letter so frankly and candidly written would not be made the ground of tarnishing the reputation of a nobleman, who had served the Company so ably and so successfully. For it was said Sir C. Metcalfe must be believed—he was the Resident; to whom should a Government apply for information but to its Resident? And why not place the same reliance upon Mr. Russell's statement, who held the same situation? With respect to Mr. Adam, he had a claim on his (Sir J. Doyle's) forbearance. He would speak of him as the Marquis of Hastings had spoken

of him—of his conduct, with regret, but never with censure. Lord Hastings spoke of him as an amiable and an honourable man; he (the Hon. Baronet) would be the last to invalidate such testimony, and in such a cause; but very amiable and able men were apt to receive biases in their minds; these became prejudices; and then there was no knowing where the danger and inconvenience would end. The civil servants of the Company generally were of high respectability; but they had a strong feeling of *esprit de corps*; those too who were the most zealous of them had, of course, this failing, or perfection, in the highest degree. Sir Charles Metcalfe had been a fellow-labourer of Mr. Adams; he was a friend, as well as an individual of the same body; nor was it very surprising, perhaps, that in the plenitude of power, the latter should have been led into a line of conduct which was to be lamented. For himself, he was glad that matters had gone no farther, and that he was not compelled to introduce Sir C. Metcalfe to the Meeting as the new Nizam. For, having usurped the Government, it would not have cost him much more to usurp the title; nor would it have cost his friend Mr. Adam a great deal to confirm it. And all this story about the house of Palmer and Co., was foreign to the real meaning of the case; it was a tub to the whale. The parties who promoted this discussion cared nothing about Palmer and Co. What had been the first act of Mr. Metcalfe's administration?—the throwing off the authority of his own Government, and usurping that of the place to which he was sent. And, what was more curious, there could be no mistake as to instructions; for the instructions of Sir C. Metcalfe's predecessor, which he found on taking possession of his post, he himself, in his previous capacity of Secretary of State, had written out and forwarded. To these instructions, however, he paid no attention, but proceeded to shape every thing according to his views for the time being. He took three or four young gentlemen, fresh from school, made proconsuls of them, and sent them through the country to rule and regulate. One of these promotions had gone even beyond this, and had been productive of very serious consequences. After casting his eyes round for some time, in search of an efficient Minister of State, he had selected — whom did the Meeting think?—

even a cornet of dragoons. It was true; and the bold dragoon of the song must hide his diminished head, for this cornet had outgone him far. Being sent away, after being made into a proconsul, to do the duties proper to such office, such as aiding magistrates, suppressing riots, arresting thieves, &c. &c. what did this cornet do, but, like all other cornets panting to distinguish himself, he galloped away, as if he had been in a charge, riding over friend and foe, and actually made a mistake in the place to which he was sent. He went to the place he should not have gone to; seized on the inhabitants, and taxed them at his convenience; did away in a trice all the arrangements of four years which the preceding Minister had been getting into order; and substituted such others as were his good pleasure in return. The mistake, even as to situation, was just as ridiculous to all but the parties who suffered by it, as if a gentleman who had been sent from London on a peaceful duty into Cornwall, had been found riding on a sudden over the Provost and magistrates of Edinburgh. To come now then, to that part of the case which bore on Chundoo Loll: Sir Chas. Metcalfe himself stated that officer to be the only man in the Nizam's service competent to his duty. Sir Charles gave his full character, page 121: "The picture herein drawn of Chundoo Loll's administration would make it appear, if it can be relied on, that he is a very unfit man to be entrusted with the government; but I look round for a better in vain; there is not an individual from whom I should expect more, or even so much. He is an able and indefatigable man of business; and, with all his faults, I have more hope of improving the country through Chundoo Loll, than through any other person. On his submission and ready attention I can rely, more than I could on the united character of any man who would take office for his own aggrandizement, without experience, without ability, with more avarice and less good will than Chundoo Loll. I say with more avarice, because Chundoo Loll is not considered avaricious. With all his means and opportunities, he is not supposed to have amassed any wealth." Now, certainly, this description from Sir C. Metcalfe spoke volumes in favour of Chundoo Loll.

MR. SAMUEL DIXON.—It appears, then, that, at least, Chundoo Loll has a good character.

A PROPRIETOR.—Sir C. Metcalfe, in a subsequent letter, speaks of this rare man with the greatest abhorrence. He describes him as rapacious, avaricious, unfit to interfere in the affairs of the country; as dangerous, in short, as plague and pestilence and famine.

MR. PATTISON.—It is extremely unseemly and out of order for any Gentleman to be interrupted in this way. I hope that the Gentleman who uses these violent terms will name the place from which he quotes them.

Sir JOHN DOYLE was bound to say that he thought such a reply upon him unjustifiable. There would be time enough to answer him after he sat down. But he would take the fact to be as the Gentleman who interrupted him affirmed it. He would take it that Sir C. Metcalfe had, in an after letter, called this same Chundoo Loll a monster of iniquity; and he agreed to it the rather because he believed he had seen a catalogue of Sir C. Metcalfe's letters, every one contradicting the last. If Sir Charles had changed his mind about the merits of Chundoo Loll, that was no reason why any Gentleman should fly upon him (Sir J. Doyle,) like a Bengal tiger; but as Sir C. Metcalfe was so apt to alter his opinions, the Court should hear what Mr. Stuart said upon the same subject. Mr. Stuart, in his minute of the 1st January, page 30 of the printed papers, expressed himself thus:

Rajah Chundoo Loll is a man of great industry and aptitude in business. He is indefatigable in his application, and directs, in his own person, the details of every branch of the Government. In his manners he is gentle and unassuming, and his disposition is particularly mild and amiable; but his personal virtues constitute the great defect of his public character. He wants firmness to command respect, and energy to control the violence and rapacity of those who act under his authority. Every body likes him, but nobody fears him. He is indebted exclusively to our Government for both his elevation and his support; and he is bound to us by the surest of all ties,—that of knowing that the very tenure of his office depends upon our ascendancy. If we were to lose our control over the Government, he would certainly lose his authority, and probably his life. On all occasions, of what magnitude soever, where we may require his co-operation, we may confidently depend upon him to the utmost of his power. He will direct and au-

thorise the measure, but it must be enforced by ourselves.

Mr. STUART.—I beg pardon for interrupting the hon. Baronet, but the passage which he has quoted does not contain my opinion, but is an extract from the Report on Military Resources. From my situation, I never knew enough of Chundoo Loll to be able to judge accurately of his character.

Sir JOHN DOYLE.—I would wish to ask, whether that is not to be found in Mr. Stuart's minutes?

Mr. STUART.—The words which the hon. Baronet has just quoted, are to be found in an extract from a report on the military resources and political state of the Nizam's dominion, addressed to Sir T. Hislop by the Agent at Hyderabad.

Sir JOHN DOYLE.—I find these words in the minute of the hon. Gentleman, and I take them to be part and parcel of it. I know nothing of the Agent's letter, to which the hon. Gentleman refers. I quote only from his minute, which contains the words which the hon. Gentleman now appears anxious to disclaim. I know, also, that the Resident at Hyderabad, who had been acquainted with the character of Chundoo Loll for ten years, and, therefore, must have had an intimate acquaintance with it, writes, that Rajah Chundoo Loll is a man of great industry, and aptitude in business; that he is indefatigable in his application, and directs, in his own person, the details of every branch of the Government.

Sir G. ROBINSON.—I rise to order, and really with a wish to set the honourable and gallant Officer right, and to save the time of the Court, than which nothing can be more desirable. If the honourable and gallant Officer will have the goodness to look at the papers, he will see that the paper he is quoting is not a minute of Mr. Stuart, but an extract from a paper to which Mr. Stuart refers in his minute. He will find it at p. 29 of the printed papers. It is entitled, 'Extract from a Report on the Military Resources and Political State of the Nizam's Dominions, addressed, under date the 14th June 1817, by the Resident at Hyderabad, to Sir T. Hislop, Bart., Commander in Chief in the Deccan.' The honourable and gallant officer will, therefore, see that he is attributing to Mr. Stuart, sentiments and opinions which that Gentleman never expressed. Mr. Stuart expressly gives

them as the sentiments and opinions of another person. The honourable and gallant Officer will find, that Mr. Stuart's minute precedes the paper from which he is now quoting.

Sir JOHN DOYLE.—It may be as the hon. Director states it. I may have taken an extract from Mr. Stuart's minutes, which in point of fact is an extract from somebody else; but my error is a venial one, since I find it in his minute quoted as his opinion. The character of Chundoo Loll, as it is disclosed by the documents I have read to you, appears in favourable colours. Sir C. Metcalfe, however, viewed it in a somewhat different light, as I have already shown you; so that you have now two characters and a half of Chundoo Loll, two of them decidedly in his favour, and half a one telling against him. (Hear.) Let us, however, look at Chundoo Loll's conduct as it appears upon his own showing. After the Cornet had upset all the arrangements which had been made, Chundoo Loll wrote a letter to Lieut. Barnett, from which I shall read to you one or more extracts. The first is in the following terms: "What more need I write? I am quite powerless. It rests with the Resident to decide the matter. I have not made the above statement for my own benefit, but my sense of duty towards his highness the Nizam has compelled me to draw it up." He then makes this statement with regard to an arrangement of Mr. Hislop's about a revenue of 130,000 rupees. "When I spoke in your presence on the subject of the double Government, you observed, if any gentleman behaves ill, inform me of it. Although it is not my practice to write against gentlemen, I am compelled now to state the following circumstances for your information. I find, from the representation of the Vakeel of the Talookdar of Ferozabad, that some Havildar, having taken a few rupees from a village under the head of khural-land, Mr. Hislop laid hold of Sudhoo Pundit, the Naib of the Talook, and put him in confinement. Also the Vakeel of Rauna, Pundit Talookdar, of Bhowungurh, states that Mr. Lye took the Wasil Bakke of that pergunnah under the Pundit's seal. Three months ago, I granted leases for five years at a jumma reduced by the sum of rupees 1,30,000 per annum, to the ryots of Kalburga and Chuckowlee in the presence of Mr. Sotheby. Mr. Hislop set aside my leases, and granted such further reductions as he

was pleased to think proper, giving leases from himself, and also allowing them to appropriate the crops: after this, what security is there for the payment of the public resources? Under these circumstances, the ryots of Kalburga, who only want an excuse, hold back payment of the revenue, even on the reduced terms of their last engagements. When the Talookdars are treated in this way, and required to produce their accounts, it is easy to imagine what an opinion the ryots and the public will form of leases granted by me and of my authority in the country. I will say no more. The Resident is just and supreme." When the Prime Ministers of native Princes write in this way, and complain that their characters are gone, it is clear that their influence over the fate and character of men must soon follow it. Lord Hastings having had these letters of Chundoo Loll transmitted to him through the agency of Messrs. W. Palmer and Co., wrote back to Chundoo Loll, acknowledging the receipt of them, but disapproving of the channel through which they were sent, and requesting that no further communication should be made to him in that mode. He however adds, "Though I am persuaded that you misinterpret the disposition of the Resident, when you suppose him to have any view hostile to you, the plighted assurance of support which you have received from this Government, will be impressed on his recollection." I have now done with this part of the subject,—but will you, Mr. Chairman, now allow your clerk to read the vote of thanks which was given by this hon. Company to the Marquis of Hastings, of May 1822.

The CHAIRMAN.—Do you wish to have it read, Sir, as a part of your speech?

Sir JOHN DOYLE.—If you please, Sir.

The CHAIRMAN.—I do not know which the able and gallant Officer means. Does he allude to the Vote of the Court of Directors, or to that of the Court of Proprietors?

Sir JOHN DOYLE.—I mean the Vote of the Court of Directors on the 15th of May 1822, and that of the Court of Proprietors on the 29th of the same month.

The Clerk, by order of the Chairman, read the following resolutions:

"At a Court of Directors, held on Wednesday the 18th of May 1822, Resolved unanimously, that this Court, highly appreciating the signal merits and services of the most noble the

Marquis of Hastings, Knight of the most noble Order of the Garter, and Knight Grand Cross of the most honourable military Order of the Bath, and Governor-General of India, are anxious to place on the records of the East India Company their expression of deep regret, that family circumstances have led to a declaration on the part of that distinguished nobleman, of his wish to be relieved from the duties of his exalted station: and this Court being desirous that the sense they entertain of the conduct and services of the Marquis of Hastings, should be promulgated previously to his departure for Europe, have further resolved, unanimously, That the thanks of this Court be given to the most noble the Marquis of Hastings, K.G. and G.C.B. for the unremitting zeal and eminent ability with which, during a period of nearly nine years, he has administered the Government of British India, with such high credit to himself, and advantage to the interests of the East India Company."

The Clerk then read the following resolution of the Court of Proprietors on the 29th of May following:

"Resolved unanimously, That this Court most cordially concur with the Court of Directors in their estimation of the unremitting zeal and eminent ability, with which the most noble the Marquis of Hastings has, during a period of nearly nine years, administered the Government of British India, with such high credit to himself, and advantage to the interests of the East India Company.

"That this Court, referring to the sentiments expressed by themselves and the Court of Directors, in Dec. 1816, on returning thanks to Lord Hastings for his skilful and successful operations in the war against the Nepaulese; to their resolution of the 3d of February 1819, recognizing the wisdom and energy of those measures which extinguished a great predatory power that had established itself in the heart of Hindoostan, whose existence, experience had shown to be alike incompatible with the security of the Company's possessions, and the general tranquillity of India, applauding at the same time the foresight, promptitude, and vigour with which his Lordship, by a combination of military with political talents, had anticipated and encountered the proceedings of an hostile confederacy among the Mahratta States, defeated their armies, reduced them to submission, and materially lessened

their means of future aggression; referring also to the resolution of the Court of Directors of the 10th March 1819, in which they appeal, at the close of two glorious and successful wars, to the records of the East India Company, for the great services which his Lordship's unwearied assiduity and comprehensive knowledge of the Company's affairs had enabled him to render to its most important interests: this Court cannot but with the highest satisfaction witness their Executive Authority again coming forward at the termination of a career so useful and brilliant, to express and promulgate their sense of his Lordship's exalted merit, and their deep regret that domestic circumstances should withdraw him from the government of their Asiatic territories. That this Court strongly participate in that regret, and request the Court of Directors to convey to the Marquis of Hastings, Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief, their expressions of their unfeigned admiration, gratitude, and applause!"

Sir JOHN DOYLE.—You have here, Gentlemen, the opinion of the Court of Directors and the Court of Proprietors, regarding the conduct of the noble Marquis. Now these resolutions, so ably worded, and so laudably intended by you, met with your approval two years after the 60 lac loan, and six years after the Aurungabad arrangement, when all the circumstances had been placed before your eyes, and when not one of them could be said to be unknown to you. I will not go through the services which the noble Marquis rendered to you in India; I will not mention the insurrection he put down, the wars he quelled, the allies he kept true to you in a time of danger, or the great augmentations he added to your revenue. Suffice it for me to say, that he obtained the thanks of both Houses of Parliament,—that he received the marked approbation of his sovereign,—that he was honoured by the thanks of the Court of Directors,—that he was honoured by your thanks for the services he rendered to you and to the empire; (Hear, hear.) and that this concurrent testimony was consonant to the public feeling of the country is proved beyond all doubt by a familiar circumstance that at this moment occurs to my mind. When the noble Marquis first returned from India, several gentlemen, who had held office in the Company's service in India, were anxious to give him a meeting,

and to celebrate his return to his native country by a public dinner. At that time Parliament was not sitting, and the town was pretty nearly empty. Yet within three days, such was the public admiration for his character and conduct, that one of the largest rooms in the metropolis was filled by gentlemen, who were proud to be considered as his friends. (Hear, hear.) The Cabinet Ministers, and their usual opponents, the Whig and the Tory,—men of the most conflicting opinions,—men who disagreed upon all other subjects, agreed upon the propriety of clubbing their eloquence to celebrate the merits of my noble and long esteemed friend. We were, however, prevented from having the attendance at our festive board of the Chairman of this Court by indisposition. Whether that indisposition was mental or bodily history leaves us in the dark, (a laugh) and our records are entirely silent. These were not, however, all the marks of public esteem which it fell to the lot of the noble Marquis to receive. Previously to his leaving India, several Gentlemen in the Company's service, residing at Calcutta, presented an Address to him, couched in the following terms:—

"We have already had the happiness of congratulating your Lordship on the distinguished success that attended your wise and vigorous measures in the prosecution of the just and necessary wars in which you have engaged; and we have seen with the highest satisfaction, the testimony which we then bore to the wisdom and energy of your administration, confirmed by the applause of your king and country. When you took into your hands the reins of administration, dangers of no common magnitude threatened the peace and stability of the British power in the East. Before the watchfulness and vigour of your Lordship's rule, the dangers quickly disappeared, and India presents at this moment a scene of happiness and tranquillity unexampled in any former period of her history. The resources of our power, whether they are sought in the attachment of our native subjects to the British sway, in the respect which our Government commands from surrounding states, or in the increasing amount of a revenue drawn from our industrious and contented people, have multiplied beyond our most sanguine hopes; and every succeeding year of your Lordship's Government has beheld our dominions

in the East more and more consolidated on the best and most stable of foundations.

"But it were vain to attempt enumerating the splendid and benevolent acts by which a Government distinguished by every thing great and good, has been rendered so truly dear to us. We are unable to discover a single province in the wide extended Empire, over which your Lordship has so long ruled, that has not tasted the happy fruits of your wisdom, energy, and benevolence, and in which the name of the Marquis of Hastings is not honoured and revered. The regard and veneration with which this name will ever be pronounced by the British inhabitants of Calcutta will long proclaim the high estimation in which your Lordship's character has stood amongst us. And we are persuaded that you carry along with you, in the affection of the natives of India, one of the most gratifying rewards which the honourable ambition of a Governor-General can covet. To this reward your Lordship is eminently entitled; distinguished as your administration has been for the truly paternal manner in which you have so frequently and so feelingly inculcated mildness, humanity, and conciliating conduct towards the native population of that country."

"This, Gentlemen, is the language of those who are best acquainted with the measures of the noble Marquis' administration. It is no uncommon thing for persons in office to receive addresses, couched in terms of similar warmth and eulogy; but it is not a common thing for them to receive such addresses, after they have given up the power which they have once wielded. It is therefore right, that I should state to you, that this address which I have just read, was presented to the Marquis of Hastings, at a time when he had resigned the office of Governor-General; when he was without power and without patronage; and when there was no probability of his ever enjoying them again. (Cheers.) The testimony, therefore, which it offers to his merits, as it is unbought, unsolicited, and unbiassed, ought to create an impression in his favour, coming from any quarter,—but coming from the quarter it does, it is entitled to the very highest respect and consideration; for it is signed by the Judges of the land; by the directors of your commerce in that country; by the members of your Government; by

persons of all ranks and all classes; by names; which it would be useless to read to you, but of which I shall merely say, that the three last are those of the present political Secretaries to your Indian Government. (Hear, hear.) Nor was this a solitary mark of public esteem; it was shortly followed by similar addresses from Bengal, from Singapore, from Prince of Wales's Island, and last, though not least, from the native inhabitants of your presidencies, who, in the unsophisticated language of nature, poured out to my noble Friend the gratitude they felt towards him for the blessings which he had conferred upon them; and for the various ameliorations which he had introduced into their mode of Government. Thus in forming your opinions on my noble Friend's character, you have Asia and Europe before you in one scale,—and Mr. Adam and Sir C. Metcalfe, and if he will allow me to add him as a make-weight, Mr. Stuart, and the Chairman of the Court of Directors, and eight or ten other respectable gentlemen, in the other. (Hear, and a laugh.) Which scale will kick the beam I cannot at this moment tell; but I know which ought to preponderate, if you have any regard to your own character, your own conduct, and your own consistency. (Hear, hear.) Here I might conclude, were not there one or two observations which I feel myself compelled to make, upon the part which Sir C. Metcalfe has played in these transactions. Sir C. Metcalfe, I find from these papers, had been the private Secretary to Government. I was surprised at finding the resolute hostility which he displayed towards the noble Marquis, until I recollected that he had received several singular marks of favour from the noble Marquis, which, instead of generating gratitude in his mind, had, by a process not at all new or uncommon, generated in his mind a feeling directly the reverse to it. Tacitus, with that keen and philosophic eye with which he looked into the operations of the human mind, had marked this phenomenon, and had also explained the cause of it. His language is so strong and forcible, that I will make use of it instead of my own. He said, "*Beneficia eo usque læta sunt, dum videntur exsolvi posse; ubi multum antevenerè pro gratià odium redditur.*" Seneca had also made a similar declaration: "*Quidam, qui plus debeant, magis oderunt; lene est aliquam debitorne*

facit gravem inimicum." So that it is clear, that ingratitude was known to the historians and moralists of Rome, and was not confined to our times, to our country, no, nor even to the Residence at Hyderabad. (Hear, hear.) Having said thus much regarding the conduct of Sir C. Metcalfe, I now turn to his despatches, of which I have before said, that every second page contradicts the first, and of which I will now give you some irresistible proofs. I have heard of some stories which belong to a class called Munchausens (A laugh.) I will not say that these despatches belong to that class; but I will read some of them to enable you to decide whether they do or not.

The gallant officer, being engaged for some time in looking amongst his papers, a Proprietor rose to address the Court, but in consequence of the cries of "Order," immediately sat down, apologizing to the Court, and the gallant officer, for having intruded upon their attention. His reason for doing so, was an idea that the noble and gallant officer had concluded his observations.

Sir JOHN DOYLE, after a short pause, again proceeded. In page 232, paragraph 26, Sir C. Metcalfe, speaking of the Minister Chundoo Loll, says, "His scheme for liquidating the debt due to the native bankers is characteristic. He says, that he does not mean to allow them any more interest, that they have had interest enough: indeed, a great deal too much; in short, that the debt is almost all interest, and that he has no idea of paying any more." How then, I would ask, could Sir C. Metcalfe, after this, suppose it to be possible for the minister to borrow from the native bankers? In p. 263, par. 17, he states, that the Minister could borrow at two per cent. a month; and he repeats this to be the interpretation of the Minister's statement, which he transmits. Now the Minister says no such thing in his statement, and Sir C. Metcalfe must have knowingly given a false interpretation to the Minister's words. The Minister's statement, transmitted by Sir C. Metcalfe himself, at p. 270, is thus worded: "I had applied to the gentlemen of the kottee for an immediate advance." The gentlemen of the kottee replied, "that they had not the ready cash in the house, for that 28 lacs of old debt was in the hands of Government; that they would have to send for the money from a distance; that it would come in three or four months; that

if I would wait till that time, the money should be advanced after its arrival from distant places; that if there were any pressing necessity, the money-dealers of the city notoriously take two per cent. interest (per mensem), and not less; that if they (Messrs. Wm. Palmer and Co.) were to lend money to the Government at one and a half per cent., and borrow from these people at two, it would be impossible for them to go on: but that if, on account of the necessity of the case, the Government would submit to a loss of eight lacs, they would then undoubtedly borrow money from the native money-lenders, and lend it to the Government. But this is not all, in p. 193, paragraph 19, Sir C. Metcalfe says, "Here, without a guarantee, and perhaps even with it, money could not be procured for the Nizam's Government on advantageous terms." He distinctly states that the house of Palmer and Co. cannot borrow from the native bankers at less than two per cent. per month. He does not say that Ministers could borrow at that rate; and Sir C. Metcalfe must have well known that he could not. There are other discrepancies in the despatches of Sir C. Metcalfe, to which I now call your attention. In page 244, paragraph 70, Sir C. Metcalfe says, he does not mean to accuse Palmer and Co. of any use of their power, &c.; and yet, in page 245, paragraph 80, he says that Palmer and Co. take advantage of the known opinions of their supposed influence with the British Government, and that they sometimes use strong and even threatening language to carry their objects with the Nizam. At p. 83, paragraph 245, he quotes the conversation he had with a person not now alive, as a proof of the supposed influence of the house. It is a little remarkable that Sir C. Metcalfe should have avoided any attempt at proof of his manifest assertions, except in this one instance, and that he should then have recourse to an evidence which no longer exists. In page 244, paragraph 77, he accuses the Minister of insincerity and duplicity; and yet, in page 247, paragraph 100, he calls him his friend the Minister, and makes use of his expressions to prejudice the house of Palmer and Co. In page 248, paragraph 106, Sir C. Metcalfe says, "I entertain no feeling whatever of hostility towards those Gentlemen, no desire whatever that they should be injured;" and yet, in page 414, paragraph 3, he distinctly

avows himself to be the personal enemy of Sir W. Rumbold. In a letter dated the 16th of Oct. 1822, in page 267, paragraph 38, Sir C. Metcalfe recognizes and acknowledges that assignments to Palmer and Co., as a security for the advances made by that house to pay the troops, had been withdrawn by Government and appropriated to other purposes; and yet, in a letter of the 13th Sept. 1823, to be found at page 809, paragraph 2, he states the Minister to deny that Palmer and Co. ever returned any assignments at any time, excepting such as they could not realize.

Mr. POYNDER.—I beg leave to inform the Court, that the noble and gallant Officer is not at present reading the words of Sir Charles Metcalfe's letters, but a mere abstract of them. The abstract is of course formed according to the idea or notion which the person making the abstract has formed of the whole proceedings. I merely mention that it is not from the documents themselves that the hon. and gallant Officer is reading, in order that the Court may be upon its guard. (Hear, hear!)

Sir JOHN DOYLE.—I am glad of this interruption, for a reason which I will shortly explain; at present I will merely observe, that what I have read is taken nearly word for word from the large book, such as it is, and that I have given you chapter and verse to enable you to keep a check on me. With regard to the hon. and learned Gentleman who has just interrupted me, and who gave us a two hours lecture on these papers the other day, I must now remark, that I do not know where he could have got his brief; I say his brief, for I must in charity and delicacy to him suppose that it was from a brief he spoke upon that occasion. I am glad, I repeat, that he has interrupted me. I had all along intended to have made some observations upon his speech, but I am afraid that in the multiplicity of topics to which I have been obliged to advert, I should have forgotten to do so, if it had not been for the irregular interruption which he has just given me. (Hear, hear!) I now address myself personally to him, as I always intended to do. I do not know, I say again, who gave him his brief, but I recommend him as a friend never to receive a brief again from the same cheat (Hear, hear); for in that brief from which he spoke (and I put it so out of delicacy) there was a direct, rank, and positive falsehood.

(Hear.) At the moment that the hon. Proprietor gave utterance to it, I rose to call him to order; but I had not the good fortune to catch your eye, Mr. Chairman, and, in consequence, I desisted. The hon. Proprietor said—and I noted the words with grief and indignation—that the Marquis of Hastings had solicited the house of William Palmer and Co. to admit Sir W. Rumbold as a partner in their firm. (Loud cries of Hear from Mr. D. Kinnaird, Mr. R. Jackson and others,—in the midst of which Mr. Poynder said, “I made no such assertion.”) The hon. Proprietor, I repeat, did not hesitate to make a statement to that effect. Where, I would ask, can he find in these papers any document which can support it even in the slightest degree? (Loud cries of Hear.) So far from there being a vestige of proof of so monstrous an assertion, I affirm that there is most ample proof to the contrary. (Hear, hear.) Why, it is in evidence before you, that Sir W. Rumbold himself never solicited for admission into this firm. It appears that at the time when these transactions were first commenced at Hyderabad, Sir W. Rumbold was himself at Calcutta, performing the duties of a magistrate. The house of Palmer and Co., I ought to state to you, had then been established for some time at Hyderabad. They applied to John Palmer to join them in their commercial speculations. He wrote back to them, stating that he could not, and giving several reasons why he could not, with which I need not trouble the Court; he informed them, however, that there was a young man, whom he could recommend to their notice as a fit person to embark with them in such an undertaking. It is almost unnecessary for me to state to you that this young man was Sir W. Rumbold. William Palmer and Co. replied to this letter of John Palmer, by saying, “At your request we are willing to take Sir W. Rumbold, whom you recommend as our partner; but be it recollected, that he must bring a proportionate share of capital into our firm.” (Hear, hear.) Now, after such a statement of facts, which appeared upon the documents now in possession of the Court, is it to be endured that it should be improperly affirmed that Sir W. Rumbold was taken into this firm without capital, merely because he had married a ward of the Governor-General? (Hear, hear.) I can meet an argument, when it is fairly urged

against me, and I can even yield to an argument, when I find it superior to my own; but a rank and a positive falsehood I can meet in no other manner than by giving it a direct and indignant contradiction. I am sure from the knowledge which I have acquired of your character, Sir, that no man would be less desirous of assailing the character of another unfairly than yourself; and I am likewise sure, that when you discovered it to have been unfairly assailed, no man would be more anxious than yourself to render it immediate justice. (Hear.) Now I ask you, Sir, if the hon. Proprietor ought not either to produce proof of his assertion from these papers, which, by-the-bye, I defy him to do (hear, hear), or to confess that the instructions of his brief led him into asserting unknowingly a rank and positive falsehood? (Loud cries of hear.) The hon. Proprietor stated, I say, a positive falsehood respecting my noble friend's conduct, taken, I have no doubt, from his brief, (loud cries of hear), and yet, after all this, he calls me to order for reading, as he says, an abstract of Sir C. Metcalfe's letters themselves, whilst he has sticking in his throat this indigestible falsehood. (Loud cries of order.) What? is the cry of the Janizaries to be raised to put me down? (Hear, hear, hear.) I feel that I have, by some means or other, I know not how, excited the animosity of the hon. Gentleman before me; (moving towards Mr. Poynder and the party by whom he was surrounded;) and that feeling may perhaps be hurrying me beyond the strict rules of propriety and decorum. I shall, however, pay attention to the rules of this Court and to the feelings of its members, but if I were to allow that which I know to be falsehood regarding my noble friend to pass forth into the world as truth,—if I were to permit unfounded statements, which, for the sake of delicacy, I suppose to have been inserted in the hon. Proprietor's brief, to be communicated to the public without accompanying them by a direct and positive contradiction when I am in a situation to give them such contradiction, I should consider myself a traitor to the cause of friendship; I should forfeit my own self-respect; I should appear degraded and dishonoured in my own good opinion, for the few remaining days which I have yet to pass upon earth. (Hear, hear.) I hope that I have now satisfied the hon. Proprietor. (Loud cries of hear, mingled

with much laughter.) I have now gone through the whole of these Hyderabad papers, which bear upon the present transaction. I have passed in review before you the 60-lac loan and the Aurungabad arrangement; but, I have not entered upon the other topics which they contain for discussion, because I deem it unnecessary; the capital charge having been long since withdrawn from the indictment. It is now admitted on all hands, that we have not robbed the treasury of 300,000*l.*, which was the original charge against us. (Hear, hear, hear.) We have got rid of that foul and abominable calumny for ever. We have driven it back into the obscurity in which it was engendered, and will leave it there, to be resolved into its own original nothingness. We admit, however, that we did create a charge, both in the treasury at Hyderabad, and also in the treasury of the East India Company (hear,); but we created that charge by the addition of millions of rupees to your revenue, not by the subtraction of any from it. (Hear, hear, hear.) I have already told you what opinion the Sovereign on the Throne, the two Houses of Parliament, your Court of Directors, and your Court of Proprietors, have expressed respecting the conduct of my noble friend. Let me now remind you of the opinion which the inhabitants of India, those who knew him best and saw him, must have also formed respecting it. By the united testimony of those inhabitants, of your local governors, and of your different Presidencies, it is acknowledged that he has done you good service,—that he has increased your territory,—that he has filled your treasury,—that he has consolidated your empire,—and that he has attached to it, by the mildness of his sway, more subjects than you have ever yet subdued by the terror of your arms. (Hear, hear.) You are asked how can you distinguish the character of such a Governor-General from the private character of the Marquis of Hastings? I say at once, I do not wish to distinguish them, and that if I did wish it, I cannot distinguish them; for they are already sailing down the stream of time, the common property of history. (Hear, hear, hear.) I acknowledge that the statesman, who, by a happy combination of military skill and political sagacity, increased your territory, and filled your treasury—who gave the blessings of peace and good government to regions which before were

subject to riot, anarchy, and oppression, and who administered the healing balm of consolation to the distress and misery which a lawless band of plunderers had inflicted upon your Indian population; I acknowledge and admit, I say, that the statesman who conferred upon your Government all the inestimable advantages I have just described, is the same Marquis of Hastings upon whom such a mass of calumny has been heaped, and from whose merits the hon. Proprietor has thought proper to detract so unfairly. (Hear, hear, hear.) The noble Marquis is at present unfortunately at such a distance from this country as not to be able to furnish his friends on the instant with the means of defending his character from the charges which have made against it. He cannot be here in time to vindicate himself from the new accusations which are hourly springing up against him; neither if he was here, would he be at liberty to address you, as he is not a Proprietor. I am sure that it is not for the interest of the East India Company that discussions of this nature should be prolonged. I am sure that they will excite animosities which can never be extinguished. I am afraid they will lead to consequences which all of us will have occasion to regret. (Hear, hear.) All I desire is, that it be recollected that they were not provoked by the friends of the Marquis of Hastings. (Hear, hear.) We had every reason to wish to avoid them. It would answer no object of ours to bring them on; and if there was any form of words in the English language, calculated to prevent discussion, especially of the nature into which we have been compelled against our will to enter, it was the form adopted by my hon. Friend in wording this motion. I will trouble the Clerk to read the words of the original motion.

The Clerk here read the original motion.

Sir J. DOYLE.—I think that I must now stand clear in the judgment of the Proprietors. If the words of that proposition had been allowed to limit the extent of the debate, all the discussion into which we have been obliged to enter might have been spared; for, with the exception of the hon. Member, who so unwarrantably asserted that the noble Marquis had solicited Palmer and Co. to admit Sir W. Rumbold into their firm, every gentleman who has addressed you, Sir, has borne his tes-

timony to the unimpeachable honour of my noble friend. (Hear, hear.) Some gentlemen, who admit that his honour is pure and unblemished, state their disapprobation of some; and find fault with the impolicy of other parts of his conduct. Be it so. To this I can have no objection: they are at liberty to hold their opinion, and I am at liberty to hold mine. If these gentlemen would have consented to acknowledge that the honour of the noble Marquis came out of these transactions without being tarnished, then any proposition for considering the propriety of his political views could have been debated as a clear and distinct proposition, and without any risk of incurring those melancholy consequences to which I have before had occasion to advert. The noble Marquis's character having been once established, his policy might have been attacked or not, as honourable gentlemen pleased. The question would have then rested with us, as the friends of the noble Marquis, upon these grounds: "Can we defend his policy or not?" I think that we can—(Hear, hear.) I will not detain the Court any longer: indeed, after the patient indulgence they have bestowed upon me, I should be ashamed to do so; I shall not detain the Court any longer than to repeat, first of all, that this discussion was not provoked by us, the friends of the Marquis of Hastings; and, secondly, that every thing consistent with honour and justice has been done by us to avoid it; and, lastly, that whatever consequences may follow from the animosity it is calculated to excite, and from the disposition which I am sorry to see it has fostered in the Court, we (thank God!) cannot be blamed for them. (Hear, hear, hear.) There has been nothing we have been so extremely anxious to avoid as an unkind consideration of the conduct of any of the public officers, whose names are contained in this volume. Our duty to the general body of the Court of Proprietors would have led us to abstain from touching it; but when it was absolutely obtruded upon our notice, we should have been recreants indeed, if we had shrunk from the contest to which we were challenged. (Hear, hear.) Our opponents say that we are acting in a spirit of hostility to the Court of Directors. We deny it. If any body has acted in a spirit of hostility to that body, it is its own chairman. (Loud cries of hear.) My hon. Friend never said a word of his motion about the Court of Direc-

tors; neither have we, who have followed on the same side with him. If you agree to the original resolution, you pass no censure upon any individual; but, if you do not—if you agree to the amendment which has been proposed, you involve, in indiscriminating censure those Members of the Court of Directors who protested against the resolutions of the majority of that body, and you approve of those letters which they sent to the noble Marquis in condemnation of his conduct. Before you come to such a decision recollect, I beseech you, that you voted your thanks to the noble Marquis for the whole course of his conduct in India, just one year after the sixty-lac loan, and six years after the Aurangabad transaction, had been made known to you. Consider how inconsistent you will appear, if, after giving that vote, which conferred no less honour upon you who gave than upon him who received it—a vote which you gave, when all the circumstances which are now before you were within your knowledge—you should determine to confirm the scolding letters of the Court of Directors—for I can call them nothing else, and should place your approbation of them on the records of the Company. (Hear, hear.) The honourable and gallant officer, after thanking the Court for the kind attention with which they had listened to him, sat down amid considerable cheering.

Mr. POYNDER.—As the hon. and gallant officer has alluded to me personally, and with considerable force of expression, I hope that the Court will indulge me with a patient hearing, whilst I make a few observations in reply to him, in which I promise the Court not to animadvert upon that warmth of expression which every Gentleman who hears me must have observed, and which I hope escaped him in the heat of debate, as I know these things sometimes do. I am sure that the hon. and gallant officer will acquit the use of it as soon as the excitation of the moment shall have subsided, and I therefore pass away from it without any further notice. (Hear, hear.) The hon. and gallant officer is under a considerable error in the view which he has taken of my statement on a former occasion. I am in the recollection of the Court, whether he has correctly stated what then fell from me. I think that I never said—indeed, if I did, there are those who must recollect it.—I think, nay, I am sure I never said, or even (hear,

hear) insinuated that the Marquis of Hastings, either directly or indirectly, or in any way whatsoever, had solicited or applied to the house of Palmer and Co. to admit Sir W. Rumbold as a partner. I had no intention to make such an assertion, and I therefore trust that the hon. Baronet will believe me when I again repeat my conviction that I did not do so. I am, however, free to confess that I did, upon looking over this multitude of papers, see what I thought proof of a connexion between the Marquis of Hastings and the firm of Palmer and Co., arising out of his regard for Sir W. Rumbold. I endeavoured to make it out by a reference to those papers, and here give me leave to tell the hon. Baronet, that those papers were all the brief I had. (Hear.) I was giving an unbought opinion. I had no client, as he has asserted. I was speaking the dictates of my own conscience, and the hon. Baronet, in the exercise of his candour, should have given me credit for that circumstance. I can assure him, that whilst I was listening to the strictures which his sense of duty led him to make, on what he called the scolding letter of the Directors, I give him credit for that sincerity which I know to belong to an honest, manly, generous, elegant, and gentlemanlike mind like his. I must, however, repeat what I formerly said, that the Marquis of Hastings was misled, by his partiality for Sir W. Rumbold, to show an improper degree of favour to the firm of Palmer and Co.; and I find proof of it in a letter of Sir W. Rumbold to the Marquis of Hastings, to be found in page 732. I there find, in the same page, that letter of the Marquis of Hastings which connects him with the whole of these Hyderabad transactions. Though it has been often read to you, so much turns upon it, that I must repeat it to you again. It is as follows:

“My dear Sir William, The account you have given of the house of Palmer and Co. at Hyderabad is very favourable, and certainly the details justify your inclination for going to that city in order to inspect the books. I enclose you a letter to the Resident, couched in terms which will ensure to you his attentions and most earnest good offices. The partners speculate that you, being one of the firm, will interest me in the welfare of the house to a degree which may be materially beneficial to them. It is a fair and honest calculation. The amount

of advantage which the countenance of Government may bestow must be uncertain, as I apprehend it would flow principally from the opinion the natives would entertain of the respect likely to be paid by their own Government to an establishment known to stand well in the favour of the supreme authority here. Perhaps a more distinct benefit may attend the firm from the consequent discouragement to competition with you by any other British partnership, to which a similarly professed sanction would not be granted. It is on the ground of the service to the Nizam, at the request of our Resident, that I have consented to let the good wishes of Government, for the prosperity of this firm, be signified. No new establishment could have such a plea. I thank the Court for having allowed me to make this explanation, and I hope that I have placed myself right by it in their opinion."

MR. STUART, MR. WEEDING, and MR. DIXON, rose at once to address the Court.

THE CHAIRMAN. — Mr. Weeding caught my eye first, and is therefore in possession of the Court; I suggest, however, to the hon. Proprietor the propriety of yielding to his claim to priority to Mr. Stuart, on account of the manner in which he is personally implicated in this question.

MR. WEEDING gave way to Mr. Stuart.

MR. STUART. — If hon. Proprietors will do me the favour to recal to their recollection what occurred at the last debate we had on that subject, they will recollect that several personal allusions were made to the part I have had in these transactions. On that the hon. and gallant Officer who has just sat down, having directed the particular attention of the Court to me, thought fit to distinguish me as one who had engaged in a pertinacious, systematic opposition to all the measures of the Marquis of Hastings. I shall always be one of the first to bear my testimony to the ardour with which the hon. and gallant Officer has undertaken the defence of his noble friend; and I am sure that, with all that ardour, he did not intend to disregard the just claims of others. (Hear.) Dear as the Marquis of Hastings may be to his heart; high as may be his fame; valuable as his services may have proved to this Company; still I am convinced that this Court will not allow him to be exalted into an idol, at whose shrine the

reputation of humbler, though not less honourable individuals, is to be made a rash and hasty sacrifice. (Hear.) I have not the honour of being personally acquainted with the hon. and gallant Officer who has just addressed you; but from what I have learnt of his character and conduct, I am satisfied that he is a man of too generous a disposition willingly to do an injustice either to me or to any other person. I am sure that he will be the first to regret the accusation into which he has been betrayed, when he is convinced—and convinced I predict he will be—that he has made a serious accusation against me without any foundation. The hon. and gallant Officer can have had no opportunity of reviewing the conduct and proceedings of the Bengal Government; and without having had such an opportunity, upon what grounds can he pretend to charge me with having made a factious and systematic opposition to the noble Marquis's plans for administering the Government of India?

SIR J. DOYLE rose to explain.—I not only did not use the term factious opposition, but even used terms which conveyed the contrary meaning. I said it is true that the hon. Proprietor had been in constant opposition to the noble Marquis; but so far was I from disapproving of that opposition, that I said it was the right of every man to express his opinions, nay, that in some cases it was even a man's imperative duty to do so. In what I then said, I intended to act with perfect delicacy to the hon. Gentleman.

MR. STUART.—I am obliged to the hon. and gallant Officer for the candour of his disclaimer; but I ask, could any thing else than what I understood be inferred from the words, "persevering in a pertinacious and systematic opposition?" Perhaps this expression will appear very unimportant to the Court, but they will, perhaps, forgive me when I say, that I must necessarily attach some importance to it, in consequence of a paragraph in a letter of the Marquis of Hastings, dated October 20, 1822, and given in page 111 of the papers. The passage which I allude to is this:

"Mr. Stuart, notwithstanding the explanations of Sir William Rumbold, who presented the accounts to him at his (Mr. Stuart's) house, is remarked to have said, that 'he was not satisfied.' It is difficult to estimate the weight of that expression. Where a dictum is to hold the place of reason—

ing, the less it is subject to comprehension the better, because the fancy of the hearer or reader is left to supply insinuation in unlimited extent. I fear, however, that I must detract somewhat from the pregnant gravity which seems ascribed to the observation. I aver my persuasion, that in the mood indulged by him at the time, there was not a decision on any possible subject where I could be supposed to have a prominent opinion, to which Mr. Stuart would not have been likely to apply the same words; they being nothing but an indefinite intimation of discontent regarding my administration, in default of any more intelligible objection."

When I first saw that passage, I felt that it would have been more consistent with the noble Lord's character for candour, if, instead of drawing the conclusion which he did, he had left it to the consideration of an impartial assembly like the present. When, therefore, I heard a similar charge reiterated against me by the hon. and gallant Officer, I perhaps attached to it more weight than it really deserved. With reference, however, to my own character and consistency, I feel bound to give a denial to the statement made by the noble Marquis. I am not conscious of ever having entertained any personal animosity to his Lordship. I am not conscious even of having entertained any feeling of temporary ill-will, which could have given an improper bias to the formation of my opinions; and I can safely protest, that I had no difference on any subject with him, which did not originate from a conscientious sense of my public duty. (Hear.) It was not my intention to have troubled the Court with any remarks on this question. But, as observations have been made upon my minutes, and as those observations make it necessary for me to explain my conduct, with reference to the Marquis of Hastings, I trust the Court will allow me to say a few words, not so much in attack of others as in vindication of myself. (Hear.) The only two transactions which came under my inspection, were the Aurungabad arrangement, and the 60 lac loan. The Aurungabad arrangement was reported to Government December 1816. Before it was so reported, I had no information upon the subject. I had neither sought it nor received it. The first intelligence I acquired of it, was from a letter of the late Resident at

Hyderabad. I could not help seeing that there were many weighty considerations against such a proceeding. I recollected that there had been several money transactions between Europeans and the native Princes, which had been productive of disastrous consequences to the latter, and disgraceful to the former.

We all, Sir, must recollect, also, that there had been various transactions between us, the Europeans, and the natives of India, in times past; in which we have acted, I am sorry to say, in a manner so disgraceful and reprehensible, as to render the law which has been suspended by the late Governor-General one of indispensable necessity. I am not meaning to impute to those Gentlemen, when I say this, conduct of such a description, in the first instance. But we must remember, likewise, the language in which the legislature has reprobated any proceedings of this nature, and the great anxiety it has shown to repress them; I say, Sir, that we must bear these things in mind, in order to do justice to the conduct of the Council in India; and bearing them in mind, I contend that there is no man holding a responsible situation in any public service, who will not support me in saying that he would have felt himself bound to act under that responsibility, in the same conscientious manner. It was therefore, Sir, that I thought, and still think, that I was bound to act upon the same public principles. Sir, in taking this subject into consideration, I feel that I must necessarily advert to the situation, in the meantime, of the Nizam himself. And what do I find that to be? A Government broken down and completely disorganized and ruined—the Prince himself exempted from all virtual participation in it;—the Minister of this nominal Prince being himself the creature of the Messrs. Palmer and Co; (Hear, hear, hear;) and not only was this so, but it is known, Sir, that he declared that he stood indebted even for his life solely to their intercession. (Hear, hear.) I ask any man, whether, under such a state of things, and in such a country, it was not but too reasonable to apprehend, that some of those unhappy consequences might follow, that, in other cases had formerly proved so prejudicial to the interests of our empire in India. The next subject upon which I have a few observations to offer, is that which regards the loan, commonly called the "sixty-lac loan." It

would, undoubtedly, be affectation to deny looking to the names and the character of the persons, of whom the Supreme Council was at that time composed: I say, it would be affectation in me, if did not acknowledge that the opinion of the Gentleman whose name has been so frequently and pointedly alluded to in the course of this debate, was that which principally impressed upon my mind the necessity of circumspection, in dealing with a transaction of such a nature as the one in question. Acting under this impression, what was the course, Sir, which I adopted? I recommended inquiry. I stated, and I still feel, that the report of the Resident himself was destitute of all particulars, was bare of all facts and circumstances that might enable us to form any satisfactory opinion on the matter to which his report referred. Further inquiry was made of the Resident; but neither did that produce any satisfaction. Myself, and the other Members of the Government, (together with his Lordship himself, the Governor-in-Chief, as we understood at the time, though it afterwards appeared that he did not concur with us,) agreed upon the expediency of a reference, as to the whole matter, to the Accountant-General. I do not know whether the letter, containing that reference, is printed so that I can refer to it. (Cries of 'No, no.') I am quite willing to save the time of the Court, if it desires it; but perhaps it will allow me to make this reference, as it is a document of considerable importance. I have now, Sir, found the letter, and it is rather long. It appears at page 17, and is as follows. But perhaps it had better be read by the clerk. (The letter was then accordingly about to be read, from the printed proceedings, by the clerk, when—)

Mr. RANDLE JACKSON suggested, that if the very short letter forwarded to them by Sir Charles Metcalfe, which preceded the letter alluded to, were first read by the clerk, it would make the other letter much more clear and intelligible. (The clerk then proceeded to read the two following letters:—) To J. W. SHEREN, Esq., Accountant-General.

Sir:—I am directed to transmit to you the accompanying documents, being copies of correspondence with the Resident at Hyderabad, and to request your opinion as to the expediency, in a financial view, with reference to the interests of the Nizam's Government, and ultimately perhaps of our own, of

the arrangement concluded at Hyderabad between the Nizam's Government and the house of William Palmer and Co. I have, &c.

(Signed) C. T. METCALFE,
Secretary to Government,
Fort William, 4th July, 1819.
To C. T. METCALFE, Esq., Secretary
to the Government Political Department.

SIR:—1. I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 3d instant, transmitting copies of correspondence with the Resident at Hyderabad, and requiring my opinion as to the expediency, in a financial view, with reference to the interests of the Nizam's Government, and ultimately perhaps of our own, of the arrangements concluded at Hyderabad between the Nizam's Government and the house of William Palmer and Co.

2. "That arrangement," the Resident observes, in his letter to your address dated the 28th April last, "was first suggested by Captain G. Sydenham to Messrs. Palmer and Co., proposed by them to me, and mentioned by me to the Minister."

3. It appears that, to enable Messrs. Palmer and Co. to establish a banking-house at Aurungabad, for the purpose of making a monthly loan to the Nizam's Government of two lacs of rupees, for the payment of the troops in Berar, the Minister agreed to grant to those gentlemen assignments on the revenues of the country, to the amount of thirty lacs of rupees annually, the extra six lacs being required, in the words of the agreement, "to cover defects in the revenues, to cover interest, and to give facility to the establishment to make the required monthly payments." Mr. Russell adds, "the conclusion of the arrangement has my entire concurrence."

4. I would beg, however, with much deference, to submit, in the first place, whether under Act 37 Geo. III./cap. 142, "for preventing British subjects from being concerned in loans to the Native Princes in India," Mr. Russell was competent to give his sanction to any such arrangement. Section 28 of that Act declares, "nor shall any British subject, by himself or by any other person, either directly or indirectly, for his use and benefit, take, receive, hold, enjoy, or be concerned in, any bond, note, or other security or assignment, granted, or to be granted, by any such Native Prince,

after the first day of December next, for the loan, or for the repayment of money, or other valuable thing, without the consent and approbation of the Court of Directors of the East India Company, or the consent and approbation of the Governor in Council of one of the said Company's Governments in India first had and obtained in writing." Had the consent or approbation of any of the Governments in India been obtained to the arrangements concluded at Hyderabad, between the Nizam's Government and the house of Palmer and Co., the circumstance would necessarily, I conceive, have been adverted to, in the correspondence before me.

5. In regard to the necessity of this arrangement, Mr. Russell observes, "Considerable difficulties having been experienced at Aurungabad, in procuring adequate funds for the payment of the regular battalions and reformed horse in Berar, it became absolutely necessary to substitute some other system to that which had hitherto prevailed, and which had been rendered defective, principally by the mismanagement of the country, the improvidence of the Government, and the increasing difficulties of the Talookdars, and in some measure, certainly, by the misconduct of Rajah Govind Buksh."

6. But how the evils here stated were to be obviated by the arrangement in question (the entire substance of which is given in paragraph 3, above,) is surely far from obvious, though Mr. Russell styles it, "the only plan which afforded a prospect of efficiency."

7. It is true, that by granting assignments on the revenue for a special purpose, the Government deprived itself of the power of dissipating the revenue so assigned; but Messrs. Palmer and Co. incur no obligation, under this arrangement, to pay the troops, if at any time the mismanagement of the country, or the increasing difficulties of the Talookdars, should obstruct their means. Their fourth requisition expressly provides, "that the Minister should furnish the best tunkhas, and that the Aumils should be urged to adhere to regularity in their payments, as it will otherwise prevent the house, by a deficiency of its funds, from making the payments with punctuality."

8. In Palmer and Co.'s letter to Mr. Russell, of the 25th of April last, assuring him that they have never understood that a guarantee of any sort

was afforded to them by the British Government, or that any pecuniary liability whatever, on the part of the Honourable Company, was involved in this arrangement, they observe: "We were by no means influenced to enter into our engagements at Aurungabad, with a view to any considerable pecuniary benefits. We could have employed our capital more advantageously, and our principal object was to recommend ourselves to the favourable notice of the Supreme Government, by making ourselves useful in promoting your public objects." Again: "We have no security for the liquidation of the orders granted to us on the revenues of certain districts, beyond the good faith of the Minister, and such an eventual support from your influence, as, from the justice of our demands and the public utility of our agreement, you may deem it proper to afford us."

9. From all this it may, I conceive, be safely inferred, at least, that the assignments annually granted to Palmer and Co. have been hitherto realized by them with sufficient regularity; that if they neither looked for, nor have derived from, this arrangement "considerable pecuniary benefits," the twenty per cent. tunkhas required by them in excess of their payments to the troops, "to cover deficits in the revenue, to cover interest, and to give facility to the establishment to make the required monthly payments," has been found fully adequate to these purposes, and that the house has derived its estimated profit.

10. But, in this case, there has been no want of funds, on the part of the Nizam's Government, for the payment of the troops; and the question occurs, whether those funds could not be rendered available for the purposes of the Government, in a manner less objectionable than through the agency of a private house of business.

11. Messrs. Palmer and Co. observe, "that in a country where there are no regular courts of judicature, we never could have established an extensive mercantile concern, without conviction that we should receive from the Resident that support, which is essential to the transactions of any British merchant in this country." Whatever support may be here alluded to, it is obvious to remark, that the absence of regular courts of judicature is an argument equally strong against investing any one, not under the im-

mediate control of authority, with powers which, in such a country, may be so easily abused.

12. Unless, therefore, the most urgent necessity can be shown for an arrangement, which, to the influence of an extensive mercantile concern in such a country, adds that of obtaining assignments on its revenues to the extent of thirty lacs per annum, the arrangement must, I conceive, be regarded as in the highest degree objectionable. In a financial view, I am unable to discern from this correspondence any necessity in the case.

13. In order, however, to enable Government to form a judgment on this point, it may be advisable to instruct the Resident at Hyderabad to endeavour to obtain figured statements from Messrs. Palmer and Co. of the whole of their pecuniary transactions with the Nizam's Government under this arrangement, exhibiting the following particulars, viz.

1st. The sums paid by them in advance to the Nizam's Government from time to time.

2d. The interest thereon charged and received by them, specifying dates.

3d. The tunkas received and realized by them, specifying dates.

4th. The payments made to them in cash at Aurungabad, under the third article of the agreement.

5th. The discount and premium on different currencies admitted under the fifth article of the agreement.

6th. The premium on bills admitted under the sixth article of the agreement. I have, &c.

(Signed) J. W. SHERER,
Accountant-General.

It will be recollected by the Court that upon a former occasion, and at my suggestion, a letter, dated the 4th September, had been addressed to the Resident, pressing him to furnish that figured statement of the concerns of the house, the expediency of supplying which had been already so strongly pressed upon him. Now, before any answer had arrived from the Resident, before the statement required by this communication had been received from him, it happened that Sir William Rumbold himself came to Calcutta from Hyderabad, to protect the interests, as he said, of the establishment with which he was connected; and to furnish, probably, some explanations of his own conduct. Sir William Rumbold, however, addressed a letter to the Government, in which he strongly objected to the production of the re-

quired information. I beg to state, Sir, that it is only with reference to some particular observations that have been made this day by the hon. Baronet that I should feel it at all necessary to refer to the letter in question. Under date of the 12th October, 1819, (at page 19,) Sir William Rumbold writes the Government thus:

"SIR—Having understood that the Governor-General in Council had, within the last few weeks, directed further inquiries to be made from Messrs. Palmer and Co., through the Resident at Hyderabad, regarding the arrangements of that house with the Minister, for the payment of the reformed and regular troops in the service of his Highness the Nizam; I take the liberty of requesting, as a partner of that house, that you will favour me with a copy of the inquiries which are directed to be made from us. I have, &c.

W. RUMBOLD."

There is another letter, also, at page 20, dated in October 1819, addressed to the Secretary, in which Sir William writes:

"To Sir C. METCALFE, Esq., Secretary to Government.

"SIR—I have the honour to acknowledge your letter of this date, enclosing a copy of the inquiries which the Governor-General in Council has directed to be made from Messrs. William Palmer and Co., and to which I am authorized to reply. I regret extremely that our answer to Mr. Russell, when he formerly addressed us upon the subject, has not been deemed sufficiently extenuating.

"I request you will submit to the consideration of the Governor-General in Council, that, as mercantile men, we could not with propriety furnish copies of our accounts with our constituents; that such a measure would be highly injurious to our affairs, and destroy the confidence which the public repose in us.

"We did not conceal any part of our transactions with the Minister from Mr. Russell, when he formerly called upon us, in consequence of the letter addressed to him by the Secretary to Government, and we are at all times ready to afford him similar information. We feel so confident that there is no part of our engagements with the Minister which is not unexceptionable, that we trust the Governor-General in Council will pardon our earnest request, that he will relieve us from the painful state of anxiety in which we are now placed, which is very injurious to our

affairs, and may destroy much of the confidence we have acquired from the public. I have, &c.

(Signed) W. RUMBOLD."

This, Sir, is all that I wish to state with regard to this part of the correspondence. Upon the presumption, that this same inquiry has been imputed by the hon. Bart. solely to me, I wish to remark to this hon. Court upon those facts, which may instruct it how far such an inquiry is attributable to me alone. Hon. Proprietors are, doubtless, aware that the objection of Sir William Rumbold to making the required statements, appeared under circumstances rather peculiar. It was resolved, in consequence of it, that the resolution which had before been passed, calling for this information, should be enforced; and an order to that effect was immediately despatched to the Resident at Hyderabad. It happened, however, that before this order, calling for the information, had been actually delivered to the Resident—before it had, in fact, arrived at Hyderabad, a contrary resolution, suspending it, was agreed to in the Council at Calcutta. (Hear, hear, hear.) It may readily be supposed, that the course which was then to be pursued, with regard to these transactions, became the subject of considerable discussion among us. I acknowledge, Sir, that in that discussion in the Council, I professed still to persevere in the desire I had before expressed, that these accounts should be examined. In point of fact, I had no other alternative left me, in the consistent discharge of what I conceived to be my duty, but to persist in calling for this measure. (Hear, hear.) I have now stated, Sir, the whole extent of my conduct in respect of those accounts. There is a passage, however, in a letter from the Marquis of Hastings, which has, I believe, led some hon. Proprietor to believe that I privately inspected those accounts when they were offered to me for that purpose by Sir William Rumbold himself. Now really, Sir, if any hon. Proprietor has conceived such a notion, I must take the liberty of stating that it is entirely unfounded. It is very true that Sir William Rumbold did wait upon me one day at my own house, and stated to me—"that, believing it to be very proper that my request for information should be complied with, he had brought the accounts with him, and begged me to inspect them." (Hear, hear.) Now, Sir, I beg that my answer to that application may be dis-

tinctly understood. I told Sir William Rumbold, that I was very sure he would do justice to the motives by which I had been actuated in calling for that information; but feeling, that in conformity with the public object that I had in view, all these accounts might some day be fairly and openly submitted to the public, every sentiment of delicacy and duty compelled me to say, that I must decline interfering in the matter by availing myself of his offer of privately inspecting the accounts—the private inspection of which could only embarrass me in the just and impartial discharge of that public duty. These accounts were forwarded to the Resident, and he did require further satisfaction. The information he had obtained was but slight. Will hon. Proprietors, however, think that I ought to have explained at this time the course I meant to adopt in regard to the parties? that I might have done so, because I ought to have formed some opinion on the transaction? Why, Sir, I did state that I was ready to do so,—so far as I was concerned; but that I should, of course, leave the case to be determined by the opinion of the majority of the Council. The hon. Baronet has said a good deal about that minute of Council dated the 16th of November, 1819. I need hardly explain that the intention of that minute was to enter my protest against the resolution of the majority of the Council, to dispense with the order calling for that explanation from the house of Palmer and Co., which, in the first instance, the majority had felt it to be their duty to call for. Now it seems to be assumed, Sir, that having signed my protest on the 16th of November, 1819, I delayed putting it upon record until the 1st of January, 1820. Now I do say, Sir, that this is altogether a misapprehension upon the part of those who have made the assumption. I had no more business—I had no more to do with putting this protest upon record (as many of the hon. Gentlemen who hear me, and are acquainted with the forms of these proceedings, must be well aware;)—no more, Sir, than the hon. Baronet himself, who makes the objection. The question, as to the delay of this protest, is therefore with the secretary alone, whose business it is to enter and record such protests. But then there is another question, "as to when I delivered in my protest in order to have it recorded. Ho-

nourable Proprietors will perceive, I think, that it must have been delivered in on the same day; for on that very day there is a minute under the signature of Lord Hastings in respect of it, which bears precisely the same date. This honourable Court has now before it the whole facts of this case; and by those facts it will be enabled, I trust, to judge of my conduct. Perhaps honourable Proprietors are aware of the objection; the principal objection that was urged by the house of Palmer and Co. to the production of these papers. That objection resolved itself into the injury that must be done to a private establishment by a public exposure of its affairs. (Hear, hear.) In this country that objection would perhaps be a very strong one: but honourable Proprietors will see the very great distinction that must be taken between the case of any commercial house in this country, and the case of a house in India, under the circumstances in which the house of Palmer and Co. at this time stood. The house of Palmer and Co. were engaged in large dealings with the Nizam with the knowledge of the British Government in India. They were acting under a license from the British Government in that empire. The analogy, therefore, which was mentioned as to the prejudice likely to be occasioned by an exposure of its affairs, does not hold, as applied to the case of a mercantile establishment in England; and if, Sir, people will engage, being the subjects of our Government in India, in concerns of this generally prohibited, and at all times dangerous nature, with a native government, they must submit to the inconveniences of that inquiry, which their own character, but still more the welfare of India and the honour of our own Government, and the reputation of its servants, so strongly and imperatively call for. Why, then, what do these objections that have been taken to such an inquiry in the present case resolve themselves into? They may be resolved, I think, into two; first, the urgency of the case itself, and, secondly, the unwillingness (as regarded the house) to give a public statement of their concerns. Now I confess, that I for one do not see the strength of either of the objections in this business. It will be recollected that this transaction was not represented to us in the first instance as a new loan. It was represented then to have been in progress for eight months, and that no

preparation or provision had been finally made for its payments. We looked at the matter prospectively; and I confess that I desired to know whether the arrangement that had been made was a beneficial one for the Nizam's interests? And if it should prove not to have been a beneficial one, I was desirous that the matter should be re-arranged more beneficially for his Highness; and I thought, Sir, that we had ample time before us, looking to the manner in which this loan had hitherto proceeded. Then, Sir, there was another objection suggested by the hon. Baronet, to which, as it seemed intended to implicate the conduct of the Indian Government in another respect, I shall advert; but there is one observation which I first propose to make. A great deal of stress has been laid on the call, which, as it is assumed, was made upon a commercial house to produce to Government their accounts. Now, Sir, hon. Proprietors will find, that in point of fact no such call was made upon Messrs. Palmer and Co. to produce their accounts. They have taken, indeed, great credit for their voluntary production of them; and I am sure, so far as that fact can go, I am quite willing to allow that they were at last produced in the voluntary way which they mention. But as to the call that is supposed to have been made upon them,—what the Accountant General suggested was, that they should furnish a statement of their accounts—(hear, hear)—and not the detailed accounts themselves. Nothing, therefore, that is unfair can be imputed to this call, not for the accounts, but for the statement of them. I was going, however, to notice another objection which I said was taken in respect to the conduct of the Council to this house; and that is, that no prejudice ought to result to them from taking a rate of interest not usually known in this country. Sir, I can refer to a much graver principle than this statement of the objection supposes; I can refer to a known constitutional principle of the British Government in respect, particularly, to its Indian administration; a principle that if it be not persevered in and strictly observed, must endanger the stability and the existence of the Hon. Company itself. It is, Sir, that its servants should put upon record all that shall be done in India under their order. I confess I could not possibly have imagined that anything which may respect simply the convenience or transactions of this private house of Palmer and Co. could

furnish any argument to be propounded to us, for one moment, as warranting a desertion of that principle. (Hear, hear.) It has already been shown, that the terms of the *sixty-lac loan* were in fact never communicated with accuracy or truth to the Government of India. I believe that I have now stated the whole amount of the conduct which I pursued on the occasion in question, and the grounds upon which it appeared to me proper to ask for inquiry. It is also to be remembered that after the resolution of the Governor and Council was confirmed, the inquiry was adopted, and the Government were pledged to an ulterior course of proceeding. That course was quite consistent with the measure which had been taken in this business; but the order was afterwards suspended. I, Sir, have carried no prejudice into the Council in respect of the measure suggested by me, as to the accounts of those Gentlemen. I had no feeling of hostility to indulge. I should have been perfectly willing to listen to any argument that might have been urged by other Members of the Council in respect to that measure. I could not expect them, of course, to concur in all the views I have stated to this Court; but with those views still impressed upon my mind, I could not think it my public duty to give my vote for the suspension of the order which had been before agreed to. That suspension I opposed; and I hope that this hon. Court will do me the justice to declare, whether mine was a light, or frivolous, or unnecessary opposition (hear, hear); whether there was any thing in my conduct which should justly expose me to that imputation, (which I am sorry to say has been this day cast upon me, by the hon. Baronet, in language rather unmeasured I apprehend)—of opposition in the Council, of a pertinacious, fractious, or vexatious nature. (Hear, hear.) With respect to the terms of the loan to the Nizam, I shall not enter into that large question, that has been rather suggested, of what might have been done in the business? I think, I can show very plainly, that something much better might have been effected; and that some arrangement, far more open and beneficial, might have been conveniently and properly entered into. And I think, Sir, I can show that there were circumstances which ought to have made us much more attentive on this occasion to the interests of the Nizam's Government. We have all of us heard a great deal of the dependence of that

large body of native troops, and no doubt the praises which have been lavished upon them are well deserved. I dare to say, although unconnected myself with military affairs, that they are equal in discipline to any troops in the line of the British army. Sure I am, that they are equal to any troops whatever in the service of the hon. Company; but I beg to say, that I doubt very much indeed the justice of retaining so large and burthensome a body in the service of the Nizam, whose territories we were bound by treaty to defend not only from foreign, but from domestic foes.

Therefore, I say, it may fairly be doubted whether, for our own purpose, we were warranted in imposing that very heavy Establishment on the country. I make use of that for this purpose—to show a considerable, if not a boundless, regard to the persons interested. Now a great deal has been said about the native interest. The native interest must vary in all cases, according to the circumstances of a country, as according to the circumstances of a person; but still there were strong and urgent reasons why that house should not expect very high interest. I say they were defended from a risk which other houses would not have undergone:—they received the sanction of the British Government. Then I put it to the fairness and candour of every man of honour, if they received every rupee that they advanced.

MR. KINNAIRD.—That house has not received any of the allowance that has been for years paid to the Nizam Government.

MR. STUART.—I said, Sir, with respect to that arrangement, that the house of Palmer and Co. had the sanction of the British Government, which was equivalent to the strongest guarantee that could be expected. (Hear, hear, hear.) The next transaction I would allude to, is the *sixty-lac loan*. Now the letter I hold in my hand is certainly not from the table of this Court, but I will read it, because one passage from it has considerably induced me to rise this day.

The letter of Sir William Rumbold, p. 37.

“When the above requisition was made, the British Government had derived all the advantage of the Nizam's co-operation by means of the funds of the house, and the Nizam's Government had escaped from its dangers, and was placed from thence forward upon a footing of stability which

it had never before attained. Had the Nizam's Government been destroyed in the general convulsion, the whole advances of the house would have been lost, and the British Government would have told the firm of W. Palmer and Co. that they had knowingly run those risks, and must take the consequences. But no sooner had they escaped from those risks, than objections were raised by a new Member of Council, by whom was manifested a disposition to canvass the details of the expense which had attended a speculation of most fearful and incalculable danger."

Now, Sir, what can be the meaning of these passages? As a member of the Supreme Council, I was called upon to perform high duties under a solemn obligation. The hon. Gentleman says, I must have had private information. I had not a particle of information on this subject. I never heard or knew of this arrangement, I most solemnly declare; and therefore I put it to the candour and fairness of hon. Gentlemen, whether it ought to be imputed to me that I had a malignant intention of ruining this firm. I leave such imputations to the indignant reprobation of every honourable and virtuous mind. Little did I think, Sir, when I was a member of the Bengal Government, acting according to the dictates of my conscience,—I say, Sir, little did I then think, that I should have to defend my opinions and my conduct before this public Court; and however little qualified I may be for the task, I have in me that consciousness of rectitude, that my heart bears me witness, throughout this proceeding, I have steered my conduct by principles of public justice; and my private judgment sanctions me in the belief that I have been faithful to my duty. (Much applause.)

Mr. WEEDING.—I do not think, Sir, it was necessary for the hon. Gentleman to have entered into his defence so much at length as he has done; for I am sure his firmness and consistency in resisting this measure, are such as clearly to demonstrate the propriety of his conduct, and the virtue of the principles on which he acted. In stating my opinion of the general question, I shall endeavour, as far as I am able, to confine myself to that line of argument which is strictly applicable on the present occasion; but, in doing so, I shall consider the whole of the papers relative to the particular transaction of

William Palmer and Co., as forming the grounds on which the judgment of the Court is to pass. Whether, therefore, before or after the Government of the Marquis of Hastings, these papers form part of the chain of evidence placed before us, and which every man is entitled to use, whether for argument or illustration. I shall not leave one passage untouched, therefore, that I think of importance, but I shall take the whole book as my text, and make my comments as short as possible. But before I proceed to the general reasoning on the subject, I will just advert to a few topics in the speech that was made on the other side, which had caused so much admiration, and which has been so much eulogized. To go through the whole speech, I confess would be embarrassing; but there are two or three topics to which I feel it my duty to allude. In the first place, there was an endeavour to prove a contrariety in the conduct of that very valuable public servant Sir Charles Metcalfe. Now, when he first went out, in the obscurity in which he found all these measures were enthralled, and in the difficulty that existed in getting accounts, was it not necessary and natural he should apply conjecture where he could not get fact. If, then, subsequent evidence discovered that he was right in his conceptions, how can any imputation be cast on his conduct? But, Sir, there are two points more. I will defy any man to prove that there was one single rupee of unsettled balance due from Government to the house of Palmer and Co. at the time of the sixty-lac loan. But is the hon. Gentleman prepared to prove, that this house did not lend money to the Nizam's Government on unlawful terms? They leave out the opinions of the Attorney and Solicitor-General. They merely stated, that Mr. Strettel differed in opinion with the Attorney-General. But the law on this subject is so clear, in my opinion, that it requires no reference to legal gentlemen. The hon. Gentleman quotes only the 13th Geo. III. He forgets a little act of Parliament called the 33rd of Geo. III. He states very truly, that there is only one penalty incurred; but the act of the 33rd supplies the deficiency. It made the offence, if it occurred out of the Company's territories, the same as if it occurred in them. Now, in the outset of the argument, the Resident has stated, that he was not only prepared to de-

send the exercise of his own political conduct, but the whole of his political conduct. A pretty difficult task, I think. He might as well attempt to heap Pelion on Ossa. He stated that the 24 per cents and the 12 per cents. would be liked on the Exchange in England. Now, on the 13th of March 1814, Messrs. Palmer and Co. applied to the Supreme Government for a license of establishment. It was granted on the 22d of April, and the Resident was desired to afford every countenance to it; but we hear nothing more of it for two years. On the 22d of June 1816, they applied to Government to carry on a pecuniary transaction with the Nizam's Government. The Governor-General, without inquiry, granted the license, but with this provision, and I beg the attention of the Court to it,—that they should at all times when called upon to do so, disclose to the British Resident the nature and objects of their peculiar dealings, either with the Nizam's Government, or other subjects. On the 31st of December, the Resident of Hyderabad sent word that the agreement entered into between the Minister of the Nizam and the house was thus: that the latter was to furnish two lacs of rupees monthly to pay the troops of the Nizam's Government; for which the House were to receive assignments to the amount of 30 lacs on the Nizam's territories; but inasmuch as he stated no terms or particulars, either of interest or commission, the Government ordered him to send particulars, to see if the Government were involved in the transaction. In reply to the request of the Government, the Resident sent certain papers, and also some correspondence which had taken place between him and the house of Palmer and Co. I do not say it was so intended: but it appears to me that this was calculated to mislead the house. The papers that were received, were referred to the Accountant-General for his opinion, to which an hon. Gentleman below me has alluded. The Accountant-General, as might be expected, with the sagacity of a man of business, declared it was unnecessary to proceed further. He stated that the house of Palmer and Co. were not to advance the money to pay the troops, unless they received the assignment. There was no certainty, therefore, that the troops would be paid. This statement was ordered on the 4th of September; and Sir William Rumbold being at Calcutta shortly afterwards,

he desired to know what inquiries were made, and being told what they were, he protested against them, on the ground that he was not to be called upon to furnish copies of accounts with his constituents (considering the Nizam's Government as their constituents) although he had a copy of the license from Government, by which he would be called upon to furnish those accounts. Well, Sir William Rumbold's remonstrance was then made. On the 9th of October he was ordered to attend the Board personally; and then the minute of the Council, dated the 10th of November 1819, contains the following passage:

"As mercantile men, we could not with propriety furnish copies of our accounts with our constituents. Such a measure would be highly injurious to our affairs, and destroy the confidence which the public repose in us. We did not conceal any part of our transaction with the Minister from Mr. Russell, when he formerly called upon us in consequence of the letter addressed to him by the Secretary to Government; and we are at all times ready to afford him similar information." The Governor adds, "the validity of the objection struck me immediately." Now, Sir, I think the dulness which existed on this occasion will strike every person that dulness is not peculiar to London. He says, "I knew that the Nizam's Government was deeply indebted to the firm, and that all the advances had been made at rates of interest which must sound alarmingly high in England; notwithstanding which the house had been very inadequately paid, both for its risks and its costs." Now, if he entertained an opinion of this kind, why did he not send the concomitant particulars? As it was, he sent particulars without the accounts, which were the only things to enable me to form a just opinion on the subject. As to the question of ignorance, the noble Lord had been scarcely there five years, while there were Gentlemen before the bar and behind the bar, who had been there twenty years, and who were much better acquainted with the habits of the country than the noble Lord, or than the individual on whom he bestowed so much favour. I am sorry I do not see the member for Aberdeen in his place, to hear, that in London the accounts of India are not to be produced, because the people of London are likely to form false deductions from them. I

believe that Gentleman has often complained of the tardiness with which accounts were sent from India; and has threatened, that if such delays were not remedied, he should feel compelled to call for a dismissal of the delinquent party. Suppose the Board of Trade or Revenue were to state on their own venture, "we do not send you accounts, because you could not understand them;" I think I see the hon. Gentleman rising in his seat and exclaiming, "you to tell us this! Let them be instantly dismissed to Moldavia or Mexico, to learn a better sense of duty!" This I think would be the conduct of the hon. Member on such an occasion. It appeared afterwards, that the interest on which this money was lent, was 24 per cent. per annum, but the account being made half yearly, it exceeded 25 per cent., while all other mercantile agency in India in this way, was but 8 and 9 per cent. There is an hon. Baronet near me (Sir Charles Forbes) who has been at the head of a house in India, and I believe his house did not at that time allow even so much as 8 per cent. The enormous difference then was derived from our necessities, while the Governor-General in Council professed to befriend the house. I do not say the Governor-General showed a leaning in India towards the house, but I say he was misled in his judgment. What I find fault with is, that he went blindly to work. He kept from you, Sir, and this Court, the means of knowing what was going forward. If you can prove that he did know what this transaction was, he suffered his license to be made an illegal instrument. I give him credit, however, for not examining the accounts; but still he has been guilty of a dereliction of duty, because he suffered the license to be made an illegal instrument. The money was for the payment of the Nizam's army, commanded by British officers.

Here the hon. Member added some observation, which was inaudible. Mr. Russell rose amid cries of "Order" to correct him in his statement; and said, that though the money went directly from the Treasury to pay the troops, it was the Nizam's money, and not the money of the Company.

Mr. WEEDING.—Even without the fact, I am entitled to the force of my argument. Well then, Sir, with regard to the sixty-lac loan, it has been touched upon by several other gentlemen; but I shall beg the attention of the Court to this fact:—It appears to me

there was an attempt to procure an interest for Palmer of 18 per cent. at a time when the interest of other houses had diminished, and when the Company's 6 per cent. loan was at a premium of 2 per cent. It was unbecoming, therefore, for the Marquis of Hastings to leave his ally in distress, when he could have helped him on such terms as would have enabled him to retrieve his misfortunes. Upon a review, Sir, of these papers, I am compelled to come to this conclusion: that the Governor-General in India, by yielding to Palmer and Co., was guilty so far of a political error, that it is quite impossible, in my opinion, for this Court to adopt the original motion. After this it is impossible to give the Marquis one cawry more.

Mr. S. DIXON rose to order.

A PROPRIETOR.—The hon. Proprietor is in perfect order on this occasion. (Much noise.) And to convince the Court that he is in order, I will refer them to the heading of the papers which form the subject of debate. (Hear, hear, hear.)

Here the hon. Proprietor read the heading of the papers.

The CHAIRMAN, amid much noise, said he thought Mr. Weeding perfectly in order, as the subject of further remuneration to the Marquis of Hastings was part of the matter before the Court. (Much interruption.)

Mr. KINNAIRD rose to order, amid cries of "Chair, chair!"—As you have deduced that the hon. Proprietor is correct in your own opinion, I am not likely to convince you of the contrary; but I cannot suppose you mean to prevent me from expressing my opinion on the point.—

Cries of "Chair! chair!" "Order! order!"

The CHAIRMAN again decided that Mr. Weeding was in order. The very heading of the papers which had been pointed out, warranted the course he was pursuing.

Mr. WEEDING resumed.—I was about to state, Sir, it appeared to me, after reading these papers, that it must excite surprise in the Court that the Marquis of Hastings had received as much as he has done.—"Nihil fuit unquam tam impar sibi."—And here I perfectly agree with the Gentleman before me, that it was impossible to reconcile the opinions of some men. Every man has, unquestionably, a right to change his mind upon conviction. I allude to Mr. Patison's dissent. In that dissent he takes no notice of the

general topics on the subject; but if I were to examine it paragraph by paragraph, some Gentleman in Court might interrupt me as being partial. Are we then prepared to express our personal feelings with respect to the Marquis of Hastings? or are we to act an evasive part? I say here we are, like the Delphian oracle,—“*Alo te Romanos vincere posse*,” Conquer the Roman people, or the Roman people will conquer Rome. I do hope, therefore, that the Court will confirm the amendment. I cannot sit down, Sir, without indulging my feelings in praise of that great and illustrious man, Sir Charles McCarthy, who has displayed the greatness of his talents in the most trying situations; and yet he is charged with ingratitude towards his friend and benefactor. Is it meant that it was a benefaction for this gentleman to be appointed chief Secretary? Were not the Marquis and he alike companions and servants? Did not the Company expect from them alike an honourable discharge of their respective duties? and is it to be conceived a private benefit, for a man to be appointed to a distinguished situation, when his word and service entitled him to it? The merit of the selection is all the merit the party appointing is entitled to; and I do venture to affirm, the Gentleman appointed has in every way proved he was worthy of the trust reposed in him. In a short time he will be called to give an account of his stewardship; and then we shall be enabled to accept of all the good and reject all the bad qualities; in the mean time, I beg to say, in my opinion, that what he has done in the exercise of his functions has been for the welfare of India. (Cheers.)

Sir CHARLES FORBES.—I shall trespass, Sir, on the Court with but a very few words. I have certainly been at the head of a banking-house in India for many years; and I must say, that, in 1818, such was the scarcity of money, that they opened the treasury at nine per cent. They raised the interest to nine and one-eighth after that; and so it continued for nine months. It was afterwards reduced to six per cent. No doubt higher rates were given in other parts, but this was in Bombay. There is one observation I have to make here, which I think of the utmost importance to this Court; and it is, that much as has been said of the interest taken by Palmer and Co. on this loan, there is not a man here who would not agree with me,

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that he would have been sorry to have exchanged situations with that house on that occasion. (Cheers.) I declare, upon my honour, I would not at any period, before or after, have entered into such an engagement as that which Palmer and Co. did, even for a higher rate of interest, because it was interest stipulated for, but never received, and, perhaps, never will be received. I would, Sir, at any time prefer lending money at 9 per cent. to Government, to lending it at 24 per cent. to the Nizam. But it has been said, this house had a guarantee: It was not the case.

Mr. STUART.—I said they had the sanction of Government, which was equivalent to a guarantee.

Sir CHARLES FORBES.—I hope that guarantee will be fulfilled; but, Sir, such are the consequences of that unfortunate loan, that I am sure no man envies their situation, even with that guarantee. I must here say, I have not done that, which I ought to have done before I troubled this Court with any observations; I have not read the voluminous book containing these papers; but I have read enough to satisfy my mind on this point, that the terms made by Messrs. Palmer and Co. were moderate compared to those made by other persons. A great deal has been said about native powers, but there are no such things. No Englishman would be found to place himself in the power of the Nizam. On one occasion, indeed, I had an opportunity of placing myself in the power of the Government of India. (Cries of “question!” “question!”) I mean to confine myself to a single fact, and I will not long detain you; but if you expect the question, I fear we shall not come to it this night, late as it is. Soon after the arrival of the Marquis of Wellesley in 1798, and preparations were making for the Nizam War, the credit of the Company was falling rapidly. Such was the difficulty of getting money, that every means were used by the Marquis of Wellesley to accomplish that necessary object, previous to his entering on the war. One of them was this:—On the 18th of Aug. 1798, an advertisement appeared in the Bombay Courier, under the signature of the Secretary of Government. It is very short, and as it is important I will read it.

“The Honourable the Governor in Council will receive sealed proposals, on Tuesday the 21st instant, from any

person desirous of paying money into the Treasury, for the Honourable Company's promissory notes on the General Register, bearing interest at 6 per cent. per annum, for any amount not exceeding 100,000 rupees, on the following conditions:—

“The money tendered to be paid into the Treasury, at such time as may suit the lender, provided the same be on or before the 20th day of September next.

“On payment of the money, a promissory-note will be granted for the amount, which, according to the terms of the General Register, will be transferable at par to the Bengal Register debt, or may be subscribed for bills on England, at the exchange of 2s. 2½d. the rupee, payable eighteen months after date.

“The Governor in Council engages, that excepting what is tendered under this advertisement no other promissory-notes of the same description shall be issued during the period stated, viz. before the 21st day of September next, unless the same be at least 2 per cent. below the lowest offer made.

“The tenders to be made in the following form:—

“On the terms of the advertisement, dated the 14th August, 1798, I do hereby tender the sum of rupees to be paid into the Honourable Company's Treasury, on or before the 20th September next, for which I agree to receive promissory-notes on the General Register, bearing interest at 6 per cent. per annum, at the rate of rupees for every 100 rupees so paid into the Treasury.”

“The tenders to be superscribed, ‘Tenders for Promissory-Notes,’ and to be delivered to the Secretary, or sent into Council, at 12 o'clock, on the 21st instant.

“Published by order of the Honourable the Governor in Council,

ROBERT RICHARDS,
Secretary to Government.

14th August, 1798.

Well, Sir, what do you think were the terms? How much do you think was paid in? On the 30th of August, on the 3d of September, and on the 17th of September, three different periods, the enormous sums of 18,000 rupees were paid in; 10,000 rupees were the second sum, and 3100 were the next sum paid into the treasury; at the rate of 120 paper for 100 cash, being added to the 8 per cent., and 6 per cent. being added for one year; and this was the exchange between Bombay and Cal-

cutta. We only tendered 18,100 rupees, upon these very moderate terms of 34 per cent. per annum. Our money was worth that; and, in fact, it was worth more, for it was all we could spare. If we had gone on feeding them, perhaps we could have *screwed* out better terms; but this is a fact to which I pledge my honour. I have a right then to call upon this Court to do justice; and, if they do not, I trust it will be found elsewhere. And now, Sir, I beg leave to say, I have no connexion whatever with these parties. I did, about thirty years ago, see Mr. William Palmer, but, except that, all the parties are totally unknown to me, from the Marquis of Hastings downwards, except Sir William Rumbold, with whom I became acquainted only within the last fortnight. Now, Sir, I have a letter in my pocket, at this moment, from Calcutta, which states, that while some of the houses there are refusing money at 4 per cent., others are getting 12 per cent., with a bonus of 10 per cent. for three months. This is 52 per cent. per annum. I should like to know—*(Here a violent knocking in the hall disturbed the hon. Proprietor.)* I have but one word more to say, I have heard a great deal about a conspiracy, and opinions have been read on this subject. With what object those opinions were read I do not know; but I think they were most favourable documents, because they show the utmost possible anxiety to fix on these parties a conspiracy. I have said thus much. I will only add one word more: The question before us refers to the Hyderabad transactions, and to them alone, as I conceive. *(Hear.)* Upon that subject, and upon that alone, I am come here to give an opinion. I am not prepared to approve fully and entirely of every act of Lord Hastings' administration, nor will I do so: but with respect to the Hyderabad question, not only do I conceive there is nothing to find fault with in his Lordship's conduct, but I think it has been highly meritorious. *(Hear.)* It appears to me, that the transactions in question could not have been more beneficially conducted for the interest of the Company, which seems to have been always the end which his Lordship had in view. What was the situation in which his Lordship was then placed? We were threatened with a general war, and the native Princes would have been glad to find an opportunity of turning against you. How then was his Lordship to get the necessary

money for paying the Nizam's troops. I am of opinion, that if he had resorted to a public sale, as the Government did with respect to the 6 per cent. paper in 1798, he would not have raised the money on such advantageous terms, as these upon which it was obtained from Messrs. Palmer and Co. I am borne out in that opinion by the letters which I have received from India, describing the state of the money market at the period in question. One word more, with respect to the troops of the Nizam, as they are called. The changes have been rung upon that part of the speech of the hon. Proprietor (Mr. Russell,) in which he said, that if he held up his finger, the troops of the Nizam would have turned against us. All that I understand the hon. Proprietor to mean by that expression was, to express that such was his influence with the Nizam, that he was able to avert the danger with which the interest of the Company were threatened; (Hear, from Mr. Russell;) that is what I understood to be meant by the phrase, and it is not fair to attempt to give it a forced construction. (Hear.) How is it possible that a man with a grain of common sense, could commit himself as it had been insinuated that Mr. Russell had done by that expression, much less an individual who has himself so much honour both in and out of this Court, by that admirable speech which has delighted all who heard or have read it? (Hear.) I have been in public life now fourteen years, and can safely declare, that I never before heard a speech so clear in detail, or so able and convincing—I may say so unconquerable—in reasoning as that of the hon. Proprietor, I never heard, in the House of Commons, so clear and luminous an address. A late member of the Bengal Government (Mr. Stuart) has stated, that the Resident objected to the raising and maintaining of the troops. I can believe that, because he perhaps thought that their troops might, as I believe they will, be turned against ourselves,—yes, the very troops, which we have raised, clothed, and paid. I cannot forget what happened at the battle of Poonah. The British character was tarnished by what took place on that occasion. This is the first opportunity I have had of expressing my opinion on this subject, which I had hoped would have been made the subject of discussion elsewhere. (Interruption.) I do not intend to detain the Court, but I can assure

the Gentleman behind, who are expressing their impatience, that there are Members of the Court of Directors, who give themselves very little trouble about the business of the Court, and are easily induced to concur in the measures which are proposed there. This, however, is a question on which I think we ought to have the declared opinion of every individual Director, that we may know who are friends of Lord Hastings, and who are not. (Hear.) I should not hesitate to give my support to any resolution conveying thanks to the Court of Directors, that might be proposed subsequently to the passing of the original motion; but to the amendment, in its present form and at the present time, I cannot agree. I would support an amendment which would not destroy the whole effect of the motion, and which would not bind us, as the present amendment does, to approve of what I never can bestow my approbation upon,—namely, the political despatches of the Court of Directors. (Hear.) If I had nothing else to support me in the opinion which I entertain of these despatches but the protest of an hon. Director (Mr. Pattison), whom I have in my eye,—which out of Court has made a great impression, and been treated with the consideration which it deserves,—I never could consent to give my vote in approval of them. (Hear.) Besides, the amendment does in fact commit us, with respect to the whole future question. (Hear.) That is a very important consideration. The case of these unfortunate men, Messrs. Palmer and Co., would be concluded by the amendment. The Marquis has been the game which it was hoped to run down, but those unfortunate men have been made the victims. (Hear.) Feeling as I do strongly on this point, I would not, on any consideration, give my approbation to a proposition like the amendment, which would commit me with respect to these unfortunate gentlemen, and preclude me from advocating the claim which they undoubtedly have, not only upon the justice of this Court, but upon that of the British nation. (Hear.) For the reasons which I have stated, I will give my vote for the original motion.

MR. STUART.—I rise to explain, as the hon. Baronet has particularly alluded to something which fell from me, I think it is important that the Court should know what it was I did say. I said, that the sanction of the Supreme Government to the arrange-

ment for the benefit of our ally, the Nizam, appeared to me equivalent to a formal guarantee.

Mr. S. DIXON.—I desire to set myself right with the hon. Baronet who has just spoken. When I rose some time ago, I did not intend to interrupt the hon. Baronet, but merely to play a trick, which I observed had been successfully practised by an hon. Proprietor on the other side, of rising and catching the eye of the Chairman, in order that, knowing I was anxious to speak, he might be prepared to call upon me when the hon. Proprietor who was addressing the Court should sit down. (A laugh.) When I first came into Court to hear this question discussed, I knew no more than I do the day I shall die the line of conduct which I should pursue. I wished to hear every thing that could be stated on the subject. If there was any thing like prejudice in my mind, it arose from conversation and reading out of doors, and was, that the Marquis of Hastings would be proved to have acted in a highly disreputable manner. I listened with great attention, to all that was said by those Gentlemen who have spoken against the original motion. With respect to two of those Gentlemen, I feel that I do not presume too far when I state, that I have ranked them for a long time amongst my most esteemed acquaintances, and in differing from them, I hope I shall stand excused, because I do so from the honest conviction of my mind. (Hear.) I listened, as I before stated, most attentively to the hon. Gentlemen to whom I allude, but they only succeeded in convincing me that they had searched most diligently, to find matter of crimination against the Marquis of Hastings. (Hear.) Two of the hon. Gentlemen who have opposed the motion, set out with declaring, that as far as regarded Lord Hastings' individual conduct, they believed him to be an honourable man, but they added that the palpable partiality which he had shown to the house of Palmer and Co. would prevent them from bestowing unqualified approbation upon him. The motion and the amendment ran together up to a certain point, as closely as the river Irwell and the Duke of Bridgewater's canal—(a laugh.) The amendment, however, differed from the motion in this, that it carried a sting in its tail. That is the cause of all the difference of opinion on this subject. It has always been my desire in the course of my life to support, as far as

I honestly could, the constituted authorities of the country. I regret that it has not occurred to some person at an earlier period of the discussion, to suggest that an amicable arrangement should take place on the question before the Court. I never received less satisfaction from any thing than from the efforts of my hon. Friends opposite. Upon their own showing, the Marquis of Hastings ought to be acquitted, because, to use the Scotch phrase, the "thing was not proven." All that the hon. Gentlemen have said amounts to this—"We believe Lord Hastings to have been guilty of improper conduct, but we lack the means of proving the fact." (Hear.) I speak quite impartially on this question, for I know nothing of Lord Hastings, having only seen him once, and that is a long time ago. Neither did I ever before, until the last Court, see the hon. Proprietor, Mr. Russell. That hon. Proprietor's Address proved to demonstration the superiority of an unprepared over a prepared speech. The speeches of my hon. Friends opposite were very well prepared—they were like joiner's work, every part dovetailed with another, whilst they were not interrupted; but like all prepared speeches, they smelt of the lamp. Never in the whole course of my life was I so convinced of the advantage which a man possesses who speaks straight forward from his own knowledge of facts, as I have been by the speech of the hon. Proprietor, (Mr. Russell). That hon. Gent. has been at Hyderabad for about twenty years, during fifteen years of which he was Resident there, and during that period all the matters which we are reviewing came under his eye. He is therefore enabled to speak of them with much more accuracy than we can possibly do. I entreat Gentlemen to recollect the value of character. I am a humble individual, and any reflections on my character, whatever harm they might do me, whilst living, would in all probability be buried with me in the grave; but not so with respect to a great public officer, any vote which should impute to him improper conduct, would be matter to go down to posterity. (Hear!) If the house of Messrs. Palmer and Co. shall, on any future inquiry—for that I take it for granted there must be, (Hear!)—be proved to have acted as illegally as men could act, it will still remain to be proved that Lord Hastings—if it be intended to criminate him in any de-

give—encouraged them in their illegal proceedings. (Hear!) Having made these observations, I will now conclude with thanking you for the attention you have shown me. (Hear!)

Mr. R. JACKSON rose to address the Court amidst loud cries of "adjourn" and "go on."

Mr. S. DIXON.—It will not look well in me to move the adjournment of the Court just after delivering my sentiments on the question.

General THORNTON.—I move that the Court do adjourn. (Confusion.)

Mr. PATTISON.—If the Court do not adjourn, several gentlemen will find it necessary to express their opinions on the question. I am not fond of public speaking, but having been particularly alluded to more than once during the debate, and believing that I may have something to state to the Court which has not yet been said, I have determined to speak on the question. All that I ask is, that if the Court adjourn, I may be permitted to speak before five or six

o'clock. (Cries of "adjourn," and "go on.")

The CHAIRMAN.—As there seems to be a difference of opinion on the subject, I must put the question. He then put the question of adjournment, which was carried in the affirmative by a large show of hands.

The CHAIRMAN.—The Court having decided that an adjournment shall take place, it now remains to fix the day to which the adjournment shall extend. On former occasions I have proposed, from regard to the interests of the Company, that the adjournment should extend to a week, but the same reason now induced me to suggest, that it should take place for a shorter period. I therefore propose that the Court shall meet again on Monday next.

The question was put, "that the Court do adjourn to Monday," and carried unanimously.

The Court, which on this, as on the two former days, was crowded to excess, then adjourned at a quarter five o'clock.

SUPPLEMENT

TO

THE ORIENTAL HERALD.

No. 15.—MARCH 1825.—VOL. IV.

A BRIEF NOTE OF EXPLANATION AS TO THE CAUSE OF THE PRESENT SUPPLEMENTAL PUBLICATION.

THE extraordinary length of the Debates on the Hyderabad Transactions, which continued through two long days at the India House, rendered it impossible to include a full and accurate report of the several speeches made, and *documents* referred to by the several speakers, within the ordinary limits of one of our Monthly Numbers, without excluding from it many other topics, and thus divesting the Work of its principal merit in the eyes of general readers,—the agreeable as well as instructive variety of its contents. It became, therefore, indispensable to make a temporary addition to our usual Publication, by the issue of a *Supplemental Number*, to include the *documents* alluded to. This will enable us to accomplish a duty long since determined on, but hitherto never carried into effect, entirely for want of room, namely, the publication of such a selection from the mass of the Hyderabad Papers, as shall put the thousands of readers, to whom the originals are not accessible, and the hundreds who, having them in their possession, are yet terrified from the perusal by their bulk, in complete possession of all the leading facts of the case, and enable them, at less trouble and expense than any other mode would admit, of coming to their own conclusions on the important matters therein developed. We embrace the opportunity which this temporary addition to our space will admit, to include, also, in this Supplement, an article or two which could not find admission into our regular Number of the present month, but which would suffer so much in interest and utility by delay, that our readers will, we are persuaded, approve the determination to which we have come, of publishing them at once. The expense of printing such a Number will be greater to us than an ordinary one, from the quantity of small type used in it; but as all idea of profit from it is relinquished, it will be sold at the stated and regular price: it being also left entirely at the option of the regular Subscribers to the Work, whether such Supplemental Number be purchased by them or not. With this explanation, we proceed at once to our task, commencing with one of the articles which could not be longer delayed.

NEW ASSOCIATIONS.—FREE SUGAR COMPANY—AND BENGAL SUGAR COMPANY.

IN the first article of our regular Number for the present month, we took occasion to advert to the formation of some new Associations, which had for their object the development of the resources of India, the improvement of its great staple product, sugar, and the abolition of slavery in the West, by underselling the negro-holders in this commodity, to be produced by free labour in the East. We promised, on that occasion, to present our readers with the data on which these Associations had been formed, as well as with the details of their several prospectuses, as soon as the materials of such information should be before us: and we have now the pleasure to redeem our pledge.

The formation of the Free Sugar Company, had its origin with a few benevolent individuals, who have passed their lives in endeavouring to ameliorate the condition of their fellow-men: and who have been taught by experience, that the only way to induce the mass of mankind to second their philanthropic views, is to make it their interest so to do: in other words, to let the bait of pecuniary gain be appended, wherever it can be done honestly, to whatever scheme they may invite the public to support. In the present instance, we conceive, that the union of a fair return for capital embarked with a certainty of great good, collateral and direct, arising from the success of the undertaking, has been happily effected; and from this, we augur the best results. The prospectus of the Company is as follows:

FREE SUGAR COMPANY.—CAPITAL, FOUR MILLIONS.

It is intended to form a Company, to be called the 'Free Sugar Company,' for the purpose of promoting the production of Sugar by free labour, with a capital of four millions, divided into eighty thousand shares, of fifty pounds each.

It is not meant that this Company shall itself engage in the cultivation or manufacture of sugar. Its efforts will be directed to encourage the cultivation and manufacture of that article by individuals on their own account, to whom it will make such advances, from year to year, by means of agents abroad, as shall appear to be safe and judicious; the same to be annually liquidated by the consignment of their sugar to the Company.

The Company's profits will be derived from the usual commissions on the sale of the sugar so consigned, in addition to the interest chargeable on the advances that may be made.

The aid of the Company will be extended, without distinction, whenever it can be safely done, to the cultivators of sugar by free labour in all parts of the world which are adapted to the growth of that article; to those in the West Indies and America, no less than to those in the East Indies and Africa, who shall exclusively employ free labour in its production.

The general management of the Company will be entrusted to a Board of Directors, resident in London. And at each of the Out-ports of the United Kingdom, where subscriptions shall have been raised to the amount of 100,000*l.*, a subsidiary Board will be appointed to receive consignments, and effect sales, at that port.

As soon as a half of the capital shall have been subscribed, a call of five per cent. will be made on the Subscribers; and the Directors shall be at liberty to make a second call, to the same amount, as soon as they shall see fit. But they shall have no power to make any further call on the Subscribers, beyond this, until they shall have been authorised to do so by a general court especially convened for the purpose, and of which ample notice shall be given.

The calculations on which the present proposal is founded have been taken from authentic documents, officially furnished to the East India Company, and by them laid before the Public. The result of them will be found in a small pamphlet, published by Hatchard, and entitled, 'East India Sugar, or an Inquiry respecting the Means of improving the Quality, and reducing the Cost, of Sugar raised by Free Labour in the East Indies.'

Proceeding on these data, which stand fully confirmed by satisfactory and independent evidence, it may be shown, that the whole advance which can be required of the Company for the production of 250 tons of sugar, even on the supposition, which is a very improbable one, that the manufacturer of the article possesses no funds of his own, would be about 4000*l*. To ensure, therefore, the production of 25,000 tons of sugar annually, the utmost advance that could be required would not exceed 400,000*l*., being the amount of the ten per cent. of the capital which it is proposed to call for.

It is obvious, that if the success of the Company should be such as may fairly be expected, it will be possible greatly to enlarge its efforts. An additional supply of at least 25,000 tons of sugar may be obtained by each fresh call of ten per cent. which may be made on the Subscribers, until the whole capital shall thus be beneficially employed in meeting that growing demand for sugar which may be anticipated from the combined effect of the diminished price of its production, and the increasing prosperity of the country.

Those who doubt the practicability as well as the security and advantage, of such an undertaking as is now proposed, have only to contemplate the rise, progress, and actual state of the indigo cultivation in India. It is of recent origin; and yet, aided by British skill and capital, it has proceeded successfully, until nearly the whole of the indigo used in every part of the world is supplied from British India. The Company have a satisfactory guarantee in this striking fact for the success of their present scheme.

The course which it is proposed to pursue is precisely that which has been uniformly sanctioned by the practice of the East India Company itself, as well as of the Capitalists of Calcutta, in encouraging the various productions and manufactures of India.

Applications for shares are to be made in writing, post paid, to John Dougan, Esq. No. 28, Princes Street, Bank.

The pamphlet alluded to, in the body of the prospectus, is full of valuable matter. It is evidently the production of one intimately acquainted with the subject on which he writes, grounded on personal experience, and a minute attention to the observations and experience of others; of which he has availed himself in the proofs and illustrations contained in the Appendix to the work. He begins by stating, that the object of his inquiry is to ascertain, whether, notwithstanding the extra duty of 10*s*. per cent. imposed on East India sugar to prevent its superseding the West India sugar in the English market, it is not possible to import it at a rate that shall effectually attain that end. He then adverts to the high rate of freight, which was formerly an obstacle to its profitable importation, but which, from subsequent reduction, is no longer an object of importation. The principal disadvantage, he contends, under which this article labours, is the imperfection and expense of the mode by which it is prepared in India; and the chief desideratum is, the improvement of that mode. The process, at present observed, is then described at considerable length: and it is stated, that the result of the whole is, not only that the expense of the manufacture is at least doubled, but that the sugar produced is often inferior in strength and grain, to that which is imported from the West Indies. It is added, that so clearly must this be the necessary effect of the present imperfect system, that a mere description of the process to a West Indian, would enable him infallibly to predict the result. The author of the inquiry then proceeds to say:—

Until the mode of manufacture therefore is changed, supposing the present dif-

ference of duty to continue, the produce of Bengal must labour under many disadvantages in its competition with the produce of the West Indies. The unnecessary expense and waste of the process, and the injury done to the article, will in some measure counterbalance the extraordinary cheapness of labour, both in the cultivation of the cane and the manufacture of the sugar. It is evident, moreover, that the requisite improvement can only be effected by European skill and capital. The natives have neither the knowledge nor the means required for improving the process; and the machinery which could be established by Europeans without difficulty, and with a certainty of large profits, is not likely to be erected in the first instance by the natives.

The plan of proceeding would be simple. Sugar-works must be formed in different parts of those districts where the sugar-cane is chiefly produced. The conductors of these works must purchase the cane from the natives, grind it and boil it into sugar in the same manner as in the West Indies. The business of cultivation will thus still remain in the hands of the natives, and the process of manufacturing the cane into sugar will alone be undertaken by Europeans. As it is absolutely necessary that the cane should be ground, and the juice boiled into sugar very soon after it is cut, each establishment could embrace but a small district; such a district, however, as might be adequate to the production of from 250 to 500 tons of sugar per annum; the latter quantity being probably quite as large as any one set of sugar-works could manufacture.

The produce of a bigah of land, which is equal to 1600 square yards, may be taken at a moderate estimate at $3\frac{1}{2}$ maunds of 82 lbs. weight, or 287 lbs. of clayed sugar.¹—p. 5, 6.

Nearly eight bigahs therefore would be required to produce a ton weight of sugar, and 2000 bigahs to produce 250 tons. This quantity of land would be equal to 666 acres; and if we allow a liberal estimate for other crops, there is little doubt that in a favourable situation that quantity of cane-land might be found within the space of three or four miles square.

To this follows a series of calculations intended to show the rate at which such an establishment could produce sugar for the European market. The charges are made up of cultivation, manufacture, package, freight, and sale. Each of these are examined with great care, and the result shown with exactness: but we shall extract only one passage from the whole, as we shall hereafter give a summary of the results; and this passage we select principally to explain the system of advances on credit to the cultivator, and the security of the capital thus lent. It is as follows:—

The poverty of the ryott, as well as the general custom of India, requires that a large portion of the value of the cane should be paid in advance.² The time of crop lasts from January to May, and the advances are usually made in the June or July preceding. They are commonly to the extent of half the value of the crop, and when a final settlement is made in the ensuing April, high interest is allowed on the loan. This used to be at the rate of at least 24 per cent. per annum;³ but interest has recently been much reduced in India. It is probable, however, that 10 to 12 per cent. would still be obtained even from respectable ryotts. The sum advanced is secured on the standing crop, and is paid over to the landlord in lieu of rent; the landlord in return conveying to the lender his legal claim to recover on the crop.⁴ The security of the lender seems perfect, as he possesses the same power of summary recovery which the law vests in the landlord. Even in the case of a complete failure of the crop,—a rare occurrence

¹ East India Sugar Report, App. iii. p. 22. The produce is there stated at 12 maunds of goor. The proportion of clayed sugar to goor being as 7 to 24; this will give $3\frac{1}{2}$ maunds of clayed sugar. Most of the statements assign a larger amount of produce: App. iii. p. 50; App. i. pp. 76, 82, 92, 138, 149, 172, 173, &c.

² For the present system of advances, see East India Sugar Papers, App. iii. pp. 31, 58; App. i. p. 78, corrected at p. 160; pp. 90, 152.

³ See also Malcolm's Central India, vol. ii. p. 38.

⁴ East India Sugar Paper, App. iii. p. 31. It is precisely in this way that the manufacture of indigo is carried on in India to so immense an extent,

in India,—the advance remains as a debt and must be repaid with interest in some subsequent year. The interest received on these advances may be considered as fully adequate to compensate to the manufacturer, not only all interest on the capital advanced until the crop be gathered, but also all the possible loss he can sustain by the insolvency of ryotts. On the whole, therefore, the cost of the canes, previous to their being manufactured into sugar, may be estimated at Rs. 4 8 for a quantity sufficient for the production of a maund of clayed sugar, which, at 2s. the rupee, is equal to 9s. sterling per maund, or 12s. 3½d. sterling per cwt.—p. 7, 8.

Farther on, in the midst of his description of the present, and proposal of the future mode of manufacture, an observation escapes the author, evidently incidentally, as no inference is drawn from it even by himself. It would furnish, however, a text for a much larger volume than his own, and involves the consideration of the greatest question that can be agitated as it regards India—we mean the introduction of COLONIZATION. The author says, “It would certainly be in *all cases* an advantage, that the European superintendent should himself be the *proprietor* of the works; at least deeply interested in them.” No doubt, it is highly desirable, that Englishmen should possess PROPERTY in the soil of India, and in the works erected on it. This is truly “the one thing needful,” without which their interests in the prosperity of the country can never be deep or permanent. But there is yet another step, before even this, to make—namely, to obtain a repeal of the odious and execrable power by which any Englishman can be torn from the heart of India, from his sugar or indigo plantation, from his family and friends, from all he may hold valuable in the world, and be transported like a felon, at the caprice of any servant of the Company who may choose to consider him a turbulent and troublesome individual, because he guards his property from violation, and maintains his just rights; as such a representation of any British-born subject handed up to the Governor-General in Council, would procure him the honour of being what is called officially in India “transmitted,” and sometimes more familiarly “sent over the surf;”—in plain language, transported without trial, for daring to reside in India, being an Englishman, and for not crouching to his oppressors like a slave! This *must* be altered, before any man can hold property with any security in India: and when this is accomplished, when it is no longer necessary for any Englishman to have what no foreigner now requires, a *license* to reside in India,—the value of which may be estimated from the simple fact of its being liable to be taken from him at a moment's warning without cause assigned, and the individual treated as a criminal for not possessing what others have forcibly robbed him of,—when no such license is required, and men's persons are free from arrest, and their liberty from violation, then indeed English superintendents may safely be placed at the head of establishments in India; but not till then: and we sincerely hope, that the benevolent leaders in the undertaking to which we allude, will use their efforts to obtain the abolition of this monstrous power, before they attempt to induce a single individual to go out to India on their account. To show that we are speaking of no imaginary evils, of no cruelty that *may* happen only, but has never yet taken place, we shall cite only one instance, out of many that might be quoted, to show the sweeping manner in which this power has been sometimes exercised. In Mr. Mill's excellent History of British India is the following passage, which can never be too often repeated, till the power to commit such outrages be abolished for ever:—

The hostility of the Governor-General (Lord Wellesley) to his fellow-subjects, pursuing, independently of the Company, their occupations in *any part* of India, is expressed, without a word to indicate *reasons*, in the same Letter⁶ thus:—"The number of Europeans, particularly *British* subjects, established in Oude, is a MISCHIEF which requires *no comment*. My resolution is fixed, TO DISLODGE EVERY EUROPEAN, excepting the Company's servants. My wish is to occasion as little *private distress* as possible, but the public service *must take its course*; and it is not to be expected that some cases of hardship will not be found in so great a measure." These last words (says Mr. Mill) indicate *extensive numbers*. Why did not the Governor-General, before he *dared* to strike at the fortunes of so great numbers of his countrymen, declare and prove the *evils* which they had produced? For what reason is it, let them declare who know what is understood under such a Government as ours, by the ruling few, that he has never yet been effectually called upon to account for such conduct? The *good* which they were calculated to produce is obvious to all. The question still remains, unanswered, What were the evils?⁷

The good effected by the cultivators of indigo was exactly of the same nature, though not to so great an extent, as that which will be produced by the cultivators of sugar. The evils will be in both cases the same: namely, that wherever independent Englishmen are settled in any considerable numbers, no Governor-General, nor any of his dependents, can tyrannize with such impunity as when there are no European eyes to see, ears to hear, tongues to tell, and pens to convey intelligence of their misdeeds to England. This is the only evil, but this the tyrants of India find a great one: and as their masters at home have all their sympathies engaged with the supporters of this odious system, no hope of redress remains for those who are made the victims of this despotic power. Let the benevolent projectors of the Free Sugar Company look to this, or they will find that their superintendents will be as effectually slaves as the unhappy negroes in the West Indies whose condition they desire to ameliorate: with this disadvantage, to which no negro even is subject, that the Englishman may be transported and ruined for life without a trial,—a privilege not denied to the meanest individual in the land!

To return from this digression, which, however, is closely connected with the subject, we shall here introduce at some length the results of the laborious inquiry made by the author of the Work before us, as to the cost and charges of the sugar to be produced under the system recommended by him for adoption in the East. It is this:

The statement may be better understood, if instead of making the calculation on a single cwt. it be made on the whole quantity of 250 tons of sugar.

The cost of 250 tons of sugar landed at Calcutta, at 13s. 6d. per cwt.			
or 134. 10s. per ton, would be	-	-	£3375 10 0
Charges at Calcutta, 5 per cent.	-	-	168 15 6
Freight to Europe, at 6l. per ton	-	-	1500 0 0
Insurance at 3½ per cent. on 5000l.	-	-	162 10 0
			<hr/> £5206 15 6
Sale of 242½ tons of sugar, 3 per cent. being allowed for drainage,			
at 35l. per ton	-	-	£8487 10
Deduct 6 per cent. for charges in England	-	-	509 5
			<hr/> 7978 5 0
Leaving a sum of	-	-	2771 9 6
To which is to be added the gain on the molasses, Rupees 2268 8, or			226 17 0
			<hr/> £2998 6 6
Net profit	-	-	

⁶ Letter of Lord Mornington, the Governor-General, to the Resident at Oude, dated Dec. 23, 1778.

⁷ Mill's History of British India, vol. 6. b. 6, chap. 9, p. 154. 8vo, edition.

The above calculation may be considered as furnishing as near an approximation to the truth, as is perhaps attainable without an actual experiment: but it will be seen, on a comparison with the documents referred to, and on a fair consideration of the circumstances of the case, that, with a view to guard against disappointment, the calculations have been, in every instance, conducted on data less favourable to the profit of such an undertaking than are furnished by the authentic details contained in the Company's Report, and by the facts of the case. Nor is any credit taken for the waste of sugar caused by the existing process, which would be saved in case an improved process were adopted. Variations, it is true, may occur in the rate of freight and insurance; but these, if they do not proceed from merely accidental and temporary causes, must proportionally affect the price of sugar from the West Indies also, and will, therefore, not materially disturb the conclusion which seems inevitably to follow from the premises, that, even under the disadvantage of the present heavy duties, East India sugar (provided the mode of manufacturing it should be improved in the way proposed, and prices should not fall very far below their present value,) may be imported into this country for our home consumption at a large profit to the manufacturer. Even if his expenses were doubled, it would add only 50s. per ton to the cost of the article.

Before we bring this inquiry to a close, it may not be unseasonable to say a few words on the profit to be derived from capital embarked in such an undertaking as has been suggested above, when compared with that on the capital required for the production of an equal quantity of sugar in the West Indies.

In the West Indies, a planter must expend a large capital in the purchase of land, slaves, and cattle, and in the erection of works. The expense of the first three items is wholly saved to the East Indian sugar manufacturer, and that of the last is much lighter in his case than in that of his competitor. In consequence of this difference, while the fixed capital required to raise 250 tons of sugar in the East Indies would not exceed 800*l.* sterling;—to raise the same quantity in the West Indies would require a fixed capital of upwards of fifty times this amount, say 45,000*l.* The floating capital required in the East Indies for the purchase of canes, the payment of salaries, the hire of labourers and cattle, the expense of carriage to Calcutta, and the charges there, would amount by the foregoing statement to 354*l.* 5*s.* 6*d.* sterling; from which, if the gain on the molasses, 226*l.* 17*s.*, be deducted, there will remain only 331*l.* 8*s.* 6*d.* to be replaced after the sale of the sugar in Europe.

What may be the floating capital required by the West Indian grower of 250 tons or 320 hogsheads of sugar, it may be difficult to calculate exactly. But, including the food of the slaves, the various supplies of the estate, tools and utensils, packages for sugar and rum, the salaries of managers, the wear and tear of machinery, the repair of buildings, the decrease of slaves and cattle, medical expenses, island taxes, &c. &c. it cannot be estimated, according to any data furnished by Bryan Edwards, or by the West Indian Legislatures, at less than 4000*l.* after deducting the value of the rum. The calculation of interest is wholly omitted on both sides. The respective growers of sugar are supposed to trade on their own capital.

In the case of the East Indies, therefore, there is required a fixed capital of 800*l.* and a floating capital of 331*l.*, in all 411*l.*, on which the net profit is 299*l.* 6*s.* 6*d.* or 72 per cent.^a In the case of the West Indies, the fixed capital is 45,000*l.*, and the floating capital 4000*l.*, in all 49,000*l.* What may be the planter's profit on this sum we will not attempt to fix. If we were to credit the statements of the West Indians themselves, as contained in their petitions to Parliament, and other documents, there would be no profit at all accruing upon it, but a great loss. But we will not enter minutely into that question. The utmost profit the West Indians can be supposed to receive from their capital, will bear but a small proportion to that which it is here estimated the East Indian manufacturer might derive from his. The recent estimates furnished by the West Indians themselves, all very nearly agree in estimating the cost of their sugar, when brought to sale in England, at about 48*s.* per cwt. or from 46*s.* to 50*s.* exclusive of duty. This is, unquestionably, a very overcharged estimate; for, at

^a If the sugar is supposed to sell in England at only 30*l.* per ton, instead of 35*l.*, the net profit will still be 185*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.*, or upwards of 45 per cent. on the capital.

that rate, the average loss they sustain on each hundred weight of their sugar would be at least 15s.

The difference between the profit of the East Indian and that of the West Indian cultivation of sugar, is so great as almost to excite a suspicion that there must be some error in the calculation.⁹ The vices, however, of the West Indian system are so numerous and important as of themselves to account for such a result. If the West Indian planters were managing their own concerns against open competition, it would be presumptuous for persons at such a distance, and unacquainted with their business, to offer any remarks or to propose any improvements. But when protecting duties are required to keep out competition, and bounties are given artificially to raise the price of produce, we may reasonably suspect that room is to be found for considerable improvement in their modes of management. Men, however, who are accustomed to seek relief, from the effects of mismanagement, in bounties and protecting duties, will be likely, so long as they succeed in it, to continue that course, though it may be apparent to all who examine the matter closely, that the cause of their distress is their own im-providence.

But even if it be fully admitted that the above statements are perfectly correct, yet the cultivator in the East is not to calculate on the permanence or even long continuance of his vast advantages. For we may confidently expect that so soon as the West Indian planters are led to look to themselves for relief from the effects of their bad management, and cease to export it from the mother country, their system will rapidly improve, and the condition of the slaves will begin to approach to that of free men.

One obvious benefit which would immediately accrue to the West Indian cultivator, would be, that he would be induced to withdraw his poor soil from sugar cultivation, and to retain in it only those of superior fertility. Inferior soils would be employed in the growth of other articles for which they were adapted, and only the best in that of sugar. The remunerating price of sugar would thus be lowered. A forced cultivation must always be a hazardous and expensive process; and it can only be supported by a monopoly price both high and permanent.

Again, the use of the plough has such obvious advantages, that, to a cursory observer, it is wonderful that it has not been more generally adopted in West Indian cultivation. If an English farmer was obliged to keep, during the whole year, all the hands that he required in harvest, he too might employ them with the spade and the hoe in turning up the soil, and might find less advantage from the plough. If the plough were brought into general use, and cattle were, therefore, more generally employed, the fertility of the soil, by means of a change of crops, of manuring, and good management, would be gradually improved, instead of being, as now, continually deteriorated.

Various other suggestions present themselves. If, for example, the cultivation of provisions were made universally a first and paramount object;—if the women were relieved from the constant and oppressive drudgery of field-labour, and allowed to give an adequate share of attention to their domestic concerns, as might easily be done were the plough in general use;—and if various other economical improvements which are obviously practicable were adopted, there can be no doubt that the state of things in the West Indies would rapidly and very greatly improve. The population would increase, and their condition would gradually approach that of free labourers. The property of the planter would be no longer estimated by the number of his slaves, who would sink in value; but by his land, which would proportionably rise in value. His income would eventually be derived from a land-rent paid by Black or White farmers managing their own concerns; and he would then be able to compete in the sale of his produce with any other country in the world.

On the whole, therefore, it is gratifying to reflect that the improved manufacture, and extended cultivation of sugar in the East Indies, may ultimately lead to the correction of the vices of the West Indian system; and the West Indian planter thus find the improvement of his own finances to arise from reforms which would,

⁹ It may afford some proof that the cost at which sugar may be brought to Calcutta has not been underrated, that in the year 1790 the price of the best sugar in the Calcutta Market was as low as six rupees, and even in 1812 it had fallen to seven rupees.

at the same time, most effectually promote the happiness, and exalt the moral and social condition, of his unhappy bondsmen.

From the foregoing inquiry, it will appear, that it would be likely to prove a most advantageous speculation for young men of good character and small capital, whether Europeans or Natives, to embark in the manufacture of sugar in Bengal. Supposing it to be necessary for the adventurer actually to possess the whole amount of the capital which the undertaking would require, it would not exceed 4000*l.*, even on the large scale proposed of manufacturing annually 250 tons of sugar, which are equal to from 300 to 350 West India hogsheads. But when the facilities of obtaining credit in India as well as in Great Britain are considered, it is obvious that a person possessed of half that sum, might rely on obtaining such support as would enable him to prosecute his object without the smallest inconvenience. The manner in which the manufacture of indigo proceeds in India at this moment, very satisfactorily illustrates this point.—p.14—19.

The Appendix to this Work contains proofs and illustrations of the positions established by the author; and as corroborative testimony on so important a subject as this must be acceptable to those who desire to verify the accuracy of the data on which they proceed to act, we subjoin some extracts from a Memorial presented to the Court of Directors by Mr. W. Fitzmaurice, in February 1793, on the same subject. The writer says :

The source of the wealth now opened to you by the present opportunity of encouraging the sugar manufactories in Bengal to be carried on by the process practised in the West Indies, in making, curing, and claying it, renders incumbent on every man who possesses knowledge of the subject to display it, so as that the nation may profit by it.

I have therefore thus presumed to address you, Honourable Sirs, in order to display those points upon which the sugar trade of your provinces in India must either rise to the importance which they are capable of being brought to, or prove injurious to your interest and ruinous to the laborious inhabitants of your provinces.

Having lived in Jamaica sixteen years, and during that period been employed in the cultivation and management of sugar estates both on the north and south sides of that island, I may venture to assert that I am a competent judge of the soil fit for planting sugar-cane, and how far it will answer for that cultivation.

All the ground I have seen here (Omdipore excepted), and I am well informed the country throughout is mostly the same, consists of plains of excellent brick-mould, which I assert to be the best for sugar, and in its natural state will yield from one to two tons per acre, by any tolerable care and attention to the West India mode of clarification and boiling in the first process, which at present is unknown to the natives: their mode of expressing the cane-juice and making the jaggery (as they call it) being extremely unprofitable, unproductive, awkward, and tedious in its process.

From the luxuriance and fertility of this country, I think it is amply competent to the supply of all Europe with sugars, and that even the West India planters themselves might import them from hence on much easier terms than they can afford to sell sugars in the curing-houses upon their plantations.

On my arrival in Bengal, I determined to try what kind of sugar could be produced from the canes managed in the Jamaica manner, that is, by carefully adopting the mode of guarding against acidity, and closely attending to the process of clarification; I therefore crossed the Hoogly at Calcutta, and proceeded up the Benares road to the distance of three miles, when I came to a field of cane where the natives were making jaggery as already described. I bargained for a number of bundles of cane, for two annas per bundle, which was the price they were selling for at the bazar in the neighbourhood to the retailers from Calcutta, who bought canes to eat. I immediately sent my bearers to purchase me one of the country mills, which cost four rupees, four cudgerees pots as boilers eight annas, a mat two annas, and thus I fully completed my works in an hour; my bearers turned and fed the mill, and about four o'clock had made two skips of very fine strong-grained sugar, which upon claying appeared equal to the best St. Kitt's sugar.

The experiment I have frequently tried since with success before several gen-

tlemen of this settlement, by which I have proved how ruinous it is to the first manufacturer to make the juice of his cane into jaggery.

The more I see of this luxuriant soil, the more I am convinced, Honourable Sirs, that you might annually export from Bengal any quantity of sugars, and a proportionable quantity of rum of a superior quality, without interfering in the smallest degree with the present cultivation and manufactories of Bengal. Indeed, the waste land occupied by the tigers between this and Ingelee would produce nearly as much sugar as the island of Jamaica; and as to labour, thousands of labourers may be had by the day or week, month or year, at two annas per day, or three rupees per month, the highest hire given.¹⁰—p. 21—24.

Having some years ago hazarded an opinion, that Bengal, with an open trade and proper encouragement, could not only supply the European market with sugars cheaper than the West Indies can possibly do¹¹, but also undersell the West Indian cultivator in his own island, I then incurred the ridicule of a visionary speculatist. Time, however, which proves the truth or fallacy of human opinions, is about to embody this with the substantial form of proof; and I hope to be able in the present address to demonstrate, by an exact and fair comparison of the expense and produce of sugar-plantations in Bengal with those of the West Indies, the validity of my assertion.¹²—p. 28.

Mr. Botham's observations on the mode of cultivating a sugar-plantation in the East Indies is then given, extracted, it would appear, from his evidence on the Slave Trade; and this corroborates and confirms all the material points before advanced by Mr. Fitzmaurice. The following short paragraphs are all that we think it necessary to select from his evidence:

Having been two years in the English and French West India Islands, and since conducted sugar estates in the East Indies, it may be desirable to know that sugar, better and cheaper than that in our islands, and also arrack, are produced in the East Indies by the labour of free people.

Having experienced the difference of labourers for profit and labourers from force, I can assert, that the savings by the former are very considerable.

The West India planter, for his own interest, should give more labour to beast and less to man; a larger portion of his estate ought to be in pasture; when practicable, canes should be carried to the mill, and cane-tops and grass to the stock, in waggons; the custom of making a hard-worked negro get a bundle of grass twice a day, abolished; and, in short, a total change take place in the miserable management in our West India islands. By this means, following, as nearly as possible, the East India mode, consolidating the distilleries, I do suppose our sugar-islands might be better worked than they now are by two-thirds, or indeed one-half of the present force. Let it be considered how much labour is lost by the persons overseeing the forced labourer, which is saved when he works for his own profit. I have stated, with the strictest veracity, a plain matter of fact, that sugar-estates can be worked cheaper by free persons than slaves.¹³

After such a body of evidence as has been here produced, we think no man can doubt of the certainty of profit to the Associators on the one hand, and benefit to the Indian people on the other. All that is wanted to complete the scheme is a guarantee for the security of the persons and properties of those who may embark in it in India: and this, we trust, the Directors will use their best efforts to obtain. When they have done this, the success of their benevolent undertaking will be certain,

We have left ourselves but little space to speak of the "Bengal Sugar Company," which will promote, rather than retard, the objects of the

¹⁰ East India Sugar Report, First Appendix, p. 210 to 212.

¹¹ This opinion was neither new nor singular. See Strictures, p. 20, to the same point; Director's Report on Sugar; Law's Resources, &c.

¹² N.B.—The maund here mentioned is the Calcutta bazar maund of 80 S.Rs. per seer, equal to 82½lb. avoirdupoise.

¹³ East India Sugar Report, Third Appendix, p. 83 to 85.

contemporaneous Association, and which has exactly the same certainty of succeeding. All the previous details into which we have entered apply with equal force to both; and as the Prospectus is full and explanatory, we cannot do better than introduce it here. It is as follows:

BENGAL SUGAR COMPANY.—CAPITAL, ONE MILLION.

THE attention of the public has been drawn to various schemes, opening new channels for the employment of capital; but no project has yet been proposed more obviously desirable and promising than a plan to facilitate the production and improve the quality of East India sugar.

The increase in the home demand for East India sugar, during 1824, has been nearly double that of the preceding year; with an addition also of one half to the quantity exported, being in the aggregate about 15,000 tons. This increase would doubtless be progressive, were the quality to be improved, and the cost of production diminished, notwithstanding the present excess of duty of 10s. per cwt.

The production of sugar by the natives of India is at present attended with numerous disadvantages: the capital of the cultivators is borrowed at an enormous rate of interest; their machinery is exceedingly rude and inefficient; and their process of manufacture extremely defective. A knowledge, founded on local experience and observation, of these defects in the present system of manufacturing sugar in Bengal, and which tend very much to deteriorate the produce of the cane, has led to a detailed inquiry on the subject, and produced the conviction that the employment of European skill and capital would be attended with very considerable profit.

It is therefore proposed to establish in the most suitable provinces, under the superintendence of persons acquainted with the process adopted in the West Indies, factories furnished with the most approved apparatus made use of there; and without interfering with the cultivation of the land, to encourage the growth of sugar by moderate cash advances to the natives in anticipation of their crops, receiving from them the cane, to be brought to the factory instead of the poor or juice, as is the practice at present.

The money thus advanced on account of the sugar-cane would be refunded, with the legal rate of interest in India, which, although considerably higher than in England, is much lower than what the natives pay in similar cases among themselves, and would consequently afford to the shareholders a distinct source of advantage separate from the general operation. These advances would be made through the heads of villages and the leading cultivators; and from the little uncertainty to which the sugar crop in India is liable, they would be attended with scarcely any risk.

From a careful examination of the whole subject, it appears that the present prices of sugar in England will amply remunerate the growers in India; and from the facilities now contemplated, both a cheaper and better article may be expected to be produced; while it will be proved to those desirous of supporting this scheme, that the profitable anticipation which the proposal holds out to the shareholders, is founded on admitted data and correct calculation, and not dependent on merely speculative results.

At the present moment, when the abundance of money forces it into uncertain and hazardous speculations, the advantage of employing capital in British possessions, and under the security of British laws, in preference to speculations in the colonies of other powers, is one which should entitle this plan to a preference, whilst it combines, at the same time, an object of very considerable commercial and national importance: to encourage the growth of one of the staple products of the rich soil of India, and to give employment to her numerous population, must be the means of opening the resources of that country, and of greatly extending the consumption of British manufactures.

These considerations have given rise to the intention of forming a Company, with a capital of 1,000,000*l.* divided into 10,000 shares, of 100*l.* each, to be denominated the Bengal Sugar Company, and to be under the management of twelve Directors.

The produce to be annually consigned to England, and there sold, under the direction of a managing committee selected from the Directors.

It is proposed to raise the capital by instalments; but as there is no doubt that 5*l.* per share will be sufficient to make a trial upon a moderate scale, no further

call will be made till the result of the first operation is ascertained; and for the convenience of those subscribers who, having funds in India, are desirous of permanently investing their capital there, the agents at Calcutta will be authorised to receive payment of their subscriptions.

Any additional call which it may be thought advisable to make, for the purpose of more extended operations after the plan has been tried, will be duly notified.

This scheme having been submitted to the examination of several gentlemen of the first respectability, possessing a knowledge of India, has met with their approbation and encouragement; and a preliminary committee of management will be immediately formed, for the purpose of carrying the plan into execution.

Applications for shares to be made to Messrs. Dawes and Chatfield, Solicitors, Angel-court, Throgmorton-street.

In conclusion, we can only say that we shall rejoice to see the shares of both these Companies filled, and their undertakings in full operation. The blessings to India that are sure to result from them, are almost incalculable, and the advantage to England will also be immense: so that private benefit will thus, as it ever should do, go hand-in-hand with public good.

ON THE PRESENT CERTAIN EFFECT, AND PROBABLE FUTURE
CONSEQUENCES, OF THE RECENT DISCUSSIONS
RESPECTING IRELAND.

NEVER in the history of this Empire was the situation of Ireland more agitating than at present:—not even in 1782, when stripped of British protection—her volunteer citizens appeared in arms; and the eloquence of Grattan, animating her parliament and people, wrung from an unwilling ministry a separate independence and a free trade. At that memorable epoch, when America had nearly conquered her rights, and subsequently in 1793, when the French revolution was destroying Europe; the measure of relief of 1778 was further extended, and important concessions were made to Ireland and its Catholic people. But much that was just and valuable was also withheld: enough was given to make the Irish Catholics feel their strength;—too little to conciliate their attachment. The nation was slowly raised from prostration to its knees,—but the chain which had bound them for ages, was still locked to their bodies, and the upright attitude of freedom denied them.

The worst part of that horrible code which outraged nature and humanity—which forbade the marriage of the Catholic and Protestant—denounced the exercise of worship in a Christian temple—proscribed the priest, and the civil teacher—set the son in unnatural array against his father—excluding the Catholic from the rights of property, and the liberal professions, was repealed. But though the blight of desolation passed from off the land, a cloud of evil still hung over it—and swarms of devouring locusts preyed on every green thing. Ireland was always the victim of oppression and neglect. “We never,” says Swift, in one of his letters to Lord Bolingbroke, “had time to think of the country while we were in power.” Her treatment was marked by the haughtiness of strength, to weakness—of victors, to the conquered. She was in consequence, for ages, a scene of discord, and of contest—a bloody theatre, for contending factions to riot upon;—no serious effort, until lately, was made of kindness or amelioration, or, if made, persisted in.

The sudden recal of Lord Fitzwilliam from Ireland at a period when the promises of the minister and the hopes of the people excited expectations of real relief, was an unqualified misfortune to that country. The high character of that excellent nobleman, was a pledge of his sincerity;—his arrival was hailed with universal joy, and his departure mourned as a national calamity.

Breves et infaustos populi Romani amores.

The hopes of the Irish people were warm and confident for a while, but soon closed in despair. The Duke of Bedford in 1806 went over in the same spirit, but different councils soon prevailed at home, and the ancient policy towards Ireland was revived. Since then, successive viceroys, and unnumbered secretaries, have passed and repassed, like the shadowy procession in Macbeth;—"another, and another, and another" went and came—but in principle there was no difference. They reflected while they staid, a sort of moonshine of royalty. The Castle of Dublin was the castle of indolence;—a haunt for political panders and parasites;—a draw-well, from which nothing came clear or filtered, but all was corrupted and impure.

Lord Wellesley went over with different intentions:—but he went in fetters, and the first step he took, formed a circle of hostility around him. The cabinet of Ireland was modelled from that at home, and composed of jarring interests: both resembled the administration so pointedly described by Burke—"a tessellated pavement of mosaic work, here a black spot, and there a white." The Viceroy was liberal; the Chancellor an intolerant; the Attorney-General, the advocate of the Catholics; the Irish Secretary, an enemy to their freedom, bringing to the Government of seven millions of people, the narrow policy applicable to the thralldom of an African colony. Thus each was playing checkmate on the other,—a game productive to themselves, but ruinous to that fine and ill-fated country.

But the day has passed when this desperate game can be longer played with safety. The Catholics, within fifty years, have rapidly increased in wealth, in knowledge, and in numbers. They feel their strength, and will not longer bear their bondage. Their cause must be viewed as a great national question—of sacred justice. The people of England are not opposed to the measure. Mr. Canning's statement that they are, is utterly unfounded. It was one of the most insidious attempts ever made to array hostility against the Catholics. The feeling, on the contrary, is every day becoming more general here,—that some measure is necessary to keep Ireland tranquil, to avoid the expense of a large military force, and enable British capital to flow to its shores, with prospects of security and advantage. What that measure exactly is, the mass of the English people have not yet agreed; but the determination will soon be made; and a day of opinion here is worth an age of declamation in Ireland. Emancipation may then be publicly called for, as the means of attaching and securing Ireland. Any administration, however, might carry the measure to-morrow, without exciting the slightest alarm or opposition throughout Great Britain. It is time for England, at length, to be just. In the fullness of wealth and of power, peaceful and great beyond all former precedent, she has now no plea for denial. Millions of meritorious subjects, whose services in war and peace have been fully ac-

knowledge, demand the benefits of her constitution. They have outgrown the pupillage of bondage,—their increase is too vast for oppression. The code that still binds them and their children, when contrasted with their wealth and numbers, is like a blazing faggot fettered by a band of flax.

The existing system is now no longer applicable to the Catholics; ministers, in the language of Burke, might as well attempt to rock a grown man in the cradle of a child, as apply to the present generation odious laws, which necessity might once have sanctioned, but the causes and pretexts of which have long since passed away. The advocates of intolerance are unceasing in their references to past days; but distant days and barbarous times form no arguments for a more advanced age; those periods of darkness and of crime should be considered as if they had never been. In legislating, we should always start from the ground we are upon, or from that point of knowledge and improvement to which nations have gradually arrived. The ambition and crimes of successive pontiffs, in times long gone by, are still sedulously raked up, as arguments against the Catholics. Alexander VI., it is true, publicly purchased the tiara, and his five illegitimate children shared in the atrocious spoils. His vile son, the Cardinal Duke de Borgia, in concert with his father put to death Vitelli, Urbino, Gravina, Oliveretto, and a hundred other Italian lords, to seize on their domains. Julius II., in the same spirit, excommunicated Louis XII. of France, and gave his kingdom to the first possessor; while the pontiff arrayed himself in helmet and cuirass, and spread bloodshed and devastation through one half of Italy. Leo X., immersed in profligacy, trafficked openly in indulgences, to meet the expenses of his pleasures; and the Reformation, in the sixteenth century, was hastened by this glaring abuse.

All these are historical facts: but the crimes and ambition of the pontiffs or monarchs of the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries, can form no argument against the Catholics of the present day. Sixtus V. once granted a general indulgence for nine years, to all the French who should take up arms against their sovereign. But would the subjects of Charles X. cite this unprincipled assumption as a license to free them from their present allegiance? The Sorbonne of Paris petitioned that the Maid of Orleans, whose enthusiasm had rescued France from conquest, should be publicly burned. The same body afterwards declared that Henry III. had forfeited his right to the throne, and even proscribed the illustrious Henry IV. Yet these unwarranted acts would never be thought of as arguments for the proscription of this body in France at present.

In Holland, the judicial murder of the Grand Pensionary, the venerable Barneveldt, who was brought to the block at the age of seventy-two, by Francis Gomar, a Protestant divine, on the charge of having grieved the church of God, is never mentioned but with reprobation. Yet the fanaticism of Gomar did not interfere with the establishment of the religion whose precepts he abused. In fact, if we compare sects and times, for more than sixteen centuries, we shall find an almost equal measure of atrocities and horrors.

Catholic writers cite the death of Charles I. against that of Henry III. of France. The gloomy fury of the English Presbyterians, and the atrocities of the cannibals of the Cevennes, have equalled, they say, the massacres of St. Bartholomew, or those of Piedmont; and Calvin's persecution of Servetus, the foulest murder of the Inquisition.—In short,

mildness and toleration have never excited civil commotions, while intolerance has drenched whole countries with blood. Reason is always humane and tolerant; it inspires the disposition to indulgence, prevents discord and secures obedience to existing laws, by giving them an effect which force can never do. Penalties and persecution may make men hypocrites, but never can make them sincere believers of a foreign creed, or compel them to relinquish their own. In almost every age, some important alteration has taken place in national forms of religion; the lapse of a few years has constantly seen alternate systems rise and fall, while penalties to each have been attached for non-conformity. Thus, those who assumed the regency of conscience, and interposed themselves between the feelings of man and his Maker—have done so under fleeting systems of superstition or error, which the conviction or wisdom of a succeeding age has set aside.

The influence of education and conviction on the human mind cannot be counteracted by suffering, or the dictates of conscience be subdued by legislative coercion; for persecutions, with the whole power of imperial Rome, were directed against the first Christians, but in vain; Nero, Domitian, Nerva, Trajan, Adrian, and Marcus Aurelius, successively issued their decrees, and arrayed their tortures; yet Christianity gained new proselytes beneath them. Religious principles, if we except such a sect as the Fifth Monarchy Men, can never be injurious to the community at large: these principles take their rise from sentiments, which have their origin in the individual's own breast; they are seldom connected with any overt acts, and mostly terminate in feeling:—whether, therefore, we bend the knee to Moloch, or worship the Prophet of Mecca, the Virgin Mary, or a Triune God, we encroach on none of the rights of our neighbour, and are not therefore amenable to any temporal tribunal.

When Alsace was first united to France, the university was headed by Lutherans, and the majority of all public offices in their hands; yet not a single religious contest disturbed the repose of that province, merely because persecution was silent, and the Alsatians were unfettered by restraints. The revolt of the Greeks, and their glorious struggle for independence, did not spring from religious persecution, but from an impatience of the despotism of ages. The Sultan rules in peace over twenty provinces of different religions. Two hundred thousand Greeks, until the insurrection burst forth, lived in security in Constantinople. The Mufti named and presented their Patriarch to the Ottoman Emperor. Latin Bishops were appointed by the same authority, for Scio and others of the Greek Isles:—the Sultan issuing his firman, “I command him to go and reside as Bishop at the Isle of Chio, according to the ancient custom, and the vain ceremonies of the inhabitants.” The vast empire of the Turk is still filled with contending sects, with Jacobites, Nestorians, Copts, Jews, Guebres, Banians, and Christians of the sect of St. John. In India, Persia, and Tartary, the same toleration prevails.

In Russia, Peter the Great and Catherine II. countenanced all persuasions. Catherine never thought of asking Laharpe, the tutor of the present Czar, “Art thou of the Greek religion?” The ablest and most enlightened writers throughout Europe have all been advocates of toleration. “Our duty,” says the philosophic Montesquieu, “is to honour the Deity, not revenge him.” The wise and eloquent Archbishop Tillotson was a decided enemy to persecution. “All sects,” says

he, "are commonly most hot and furious for those things for which there is least reason." In another place, this enlightened prelate adds: "Better were it that there were no revealed religion, and that human nature were left to the conduct of its own principles—mild, and merciful, and conducive to the happiness of society—than to be actuated by a religion which inspired men with so wild a fury." The most eminent Fathers and Doctors have all nearly held the same sentiments. "Nothing," writes Justin Martyr, "can be more opposed to true religion than compulsion." The language of the great Athanasius is even stronger: "It is," he says, "an execrable heresy to attempt leading by force, by blows, and by imprisonment, those whom we have not been able to convince by reason." The amiable and eloquent Fenelon impressed the same sentiments on the mind of his pupil, the young Duke of Burgundy: "Grant civil toleration," he writes, "to him and to all men."—"Advise, but do not force," says St. Bernard in his Letters. "We know," says the celebrated Flechier, Bishop of Nismes, in his twenty-ninth Letter, "that faith may be persuaded, but not commanded." Tillemont, in his Ecclesiastical History, has the same sentiments. "Violence," he writes, "may produce hypocrites; we do not persuade when we make our menaces resound around us." The historian De Thou, in his dedicatory Epistle to Henry IV. of France, inculcates the same sentiments. "Experience," says this distinguished writer, "teaches us that violence is capable of irritating, rather than curing an evil which is rooted in the mind." Boulauviers, in his State of France, uses language equally energetic. "It is a barbarous zeal," he says, "which would pretend to plant religion in the heart, as if persuasion could be the effect of constraint."

A volume, if necessary, might be composed of such passages. The first writers and statesmen of England have left behind them the same opinions, as records of their feelings. The Histories, the Catechisms, the Moral Dissertations we most value, all denounce intolerance; yet, by a strange fatuity, our laws assimilate with those of the Inquisition, grasping at conversion by a crowd of civil penalties. "Believe what we believe; believe what it is impossible to believe; or dungeons and flames await you here, and reprobation in a world to come." This was the language of the Dominicans in Spain—in Portugal—at Goa. For centuries, persecution through Portugal was unloosed against the Jews; yet the hopes of conversion were baffled. They lived and multiplied there for gain; they assumed the names of Christians, while in secret they detested the faith and its Founder; and in their last moments they showed their true feelings by regularly receiving the ancient rite of circumcison. Toleration, in its widest sense, has never been followed by mischief. In Carolina, the constitution of whose government was originally prepared by the great Locke, to form a Church protected by law, it was only necessary that seven fathers of families should assemble for public worship; and this liberty never led to any disorders. Germany would have been a desert, whitened with the bones of Catholic, Evangelists, Lutherans, and Anabaptists, all destroying each other in an unnatural war, if liberty of conscience had not been secured by the peace of Westphalia. When Frederick the Great first entered Silesia, a small Protestant town, then at enmity with a Catholic village; sent deputies to the camp, requesting permission to put the villagers to the sword. The tolerant Monarch replied to the deputies by asking, "If the Catho-

lies were to seek my leave to cut all your throats, would you think I did well to grant it?"—"Oh, gracious Sovereign," said these deputies, "it would be very different,—we are the *true Church*."

This is exactly the existing state of things in Ireland;—religion is made the plea for mutual hatred, and it is nurtured by the milk of proscription. Five centuries of conquest and blood have rolled over that ill-fated country, during which the chariot-wheels of the victors were seldom stayed, and the hand of oppression was never inactive. Ireland, until of late, was always the property of an individual, a family, or a faction. Its emoluments were alternately leased out to a Stone, a Boyle, or the whole clan of the Beresfords. The rights of conscience, and the rights of property, the blessings of education, and the protection of civil freedom—every thing that could console or elevate the human mind, were all denied to the Irish. They were brutalized by ignorance and oppression, and then denounced for being so. Conversion was proclaimed by sanguinary laws, absolute and cruel as the mandate of the Assyrian, which we read of in Scripture, addressed to Babylon in the intoxication of pride: "To you, it is commanded, O people, and nations, and languages, that at what time ye hear the sound of the cornet, flute, harp, sackbut, psaltery, dulcimer, and all kinds of music: ye fall down and worship the golden image which Nebuchadnezzar the king hath set up; and whoso falleth not down and worshippeth, shall be cast into the midst of a burning fiery furnace." Ireland, even within a few months, has been one wide scene of fierce polemics;—violent contests, as those of the followers of Arius and Athanasius, in the first ages of the Church, disturbed every province. The missionary came armed with the Bible, calling on the Catholic to read, and see the film of error fall from his eyes: he was met by the priest with the threat of perdition, should the volume be accepted from such hands. "We adore," said the latter, "but one God, we acknowledge but one church, and one bishop." "We worship," replied the missionary, "the same God; but your church is idolatrous, and your bishop, the man of sin, the horned beast, the anti-christ of revelation."

"Of good and evil much they argued then,—
Of happiness and final misery;
Of Providence, fore-knowledge, will and fate;
Fixed fate, free-will, fore-knowledge absolute;
And found no end, in wandering mazes lost."

All this has sprung from the existing order of things. Had there been no proscription, no religious contest would be witnessed. We have nothing of the kind here: nor with fifty sects, all tolerated in America, are there any exhibitions of the same dark character. The most effectual mode of making proselytes, and rousing religious zeal, is by unloosing persecution. The Catholics now form the vast majority of the population of Ireland: they have acquired wealth, education, and consequent power; they are united to a man in the pursuit of their rights, and penal statutes will not silence them or be found longer available. The late protracted debates in Parliament show the overwhelming importance attached to the question: they will be another and most convincing proof to the Irish people of their influence and their strength. The Catholic Association may be extinguished, "*eo nomine*," by the present Bill; but another assembly will spring from its ashes. They will meet as a club, and dine together, and speak more indignantly than ever. The

rent will treble in the way of subscriptions: no statute can prevent that, nor can it shut up the tavern, or stop the sale of wine; club dinners will be held every week, or every month.

“ Quis post vina gravem militiam aut pauperiem crepat
Mordaces diffugiunt solitudines.”

Discretion at such meetings will often be necessarily absent; the cup will often kindle in its circulation; the memory of wrongs will rise under its influence with ten-fold force; and the oratory of the morning, now so much complained of, will be ice contrasted with the fervid declamation of the heated evening.

No! The only effectual way to dissolve this body, is to grant Emancipation. Mr. Canning might carry it in the Cabinet if he pleased. When his distant, but splendid exile to India was before him, and his great rival, lord of the ascendant, he sought to play his closing part on the stage he was about to quit for ever, by coupling his name with a measure of relief; and introduced the bill, restoring to the Catholic peers their seats in the Upper House. The bill was lost where it should have succeeded. But why should the measure of that day be impracticable now? Little more than two years have passed;—the principle is the same, but the policy of the minister has changed. Does power act like the torpedo's touch, and deaden every pulse of justice? Out of place, Mr. Canning called for Emancipation. In power, he is its insidious enemy. The trumpet of fanaticism, of Mr. Perceval and his faction, in 1812, was not more calculated to rouse slumbering hostility than the hollow declaration of the foreign minister. But how clearly have the feelings of the English people been shown? Not a voice has replied to the treacherous summons; and scarce a dozen “got-up” petitions against concession have been thrown on the table of the House altogether.

Majorities in Parliament may be collected to sanction *any* measure. But their fiat says nothing for its character. The result of the late proceedings will soon be evident in Ireland: their effect will be to alienate the feelings and attachment of its people. Present resistance or rebellion are not to be feared. The Catholics are too wise, and have too much at stake, to rush on certain ruin. But great and powerful as this enemy now is, the day may come when England may again need the aid of the people she has so long oppressed, and have no other array against embattled Europe. Awakening hostility is now on all sides of her. Her altered policy has provoked, and her immense wealth roused, the hatred of surrounding despots. Should that day of awful contest again arrive, and Ireland be alien or hostile, what becomes of Britain? High as is her glory, unbounded her resources, and exalted her renown, deepest peril would encompass her. How gladly then would she purchase support by the concessions now denied!—and how deeply would those councils be reprobated, that had allured from her the hearts and hands of six millions of *faithful subjects!*

FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF THE INQUITOUS CONDUCT OF THE
INDIAN GOVERNMENT, AS CONNECTED WITH THE
TRANSACTIONS AT HYDERABAD.

Not only are the English rulers in India deprived of the salutary dread of the scrutinizing minds and free pens of an enlightened public in the regions where they transact: they well know that distance and other circumstances so completely veil the truth from English eyes, that, if the case will but bear a varnish, and if they take care to stand well with the minister, they have in England every thing to hope and nothing to dread.—MILL.

THIS brief but spirited sketch of the irresponsible power of public men, in India, is from the hand of a master; than whom no one would more readily admit, that the necessary consequence of such exemption from the fear of scrutiny on the spot, must be insolence, injustice, and contempt for all checks that are powerless from their very distance. The philosophic historian of India should take his own words as a motto for some future chapter of his great work, which we hope he intends to continue: and demonstrate, in his close and unanswerable logic, the indispensable necessity of a change, if public men are to be kept within the bounds of propriety, by a fear of the censures of their fellow-servants and fellow-subjects around them—the only, as well as most effectual, check to misgovernment that any country can possess. Had the English rulers, in India, *not* been deprived of the “salutary dread” here adverted to, it would have been impossible that they should have played the tyrannical as well as fantastic tricks that mark the whole of their conduct, in their cruel and vindictive treatment of their fellow-countrymen established in the territories of the Nizam. But retribution is not always to be stayed by distance; and, in the present case, we firmly and sincerely believe, that they have stirred up a tempest, which, before it entirely subsides, will sweep both them and the frail fabric of which they are the rotten supporters, from off its already cracked and staggering foundation. Like the tornadoes and hurricanes which purge the earth of pestilence, and purify the atmosphere of the most foul and deadly regions, we hope and believe the storm, which they have now raised around their heads, will work a moral and political regeneration in the corrupted atmosphere of Indian misrule, and be succeeded by a brighter and purer period.

In several of our preceding Numbers, we took some pains to draw the public attention to the hitherto mysterious, but now clear and well-understood conduct of the East India Company and their Bengal Government, towards the mercantile establishment of Messrs. William Palmer and Co. of Hyderabad. The papers on this subject, laid before the proprietors of East India Stock, voluminous as they are, have been read, we believe, by the few for whom the subject possessed any interest, with greater attention than any collection of papers of the same bulk ever before received. The activity of a few just and indignant minds has contributed to spread the information which these documents contain, beyond the ordinary circle of those who think India-house papers worth their constant and regular perusal; and some few English Journals have assisted the notoriety of the principal facts, by detailing them in their columns. Mr. Russell's admirable letter to the Court of Directors has

torn up many previously-rooted errors. The memorial of Mr. William Palmer has explained the most difficult points clearly and satisfactorily. The report of the meeting of creditors at Hyderabad has evinced the sentiments entertained in India, as to the conduct of the individuals in question: the Memorial of the creditors of the firm in England has also produced its effect. The clear and convincing letter of Sir William Rumbold to the Court of Directors has opened the eyes of many to the spirit of transactions, of which they before knew not the true complexion. Several minor publications, by disinterested parties, have swelled the force of the general current; and even the East India Directors themselves, we hear, begin to feel that public opinion is likely to be strongly against their share in the transactions, the more their conduct in this affair becomes generally known.

It was our earnest wish and intention, to have given much more of the collection of papers laid before the proprietors of India stock, than we have hitherto done: but our monthly limits are circumscribed by price: other topics, necessary to maintain utility and variety, press equally on our attention and our space; and this last cannot be enlarged, without an increase of expense, which it would be impossible for us to sustain singly; so that no alternative seemed to be left, but that of issuing, at this moment of unusual pressure, a Supplementary Number, to contain selections from the Hyderabad Papers, so important to the complete illustration of the subject. This is indeed become indispensable, since the whole of the documents are accessible to few, and terrifying, even to these by their bulk. Our selections will be sufficient, however, in addition to what we have already published, to explain the nature of the transactions which they develop; and to show that the Court of Directors in England, and their servants in Bengal, conducted themselves with the most heartless cruelty, and the most gross injustice to an establishment which had avowedly conferred essential benefits on the Nizam's Government,—which had equally promoted the British interests in that state, and produced great good among the population generally of the country in which they resided.

Having established these conclusions from the papers presented to the proprietors by the East India Directors themselves, it might be thought unnecessary to produce further evidence of the wrong done to enterprising British Merchants by a body of exclusive Monopolists. There are many facts, however, difficult to be hunted out without closely sifting the papers produced by the Directors, which are nevertheless of great importance to the illustration of the subject, and which it is therefore but an act of justice to bring forward in a more prominent manner. We shall accordingly insert, in another part of this Supplementary Number, the principal portions of a Memorial of Mr. William Palmer, which was addressed to Lord Amherst, and presented to him at Calcutta, on the 12th of May, 1824—but up to the latest advices from that quarter, no answer had been given to it by the Supreme Authority; whose best defence was perhaps to be found in silence. Even with this auxiliary addition to our usual space, however, we have been obliged to omit the *least* essential portions of this Memorial, in order to include the *more* important ones; though every paragraph of it would deserve publication, if we had room. It is followed by the Report of a Meeting held at Hyderabad, in June 1824, by the principal creditors of the Firm, which

exhibits a state of things hardly to be believed without the best evidence, and certainly without a parallel in the history of mercantile transactions throughout the world. It presents an assemblage of the ruined servants and officers of a Government, calling itself British, but acting as if it were Turkish, met together to declare their entire approbation of the conduct of the merchants into whose hands they had entrusted their fortunes, after these same merchants had been ruined and proscribed by the Government they had served; interdicted from all personal intercourse or even written communications with their principal debtors, the Nizam and his Minister; and the two partners, being English-born, banished from the country without a trial! It exhibits these British officers as declaring that they were deprived of their just dues by the conduct of their own Government, in encouraging the native debtors *not* to pay their debts, instead of assisting by their power and influence to enforce the fulfilment of their specific and deliberate engagements, entered into with the utmost confidence in their good faith; and, lastly, it presents the creditors of a mercantile firm expressing their entire satisfaction with the conduct of its members, and even voting them an adequate support out of the ruined funds of the house, until their affairs should be wound up, and all their accounts brought to a close. To this we have appended the Memorial sent into the Court of Directors, by the creditors in England, (a copy of which has come into our possession, in manuscript, this document never having been printed,) to strengthen and confirm the preceding; so that with the selections from the papers issued from the India House—the full report of the debates, and the private documents referred to, there will be nothing of importance which our readers will not have before them, on which to form their own judgment on the whole question.

To redeem a former pledge, we shall give our readers some portions of Mr. Russell's powerful and unanswerable letter, and follow it up with a notice of the more recent letter of Sir William Rumbold, addressed to the Court of Directors, as well as extracts from a still later pamphlet put forth anonymously by 'An Enemy to Oppression,' with the appropriate motto:

Hear this, ye Senates, hear this truth sublime,
He who allows Oppression shares the crime!

From these, such proofs will be drawn of the injustice of the principal actors in the scenes, as will make, we are persuaded, a deep and lasting impression on all who read them; and remain on record for future reference, when the day of struggle arrives, in which we hope to see this odious monopoly, and all its train of evils abolished, never to raise its drooping head again.

To begin with the letter of Mr. Russell,¹ which is one of the ablest documents that has for a long period appeared on East Indian subjects, and which we regret our inability to republish entire:—It sets out with

¹ This is entitled, 'A letter to the Court of Directors of the East India Company, on the subject of the papers relative to the affairs of Hyderabad, during the Government of the Marquis of Hastings, printed in conformity to a resolution of the Proprietors of East India Stock—By Henry Russell, Esq. late Resident at Hyderabad.—London, printed for J. Allaway, Rathbone-place, by Shackell and Arrowsmith, Johnson's Court, Fleet-street, 1824.'—Folio, pp. 46.

stating that the writer, understanding some papers were about to be printed by the order of the Court, which contained allegations respecting his brother and himself, applied at the India House for permission to see them before their publication, that they might have the means of simultaneously defending themselves; but in the true spirit of East India-House-accommodation, this just and reasonable request was refused. In reference to this, Mr. Russell says :

I mention this circumstance now, for the purpose of showing, in justice to my brother and myself, that it was not from any hesitation on our part, but merely from our being ignorant of the particulars of the allegations, that we did not instantly come forward to answer them. The proceedings, out of which those allegations have arisen, have, from first to last, been concealed from us. The acrimonious party spirit in which they originated, is manifest in the tone and temper which pervade the whole correspondence; and although, when much higher authority is assailed, we ought not perhaps to complain that some blows fall on us also, still we do very much complain, that on an occasion affecting our characters as public servants, we have been denied every opportunity of repelling what was false, explaining what was doubtful, or saying one single syllable in our justification.

Mr. Russell having, however, read the papers after they were published, and accessible to all the world, discovered that the principal allegation contained in them, as applicable to the conduct of himself and his brother, was, that they had each "an interest in the House of Messrs. W. Palmer and Co., and that the undue support of their influence was consequently given to the firm." To this Mr. Russell boldly says, "I positively deny both the fact and the inference. Neither my brother nor I had any interest whatever in the House, nor did it in any instance receive from me any support, beyond that which I was specially empowered by the Government to give, and which was directed to the advancement of the public interest committed to my charge." He goes on to show that he had even "prohibited Mr. Palmer from transacting business within the limits of the Residency," the official place of his abode, for the express purpose of "preventing the possibility of its being supposed that Mr. Palmer derived any undue support from the Resident's authority;" and adds, that from Mr. Palmer believing him to be bent on his ruin, a total rupture took place between them. So much for the alleged influence lent by Mr. Russell to Mr. Palmer's mercantile establishment.

The letter gives a clear and succinct narrative of the rise and progress of the House of Palmer and Co. at Hyderabad, during the progress of which, "instead of their being any concert, there was absolutely no intercourse," between the Resident and these Merchants; notwithstanding which, on being assured by the official letters of the Secretary to Government at Calcutta, that it was the wish and intention of the Supreme Council there, to give every encouragement to useful enterprise, he gave them all the public countenance required, and thus explains his views :

The same policy which had suggested the conclusion of a commercial treaty with the Nizam, required the encouragement of mercantile houses, to conduct the traffic which it was intended to promote. Messrs. W. Palmer and Co. were the first merchants at Hyderabad, who pressed commercial enterprise with any vigour, or carried it to any important result. They proved, by experiment, the practicability of navigating the Godavery four hundred miles through the interior; and thus conveying at once, by water, to the sea-coast, both the cottons of Berar, which had before been carried by land to Mirzapore, and the produce of the teak forests of Ramgeer and Palooncha, which had hitherto been inaccessible to Europeans. They also applied themselves to the introduction

of British manufactures into the Nizam's country, and have succeeded in promoting their consumption to an extent which certainly could not have been expected. The houses of many of the principal natives are now furnished with a variety of costly English commodities; our plain and printed cottons have been brought into general use; and I have seen the Ministers, and many persons of rank at the Nizam's court, dressed in English muslins and English shawls. But it is said that Messrs. W. Palmer and Co. are not entitled to any merit on that account, as they entered into the traffic with a view to their own profit. No doubt they did. Merchants, I apprehend, always do engage in trade with a view to their own profit; and commercial enterprise is not, for that reason, less the source of national prosperity, or the object of national encouragement.

"Nothing," it is said, "was ever afterwards heard of the success of the great timber trade, which was to be productive of such general benefit to the country." If, by this, it be meant to insinuate, that the timber trade was a pretext, and that Messrs. W. Palmer and Co. never really intended to embark in it, the insinuation is utterly false. An extensive establishment was formed by them, both in the forests on the Godavery, and at Coringa, the seaport at the mouth of the river. A captain in the navy was employed by them as their principal agent, in which capacity he built a ship of their timber at Coringa; and considerable expense was incurred by them, for several years, in the prosecution of the undertaking; of which the reality is, in no degree, affected by the success or failure of its issue. The result did not, I believe, answer the original expectations of the House; but the facts which I have stated are sufficient to repel the insinuation, that the project was never seriously entertained, and was announced for a fictitious purpose.

Without stopping to enlarge on what will strike every intelligent reader,—the strong proof here offered of the benefits to England and India, that would result from an unrestricted mercantile intercourse between the two countries, and the opening of the latter to immediate Colonization, we pass on to the substance of the letter. Mr. Russell next enters into a narrative of the events connected with the transactions in question, from the arrival of Lord Hastings and Sir William Rumbold, in India, in 1813, to the period of the first loan from the House of Palmer and Co., to the Government of Nizam, being sanctioned by a legal instrument, transmitted to them from the Government of Bengal. On the state of affairs at this period, Mr. Russell says:—

Our political interests at Hyderabad required, at that time, to be guarded with peculiar circumspection. They were beset with difficulty on every side. From the Nizam himself we had nothing to hope, and every thing to fear. He was weak in his own character, uneasy under our control, and notoriously friendly to every project that was hostile to us. His own family submitted with equal reluctance to his authority and our influence. Two of his sons had recently broken into open rebellion; and after a sharp conflict in the heart of the city, in which an officer of my escort was killed, had been arrested and confined. His Ministry was distracted by jealousy and dissension. Moonceer ool Moolk was a nominal Minister without authority, and Chundoo Loll the efficient Minister without the name of office. They were necessarily rivals instead of colleagues. Whatever one proposed the other resisted, and the Nizam's influence was always thrown into the opposite scale to ours. Moonceer ool Moolk, with an habitual propensity to artifice and stratagem, was engaged, both at home and abroad, in perpetual intrigues against Chundoo Loll, who was the Minister of our choice, and who stood almost alone as the advocate and supporter of our interests. The chieftains and noble families imputed their loss of weight and influence in the state to our ascendancy, and hated us with double rancour, because we were powerful, and because we were Christians. The populace, like that of all Mahometan cities, was turbulent, discontented, and fanatic, and was ripe for the perpetration of any enormities or excesses. We had, therefore, to support a government, which, though unable to support itself, was unwilling to be supported by us; and had every thing to apprehend that could arise from national hatred and

religious bigotry, from secret disaffection and open hostility. Only a few months before, on the occasion of an insurrection in the city, the Nizam had been invited to raise the standard of a holy war against the infidels; and his own brother-in-law, Shums ool Omrah, declared publicly, at the palace, that if every true believer would but throw a handful of earth upon us, we should be overwhelmed. The hostilities which we were afterwards compelled to undertake against the Pindarrees, and in which we were eventually involved with the Marhattah powers, were then evidently approaching; and Chundoo Loll could not have pursued the course which was essential to the maintenance of internal tranquillity, as well as to the efficient prosecution of the war, without extraordinary assistance, and the command of pecuniary means beyond the dilapidated resources of his own government. It is incumbent upon those who object to his measures to show either that he could have done without the money which he borrowed, or that he could have borrowed it upon better terms than he did.

There is no denying the truth of this striking picture: and from it, let the people of England judge, what are the feelings of the natives of India towards the usurpers of their power, as well as the devourers of their wealth. The supposed mystery of our numerical inferiority, which it is pretended no native now knows, and which was considered one of the principal objections to a free press, because this engine might dispel their ignorance on that point, must have been long known and deeply pondered on, by the Prince who publicly used this memorable expression. "If every true believer would but throw a handful of earth upon them (the English), they would be overwhelmed." This is the almost universal feeling of the Indian Mohammedans towards us: and no one knows it better than those who have lived in most familiar intercourse with them. Mr. Russell shows, beyond all dispute, not only that the loan here spoken of was beneficial to the true interests of the Nizam, but also to those of the Company; and peculiarly so to the higher interests of Great Britain; while in proof of its being so considered by the Indian Government itself, of which Mr. Adam was then Secretary, he cites a portion of an official letter addressed to him at that period, in which the Government express their "entire approbation" of the transactions in all its details. Some satisfactory proofs of the constant readiness of the house of Palmer and Co. to have their accounts "scrutinized to the bottom" are then given; and it is shown, that these accounts were sent officially to Calcutta, by Mr. Russell himself; that they were in the hands of the members of Government more than a month; and were then returned, after a statement made in a despatch from the Chief Secretary, that "the accounts which had been called for were not now required." Mr. Russell then enters on the great question of the terms which this loan from Palmer and Co. to the Nizam was to be granted, and the manner in which it was to be repaid. His observations on these points are of the highest value, and deserve to be given at length;

To repay the two lacs of rupees, which Messrs. W. Palmer and Co. were to issue monthly to the troops, the Minister was to give them, annually, assignments for thirty lacs; the difference of six lacs being intended to meet the deficiencies which invariably occur in realizing orders on the revenue. In point of fact, it appeared by the accounts laid before Government, that Messrs. W. Palmer and Co. in the first year, did realise only twenty-three lacs out of the thirty. On the advances made by the house, it appeared by the same accounts, that they charged one and a half per cent. a month for interest, and a half per cent. for agency and commission; altogether two per cent. a month for charges of every description. On the other side of the account, the

same two per cent. was allowed on all sums received by the house; so that the actual charge was only on the balance. If, therefore, the Minister had but fulfilled his part of the contract, and his assignments had been paid as they became due, not only would the transaction have been unattended with any charge to him, or any profit to the house; but the house would have had to bear the whole expense of the establishment, and to pay the Minister interest on the balance which would then have been in his favour. In considering these accounts, it is essential to observe, that the interest, if the whole two per cent. is to be called interest, was the sole and only charge. There was no charge for agency, or commission, nor any additional charge under any other head whatever. Separate charges of this kind are an important feature in every merchant's accounts; and if they are to be arbitrarily and indiscriminately rejected, and the whole of them resolved into the charge of interest, it necessarily follows, that the interest charged in every account made out by every merchant in England is usurious. The rates also, to be estimated fairly, must be compared, not with the rates of interest in other countries, but with other rates in the same country. In England, the legal rate of interest is five per cent. In the English possessions in India, by the law of England, it is twelve per cent. The Government at Hyderabad is Mahometan. The people are partly Mahometans and partly Hindoos; and as far as they can be said to observe any law, the two classes profess to be guided by their respective codes.² By the Hindoo law, the rate of interest varies with the caste of the borrower, and the circumstances of the loan. The lowest rate mentioned by Menu is fifteen per cent., and the highest sixty per cent. per annum.³ By the Mahometan law the prohibition of usury was adopted from the Jewish, but with this modification: the Jews are forbidden to take interest among themselves only;⁴ the Mahometans are forbidden to take it from any body.⁵ This prohibition has not had the effect of making the Jews singularly conspicuous for the moderation of their pecuniary dealings. Among the Mahometans in India it is utterly inoperative. They require to be paid for the wear and tear of their conscience, as well as for the use of their money. Practically, therefore, there is no limitation on the rate of interest at Hyderabad. Prohibitions and restrictions, where they are impolitic or unjust, serve only to defeat their own ends. Even in England, the impolicy of the usury laws seems now to be almost universally acknowledged. The assize of money is following the assize of bread. But if our law originally allowed more than double the rate of interest, which is legal in England, to be taken in the English possessions in India, where there are English laws, and courts, and judges, and all the securities with which property is invested in England, how could it prohibit a further increase in passing to a country where there are no laws, or courts, or judges, of any kind, and no security for debts, but the strength of the lender, or the good faith of the borrower? Where money is abundant, security good, and laws effective and impartial, the rate of interest will be low. Under the reverse of those conditions, it will, of necessity, be high. Upon what principle, therefore, can the English law attempt to fix the rate of interest in a foreign country, where it has no power or pretension to affect any of the circumstances by which that rate must universally be regulated? The remedy, to do any good, must be applied, not to the symptom, but to the disease. In Bengal, I myself have bought the East India Company's twelve per cent. securities at a discount. At Hyderabad, the lowest rate paid by the Government was three per cent. a month, (interest in Indian countries being designated by the monthly, not the yearly rate;) and so low was the Nizam's credit, that even on those terms the Minister was unable to raise any considerable sum.

These facts are confirmed by the testimony of a very intelligent gentleman, Mr. Robison, now resident in Edinburgh, who himself conducted a mercantile establishment at Hyderabad, and who had, therefore, the best opportunities of knowing all the circumstances under which such transactions are usually conducted. Mr. Robison's testimony is given at considerable length; and from it the following deductions are fairly drawn:

² Appendix, C. p. v.

⁴ Deut. ch. xxiii, v. 19.

³ Institutes, ch. viii, sec. 140—142, p. 207.

⁵ Sale's Koran, vol. I. ch. ii. p. 49.

It appears, therefore, by Mr. Robison's statement; 1st, That the lowest rate of interest paid at Hyderabad, by persons of unexceptionable credit, was two per cent. a month. 2dly, That the credit of the Nizam's Government was so low, that the Minister could not raise money from the native bankers on any terms. 3dly, That he was consequently obliged to borrow from Gosains or Patans. 4thly, That loans made from them were made upon terms, of which the following may be taken as an example: If the Minister proposed to borrow a lac of rupees, one half probably was paid to him in money, and the other half in goods, which he could not sell for more than 20,000 rupees. He actually received, therefore, only 70,000 rupees; but he had to repay a lac, and also to pay interest on the whole lac, at 3 per cent. a month; so that, on 70,000 rupees raised in this way, he paid a premium of 43 per cent., besides interest at upwards of 50 per cent. per annum. 5thly, That the method in which these loans were repaid, was generally productive of violence and bloodshed, and often of extraordinary extortions on the inhabitants of the country. 6thly, That the establishment of the house of Messrs. W. Palmer and Co. entirely put a stop to these execrable transactions on the part of the Government; and confined the dealings of the Gosains and Patans to those persons only whose characters and credit were so bad that nobody else would deal with them. 7thly, That the terms on which the Minister borrowed money from Messrs. W. Palmer and Co. were more favourable than those on which he could have borrowed it from any body else; and, finally, that the Minister's orders on Messrs. W. Palmer and Co. from the certainty and regularity of their payment, were of greater value than orders for the same amount of any other description.

This state of things was by no means confined to Hyderabad. In a greater or less degree, it prevails under every Native Government in India. Sir J. Malcolm says, that in Central India the richest bankers mix in the petty revenue details of the smallest village; that on the seed which they supply to the cultivators, they claim, by usage, in good seasons, fifty per cent.; and that on the advances made by them in kind, for the support of the families employed in husbandry, the interest is sometimes fifty, but more frequently twenty-five per cent. For money advanced to purchase bullocks or implements of husbandry, he states the common charge of interest to be twenty-four per cent. per annum; which he adds, "is not immoderate, considering the risk incurred by the bankers."⁶ In the Paishwah's territory, which had suffered much less than the Nizam's, from external violence or domestic distraction, Mr. Coats states, that the usual rate of interest was twenty-four per cent., but that, on small sums, it was often forty per cent. per annum.⁷

When the house of Messrs. W. Palmer and Co. was legally empowered by the Governor-General in Council to lend money to the Nizam, the question of interest was distinctly considered. The Advocate-General was called upon by Government for his opinion; and he held that the law, limiting the rate of interest in India to twelve per cent., did not extend to Hyderabad, as a foreign territory.⁸ The details of that opinion were not accessible to the public; but it was known and seen that the Government deemed it to be sufficient. The accounts exhibiting the rate charged by the house of Aurungabad, were circulated among the members of Government, and remained upwards of a month under their inspection. It was obvious, therefore, to conclude, that in their deliberate judgment also, that rate was not objectionable. In point of fact, it is explicitly recorded in the deliberations in Council, that Government knew twenty-four per cent. to be the rate of interest charged by Messrs. W. Palmer and Co. in their transactions with the Nizam's Minister;⁹ and when the formal sanction was afterwards given by Government to the sixty-lac loan; it was given under the declared knowledge that the interest to be charged by the house was to exceed twelve per cent. per annum. If the law of England had extended to Hyderabad, the house could not legally have lent money at all; for it allowed twelve per cent. interest to all its constituents on open account. To Natives, when it required money on an emer-

⁶ Memoir of Central India, 8vo. ed. vol. ii. p. 38.

⁷ Account of the Present State of the Township of Louy.—Trans. of the Literary Society of Bombay, vol. iii. p. 212.

⁸ To Mr. Secretary Adam, 19th July, 1816.—Hyd. Papers, p. 5.

⁹ Mr. Fendal's Minute, 7th July, 1820.—Hyd. Papers, p. 49.

gency, it was, of course, obliged to pay more. I have heard, and I do not doubt the fact, that the house has paid as much as two per cent. a month.

In any foreign country of Europe, where property is as well secured as in England, a British subject may take as high interest as he can get; but if the Advocate-General were mistaken in his opinion, it would appear, that in foreign countries in India, where property is not secured at all, and where a British subject is not protected from paying interest at any rate that may be demanded of him, he is still restricted from receiving more than is legal by the law of England. I am aware of the obloquy which the bare names of usury and extortion are calculated to excite; but prejudice and clamour will never deter me from making assertions which I know to be true, and stating facts of which every body may judge. Usury is a municipal, not a moral offence. The partners of the house at Hyderabad were then only guilty of usury, in the fair acceptation of the term, if they took a higher rate of interest than the usage of the country allowed; they were then only guilty of extortion, if, by force, fraud, or other unfair means, they induced any person to pay them, on any account whatever, more than he himself believed to be justly due to them. How can unlearned individuals be deemed to have culpably transgressed a law, which is not founded on any moral obligation, and which even professional lawyers hold to be not applicable to their case? How can the Government now prohibit the house from realising, and its debtors from paying, any charge of interest exceeding twelve per cent., when the same Government formally sanctioned the transactions of the house, with the declared knowledge that the interest charged upon them did exceed that rate? In other words, with what justice can the Government now inflict irretrievable ruin upon the house, for doing that which the legal advisers of that very Government held that it might lawfully do, and which the Government itself sanctioned its continuing to do? In that ruin is involved the fate of hundreds. How many families have their whole substance in the house? how many meritorious officers have lodged in it the accumulated savings of a long course of years? In what does their offence consist, and what penalty have they incurred? They confided, not blindly in the credit of the house, not culpably in a collusion with the partners; but soberly and legitimately in the public faith of the Government. They trusted that the Government, having encouraged them to deposit their money, by declaring one opinion, would not afterwards prevent their recovering it, by acting upon another.

The house is indeed told, that in the furtherance of its demands, it may apply for redress to the tribunals of justice at Hyderabad; and, on the same day, the Resident is directed to intimate to the Nizam's Government, and to the Officer presiding in the court of justice, that the British Government considers all such transactions to be illegal, and that the securities are void. The real force of terms depends on the impression they are calculated to make upon those to whom they are addressed; and nobody who is acquainted with the natives of India, can have any doubt as to the sense in which such an intimation, proceeding from such a source, would be received and obeyed by them. Where such are the interests at stake; where the parties to be sued are the Government, and Ministers, and Nobles of the country; and where the parties suing are notoriously under the displeasure of the British Government; is it possible to refer them to any court of justice, under any native state in India? Even were it possible to indicate such a mode of redress at all, how could it be done after having virtually dictated to the Court the decision that it is to give; after having told it that it is to decide, not according to any principle of universal justice, not according to the laws of its own government, not according to the usages or practice of its own country; but according to a foreign arbitrary law, prescribed to it under the irresistible influence of a foreign power?

The consideration of the benefits arising from the punctual payment of the troops is then entered into; and it is shown, beyond dispute, that the object was most effectually attained by the aid received from Messrs. Palmer and Co. We cannot quote much that deserves to be read on the subject, but must pass on to another topic. It is perpetually assumed that Palmer and Co. had been the first cause of injury rather than of benefit to the Nizam's finances and the general prosperity of the country. Let Mr. Russell's testimony to the contrary be read. He says:

It would almost seem, by some of the expressions used in the correspondence from Beugal, as if the sufferings and distresses of the Nizam's country had been occasioned by the Minister's dealings with Messrs. W. Palmer and Co.; or that, at least, the investigation of those dealings had now first made them known. Before any of the partners of that firm were born, the Nizam's Government was in a condition tending rapidly to decay.¹⁰ The despatches of your Residents, for years, were full of complaints of the vices of his administration, and the disorders of his country. My predecessor, Captain T. Sydenham, in a despatch to the Earl of Minto, written in 1810, stated his conviction, that "during the reign of the present Nizam, no improvement could be expected, unless the administration of the country were placed under the control of the Resident; that the disorders of the present Government were too deeply rooted, and too widely extended, to admit of any partial reform; and that it was, therefore, unfortunate, that the only effectual remedy that could be applied, should be so much at variance with our views and policy." From the time that I took charge of the Residency in 1811, I repeatedly and earnestly called the attention of Government to this subject;¹¹ and I had been at Hyderabad only a month, when, after exhibiting a statement of the Nizam's public income and expenditure, I described "the whole of the country to be in so lamentable a condition, that it could not long continue to endure the extortions which were practised upon it by the avarice and rapacity of its governors."¹²

In the month of June, 1815, the Marquis of Hastings called upon the different Residents, to give him, confidentially, their opinion on the measures to be pursued for the suppression of the Pindarrees; on our political and military position with reference to other powers; and on the expediency of a general revision of our various treaties with the substantive states of India. In my answer to his Lordship, after disposing of the particular points on which he had consulted me, I availed myself of the opportunity to describe, in greater detail than I had before had occasion to do, the evils which pervaded every branch of the Nizam's Government; and I suggested, that when the accomplishment of the projects we then entertained should leave us sufficiently at leisure, some attention should be given to the state of his affairs, and some method devised for their improvement. I pointed out the degree in which those evils were the consequence of his alliance with us, and the degrading influence which such a state of dependence must necessarily have on the character and conduct, both of the Prince and his Minister. "All the functions of business," I stated, "have been absorbed into the hands of the Minister; and even his office is no longer the honourable station that it was. Neither his talents nor his industry leave an open field to act in: they are confined by restrictions. The qualities which would suit the Minister of a free government, are of too bold, and manly, and patriotic a character to suit the Minister of a subordinate and dependent power." A Prince, be his natural disposition what it may, cannot be virtuous or respectable when he has no longer any thing to hope or fear, either from his own subjects, or from foreign enemies; and the best man in the world would in time become a bad Minister, if his power were left after his responsibility was taken away."¹³

I annex to this letter some of the principal passages of the reports to which I have referred. Is it possible for any body who reads them to suppose that the Government, to which those reports were addressed, was kept in ignorance of the real condition of the Nizam's Government and country? "If we owe the foundation of our empire in this country to the weakness in which we found the native powers, we ought not to complain of the evils which that weakness necessarily produces. If we have reaped the benefit, we must submit to witness the inconveniences which are its inseparable attendants. Yet evils may be palliated, though they cannot be radically cured. The crisis may be retarded, though it cannot be altogether averted. And if it be true, that a part of the mischief has arisen from the predominance of our power, it is, for that reason, the more incumbent upon us that we should endeavour to apply the remedy."¹⁴

¹⁰ Appendix D., page 6.

¹¹ Appendix, *passim*.

¹² Mr. Russell to Vice-President in Council, 21st May, 1811.

¹³ Mr. Russell to the Marquis of Hastings, 30th June, 1815.—Appendix B., page 2.

¹⁴ Mr. Russell to the Marquis of Hastings, 24th November, 1819.—Appendix D., page 8.

There follows this, a masterly delineation of the plans and views of Mr. Russell, and an *exposé* of his deliberate opinions on the subject of our interference with the native Governments of India, which are too valuable to be passed over in silence, and too well condensed to admit of further abbreviation. They will not only exhibit a favourable view of the writer's powerful talents, but give forth lessons of wisdom to England and to the world :

My first attempt was an experiment to ascertain with how small a degree of interference our end could be accomplished ; and a greater degree was not to be exercised, until the smaller had been fairly tried, and had unquestionably failed. Even if I had met with more impediments than I expected, I would still have pursued the principle with which I began ; and I would have endured every disappointment, short of absolute irremediable failure, rather than resort to the arbitrary measure of supplanting the Nizam's own authority, placing his districts under the control of English officers, and substantially usurping the authority of his Government. Before that summary and compendious process, all partial and particular abuses will unquestionably fall ; but such a measure is destructive of all that it is important to preserve, as well as of much that it is desirable to remove. It is revolution, not reform, and, in the end, will subvert the Nizam's Government as effectually as if he had at once been formally deposed. There remain but few steps to the open assumption of the country for ourselves ; and although such were not the design, such will be the infallible consequence of the measure. An authority once established by us, of this kind, and to this extent, can never be withdrawn. By degrees, our whole system will follow in its train. The first step makes the last inevitable. Such a result is to be deprecated, as much on our own account as on the Nizam's.

Our power in India tends naturally to extension ; and we ought to do every thing we can to retard its progress. As a question of political expediency, no less than of moral justice, we do wrong to enlarge our possessions. We have nothing serious to dread from foreign enemies. The real peril is within. In every addition that we make to our own territory and subjects, we enlarge the sphere of danger. In every native state that we destroy, we cut off an outlet for those turbulent spirits which abound in the military classes of India, which cannot endure the restraints of a regulated government like ours. Our empire in India will hardly form an exception to the fate of all previous empires, founded upon foreign conquest or usurpation. It cannot remain stationary. When it ceases to advance, it will begin to decline. Every approach to the summit is an approach to the declivity beyond it. Our wisest policy is to uphold the native Governments as long as we can. By sustaining them we sustain ourselves. We may correct their abuses, but we ought not to incur the hazard of impairing their institutions. The cardinal vice of our own system in India has been the indiscriminate rejection of the institutions of the country, and the indiscriminate substitution of our own. The Mahometans, with all their bigoted attachment to their own code and customs, saw the necessity of assimilating themselves with the natives of their new dominions. They adopted much that they found ; their government is administered, in most of its branches, upon the Hindoo scheme ; and even their religious observances are deeply tinged with the ceremonies and superstitions of the Hindoo system. Nor is it true that our Government has even the merit of popularity among our native subjects. They have the same predilections that all the rest of mankind have. They like to be governed by persons professing the same religion, talking the same language, and observing the same customs, as themselves ; and naturally prefer a rude system, the growth of their native soil, to the most finished scheme of Government, constructed upon a foreign model, and administered by foreign hands. There is no question that our regulations were framed with the most sedulous care and the most benevolent intentions. The error was in the principle ; in rejecting the homely benefits which were under our hands, in search of speculative and distant good. We made no allowance for diversities of religion, manners, and opinions ; and hastily concluded, that the institutions which suited us, would therefore suit all other people. But our laws and usages, our notions and forms of justice, are no more adapted to the state of society in India, than our houses and garments are to the climate.

The consequence has been, that our system, in spite of the ability and zeal with which it was administered, has done more extensive and irreparable injury than the worst abuse of the worst native Government of the country. What has become, in our own territory, of the upper classes of society? They have not only been reduced, but utterly destroyed; not a vestige of them remains: nor can any other instance, I believe, be found of a revolution like that which has taken place, within a very short period, in the landed property in our Indian possessions. Under the native Governments the large landed proprietors resort to rebellion as their prescriptive refuge from oppression; and falling in their resistance, they are seized, fined, and imprisoned. The punishment, however, is limited to the person of the offender. Where we confiscate and sell an estate, the Nizam seizes the proprietor; but his lands remain, and his title to them is unimpaired. An act of sudden violence may be repaired, and is repaired, every day; but for the decrees of our tribunals there is no remedy. A proprietor once ejected is ejected for ever. Amidst all the outrage and oppression of a native Government, a strong respect prevails for ancient hereditary claims. The convulsions and changes of Government which have taken place during the last century at Hyderabad, have produced little effect on the state of landed property. A title is not much valued that is less than a hundred years old. But in our own territory, how few estates are now in the families which possessed them, when our present system was established? A party of the Nizam's subjects, and a party of our own, at a village near the frontier, were conversing on their respective situations, in the presence of a gentleman who repeated the conversation to me. The Nizam's subjects admitted the various grievances under which they laboured, but found a compensation for them all in their freedom from the jurisdiction of our Zilla Courts. "What justice we get," they said, "we get for ourselves; but at least our enemies cannot ruin us by summoning us as witnesses in their cause, and keeping us, season after season, waiting upon the delays of your Courts, while our fields are lying waste, and our families are starving at home." It is the great misfortune of our landed settlement, that though made in a hurry, it was made in perpetuity. What has been done cannot be corrected: but the effects we have witnessed ought to deter us from taking any step likely to give extension to the mischief. That scheme of reform was the best for the Nizam's interests, which was the least calculated to disturb the institutions and administration of his country; and for our own interests, that was the best which would have retarded, for the longest period, the necessity of taking possession of his territory for ourselves.

Rajah Chundoo Loll was chosen by Mr. Russell to carry these reforms into execution: first, because he was already Minister of the country; and, secondly, because he was fitter for the task than any other person. Sir Charles Metcalfe has taken great pains to make it appear that the principal evils of the existing state of affairs arose from the mal-administration and incapacity of this man, coupled with the influence obtained over him by Messrs. Palmer and Co. Let Mr. Russell, who had so much better opportunities of knowing his character, be heard on this point. He says:

"It is not true that the disorders in the Nizam's affairs have been produced by the mal-administration of Chundoo Loll. He found the Government, when he came into office, over-run with vices and abuses, and sinking rapidly to decay.¹⁵ Captain T. Sydenham's account of the disorders of the Nizam's Government, which I have already cited, was written only a few months after Chundoo Loll came into office. In such a state of things, his system was necessarily one of shifts and expedients; and all that he could hope to do, was to provide for emergencies as they arose, and put off the evil day as long as possible. Even if he had had the desire, he never had the means of accomplishing a reform. I speak of him as he is, not as he might have been. I always thought him weak, timid, and improvident; but if he is tyrannical, or unrelenting, or remorseless, or deserves half the opprobrious terms that have lately been applied to him, I can only say that he must be utterly changed since I knew him. If he is to be mea-

¹⁵ Appendix, D. p. 7.

sured by the standard of Europe, he will certainly be found deficient in many essential qualities; in energy, firmness, foresight, and true wisdom, according to our acceptation of the terms; but he has nothing to fear from a comparison, in any respect, with the best of those, who have had the same advantages and disadvantages of education, habit, and example, as himself. With them only we are entitled to compare him; and if we have not found in him qualities which we had no right to expect, it is our own fault if we are disappointed. It would be absurd to look among the slaves of an Indian despot for those virtues which are the exclusive growth of a free and enlightened country. If those virtues had prevailed in India, in what would our own superiority have consisted, and by what means could we have acquired the ascendancy which we now possess? We owe it, not to our physical strength, nor to our numbers, nor even to our superior courage; but to the vices and ignorance of those with whom we had to contend; to their incomparable inferiority in all moral and intellectual qualities. After taking advantage of the misrule of our neighbours, to acquire a power, at which, without it, we never could have aspired, how can we now turn that very misrule into a charge against them? From the position to which their vices and weakness alone have enabled us to ascend, with what justice can we look down on the Nizam's Ministers, and reproach them with the very defects to which we owe our elevation? Is there no other country still nearer home, and still more closely bound to us, than the Nizam's, in which similar disorders prevail? and has it ever been attempted to lay the blame of those disorders at the door of any single Minister, or to maintain that a few months have, at any time, been sufficient for their correction?

Chundoo Loll is described by Sir C. Metcalfe as a *subordinate* Minister, *lorded it* over his principal and his Sovereign, and exercising an unlimited and uncontrolled authority over that Sovereign's territory. In his personal demeanour, Chundoo Loll never lorded it over any human being. Of all men I ever knew, he is one of the humblest and most unassuming. Throughout the whole course of his administration, he cannot be charged with having departed, in any instance, from the utmost degree of respect that was due from him to the Nizam, or to Mooneer ool Moolk, or any other person, be his relative situation what it may. That he has exercised the entire authority of Government, while Mooneer ool Moolk held in name only the office of Chief Minister, has not proceeded from the arrogance or ambition of his character. When the present administration was formed at Hyderabad, it was determined by the Nizam, in concert with our own Government, that the functions of office should be vested exclusively in Chundoo Loll, under the designation of *Paiskar*, or Deputy Minister, which office he had held under Meer Allum; and that Mooneer ool Moolk should have the name only of *Dewan*, or Chief Minister, and should be precluded from exercising any sort of interference in the business of the Government. This was the basis on which the Ministry was formed: it was prescribed by the Nizam himself. How then can Chundoo Loll be said to be a *subordinate* Minister, when he was formally and solemnly invested by his own Sovereign with the entire authority of Government? and how can he be said to have *lorded it over his principal*, when he has exercised those functions only, which were confided exclusively to his hands, and with which it was originally provided, that his principal (if principal he can be called) should not in any way interfere?

The character of the Nizam himself is such as all parties agree in assigning to him, and deserves to be placed before the reader as a contrast to that of his Minister. Mr. Russell, addressing himself to the India Directors, thus describes it:

The account which has been given of the Nizam by all your Governors, and all your Residents; the view which has been uniformly taken of his character by every one who has had any intercourse or connexion with him, must have satisfied your honourable Court of his utter incompetence to superintend the affairs of his Government with safety either to your interests or his own. Various attempts have been made by various persons to conciliate, and encourage, and draw him forth. Sir C. Metcalfe, when he first went to Hyderabad, tried, as all his predecessors had done, to cultivate a personal intercourse with the Nizam; but no experiment of the kind has ever yet succeeded, or ever will

succeed, unless his natural temperament undergoes a total change. The gloom which hangs over him, the suspicions by which he is constantly beset, are the effect of constitution, not of accident; a lucid interval may sometimes occur, but it will be only temporary; and he will always relapse into the same sullen torpor and jealous seclusion.

To this succeeds a minute investigation and detailed narrative of the transactions between Rajah Chundoo Loll, as the Minister of the Nizam, and Messrs. Palmer and Co. It was in the beginning of 1820, that the project of reforming the abuses, by diminishing the expenditure of the state, was revived. The Minister anxiously desired it, but could not pay off troops, already clamorous for arrears of pay, without money. Palmer and Co. were asked to lend, and consented, on condition of their receiving the sanction and guarantee of the Indian Government. This was obtained; and the official letter of the Chief Secretary to Government to Mr. Russell on this subject was as follows:—

The Governor-General in Council authorizes you to sanction the loan of sixty lacs of rupees, which the Nizam's Government proposes to obtain from the house of W. Palmer and Co. The terms of the loan are not mentioned in your despatch; but his Lordship understands, that an assignment of sixteen lacs of rupees per annum will discharge the interest, and pay off the principal, within six years.

After this distinct acknowledgment on the part of the Government, it might have been fairly inferred, that their subsequent conduct would have been such as to support, rather than to annul their own authority. But, in the face of the clearest sanction of the loan itself, and even of a general knowledge of the terms on which it was to be negotiated, they afterwards *falsely* call it a "fictitious loan," cavil at the rate of interest, and not only withdraw their guarantee to secure repayment, but absolutely interpose their authority to prevent it, and prohibit all intercourse between the parties lending, and the parties borrowing, to shut out all chance of the former obtaining justice! This is *Indian equity*! On the alleged fictitiousness of the transaction, let Mr. Russell be heard. He says:—

With respect to the allegation, that the loan was altogether a fictitious transaction, and consisted merely of a transfer of old balances, Sir W. Rumbold avers, in the same statement, that the payments on account of the loan began immediately after the assent of the house to the Minister's proposition, and that nearly the whole sum had been paid when the contract was formerly completed. Payments made under these circumstances were, to all intents and purposes, payments on account of the loan. With reference to this point, I have looked through the Minister's account with the house, which has now been printed by your Honourable Court. I have before stated, that the project of the loan was first made in the latter end of the year 1819, and revived in the beginning of 1820. Messrs. W. Palmer and Co. in the explanation which was required from them, state the payments on account of the loan to have commenced on the 1st of Jemmadeeooluwul, 1235 of the Hegira era, which corresponds with the 17th of March 1820. In the interval between that date and the 2d of Suffer 1236, corresponding with the 9th of November 1820, when the loan of sixty lacs is finally placed at the Minister's credit in his general account;¹⁶ the sums paid by the house, without including any former balance, or any charge of interest, amount to upwards of forty lacs of rupees, of which by far the greater part are actual payments in cash. Many of these payments, on the face of the account,

¹⁶ To Sir C. Metcalfe, 19th August, 1823.—Hyd. Papers, page 744.

¹⁷ Account A., folio 31.—Hyd. Papers, page 620.

¹⁸ Account A., folio 35.—Hyd. Papers, page 624.

were manifestly for public purposes, and, for any thing that appears to the contrary, the whole may have been so; although the purpose to which the money may have been applied by the Minister, does not, in any degree, affect the character of the transaction on the part of the house. The members of the house are not responsible for the application of the sums received from them by the Minister. For them it is sufficient that the money which they agreed to pay, they actually did pay. The rest is a question between the Minister and his own Government.

He then proceeds to state, in his usual clear and satisfactory manner, the meaning of certain expressions used by him, and misinterpreted by others, following it up by some details respecting the usages among the monied men at Hyderabad, which are instructive as well as interesting:

In the discussions which took place in Council, considerable stress appears to have been laid on the expression used by me, in my despatch of the 19th of May 1820, that, "the circumstances of Messrs. W. Palmer and Co. enabled them to secure a combination of the native monied interest; and your Honourable Court contrasts that expression with the assertion made, in my previous letter of the 23rd April 1819, that "none of the native bankers at Hyderabad could have commanded funds adequate to the purpose" of paying the troops in *Berar*; as if I had inconsistently stated, that the same soucars who wanted funds in 1818, possessed them amply in 1820. On the first occasion, I spoke of single soucars; and on the second, of a combination of many; and on both, my assertions were made under a state of circumstances, as I conceived, so notorious and indisputable, as to render any reference to particulars unnecessary. No one soucar could, at either time, have commanded the requisite funds; and, at Hyderabad, many soucars never combine together. The mistrust and jealousy which prevail under Governments like that of the Nizam, pervade every class of the people; and are felt by individuals towards one another, as well as towards the prince and his ministers. Every man finds secrecy his best safeguard; and studiously conceals the amount and distribution of his property from the knowledge of his neighbours. The soucars, therefore, to whom this caution is peculiarly necessary, would not combine with one another to make a loan. After what has been said, in almost every page of the papers printed by your Honourable Court, of the character of the Nizam's Government, it can hardly be requisite to state, that no soucar would trust him or his Minister; nor, strange as it may seem to persons not conversant with the facts, would they advance a large sum, even on the guarantee of our Government. We must not suppose, that the soucars at Hyderabad know, or believe, our Government to be honest, because we ourselves know it to be so. They have no notion of the existence of any thing like public faith or credit. They know that we are powerful; and, with them, the possession of power necessarily implies the abuse of it. If we had desired to borrow money to any extent at Hyderabad, either for ourselves or for the Nizam, the soucars assuredly would not have advanced it. Be the goodness of the security what it might, it was one that they did not understand. But with Messrs. W. Palmer and Co. they knew, and saw their way. They had dealt with them before, and found their dealings were secure. To them, therefore, they were willing to lend. But at the time the sixty lac loan was negotiated, I understood, that although the soucars were willing to lend to Messrs. W. Palmer and Co. on their own security, they refused to take any portion of the loan, either on the credit of the Nizam, or under the sanction of our Government.

Mr. Russell's defence of his own conduct against the imputation of "blameable neglect of duty in not ascertaining and reporting the [alleged] misappropriation of the loan," is equally happy. He remarks, with great truth, that "unfortunately for those who are engaged in human affairs, it is not so easy to narrate future, as to narrate past events;" and with him, every thing was in prospect; while with those who find fault with his want of precaution, every thing was past. He shows, however, that when his adversary (for so Sir Charles Metcalfe must be considered) was not in the same situation, but with the advantage of seeing finished what

Mr. Russell had only seen begun, he thought exactly at the end, as Mr. Russell himself did at the beginning of the transaction; nor, though he subsequently avowed different opinions, was there any good foundation for the change:—

Sir C. Metcalfe will not be taxed with any culpable partiality for the Minister, or the house, or with any disposition to shut his eyes to instances of misconduct on the part of either. Yet, if I was deceived as to what was to come, he also was deceived as to what was already past. With those measures complete and consummate before him, which I saw only in progress and design, he expressed substantially the same opinion that I had done. "The Government," he says, "was undoubtedly relieved from much pecuniary embarrassment by the loan, and was enabled to pay off large arrears." Again he states, "There is no doubt that the loan was most convenient to the Nizam's Government at the time, and especially to the Minister himself personally; and by enabling him to struggle through temporary difficulties and embarrassments, it may possibly prove the means of greatly assisting the restoration of prosperity in the country."

An examination is then gone into, as to the reality of the proposed reductions of public expenditure by the Minister, Chundoo Loll; and here again the original testimony of Sir C. Metcalfe, (the present accuser, it may be said,) is brought to corroborate the accuracy of Mr. Russell's statements, as to the amount of benefit conferred on the Nizam's dominions, by his influence and the Minister's measures. In his first report to the Bengal Government, after succeeding Mr. Russell as President. Sir Charles Metcalfe himself says: "It will be gratifying to the most noble the Governor-General, to learn that much good has undoubtedly been done in the Nizam's country, by the measures authorised by his Lordship, and carried into effect by Mr. Russell." Two years afterwards even, he repeats similar language; and yet he subsequently complains that Mr. Russell did not do enough, from an unwillingness to lord it with a high hand over the Minister of a professedly independent country. Mr. Russell's remarks on this are worthy of deep attention:—

It has been urged, as a ground of complaint against me, that "I was not disposed to force unpalatable measures on the Nizam's Minister." To this charge I must plead guilty, in its fullest extent. I must admit that I was anxious to render the measures, which it was my duty to carry, as palatable as I could. With whatever shame the avowal may be attended, I acknowledge that I did always entertain the culpable desire of conciliating the confidence of the Nizam and his Ministers. I felt unreasonably for the degradation of a state, reduced to subjection and dependence; and conceived the reprehensible purpose of compensating, in some degree, for their loss of real power, by the deference and consideration of my personal demeanour. I unwarrantably endeavoured to soften the rigour of foreign domination, and reconcile the shoulder to the yoke that galled it. Had I been earlier conscious of my error, I might have avoided or corrected it. Instead of conciliating by kindness, I might have goaded by coercion; instead of binding them, heart and hand, to our cause, and engaging them to fight cordially and zealously in our own ranks, I might have irritated and estranged them by the exercise of peremptory power, and have either driven them into the arms of the enemy, or wrung from them a reluctant and treacherous submission.

The next subject touched on, is that of the pensions granted by the Nizam to various individuals who had been attached to his service, or possessed claims on his support. Of the greater number of these, Mr. Russell declares, that, until he saw the printed papers, he was entirely ignorant. He defends those granted to the family of Messrs. William and Hastings Palmer, however, with unanswerable force, on the ground of actual military services rendered to the Nizam; and as to any attempt,

on our part, to interfere with the Minister in this branch of his public duty, he most appropriately says: "In name, at least, the Nizam's Government was acknowledged to be independent: and what becomes even of nominal independence, if his Minister is to be prohibited by a British Resident from entertaining or dismissing, rewarding or punishing, his own servants, according to his estimate of their merits?" The pensions to the Gordon family are defended on the same grounds; for Mr. Gordon, it appears, like Mr. Palmer, entered the Nizam's military service at a very early period: his elder brother commanded a battalion for many years, was wounded, made prisoner, and afterwards murdered by the enemy, in cold blood, after the engagement was over. The pensions to this family were, moreover, approved of by the Bengal Government; and the Resident was even officially instructed to use his influence, if necessary, to secure its continuance.¹⁰ Some anecdotes of the Gordons, as well as the remarks to which they give rise, deserve selection here:—

The command of the corps, with the contracts attached to it, was given, during the time of my predecessor, to Mr. Gordon, avowedly as a provision for the family. In 1812, a mutiny broke out in the corps: the whole of the property in Mr. Gordon's house was demolished by the mutineers; the females of his family were severely beaten; and he himself was wounded, and kept prisoner for two days and a night in front of one of his own guns, to the muzzle of which he was repeatedly tied, a lighted match being held over the priming. In a service where events of this kind are not of rare occurrence; where the soldiers habitually resort to mutiny for the redress of both real and imaginary grievances; where the duties are desultory and harassing; where there is none of the aid or security which is derived from the scientific branches of a regular army; where no efficient provision is made for clothing, food, or pay; and where both officers and men are without any medical or surgical assistance, in case of sickness or wounds; are their risks and hardships to be measured by those of a service, where every possible care is taken to promote the security and comfort of the individuals composing it? I was personally acquainted with an officer in the service of one of the native Powers, who having his leg shattered in an engagement with Sindiah's troops, and there being no surgical aid within reach, himself assisted in amputating his own limb with his own sword, staunch the stump in scalding oil, and perished in agony after the operation. If some few individuals prosper amidst these perilous and trying circumstances, are they to be begrudged their recompense, although it should exceed that enjoyed by the officers of a regularly organized and appointed army?

Further details are given, which exhibit the character of Mr. Gordon in the most amiable light as a man, making his mother, and the widow of his murdered brother, participators in a bounty originally intended for himself only, and securing it to them beyond his own power to touch; and from which he became ultimately a sufferer,—having to support all the other branches of the family on one-third of the sum, of which, but for his filial affection and generosity, he might have continued to receive the whole. On the subject of the other pensions, so much and so senselessly complained of, Mr. Russell makes the following remarks:—

The other pensions which were granted at my recommendation, or with my concurrence, are few in number, and trifling in amount. There is not one single instance of a pension, or allowance, or donation, of any sort or kind, granted to any person in the most remote degree connected with me. They were granted almost exclusively in the case of officers who had been killed, or had died in the service, leaving their families destitute, and with hardly any one of whom I was otherwise acquainted than officially, and by name. It is impossible to conceive any inducement, other than a good one, which either I could have had in recom-

¹⁰ Letter of Mr. Secretary Adam to Mr. Russell, dated May 15, 1813.

mending, or the Minister in granting, such pensions. For myself, be the blame what it may, I cheerfully take my full share of it; and as to the Minister, whatever may have been his motives in that, or any other case, I am satisfied that there is no other native Government in India, and perhaps not many Governments in more enlightened countries, which would come clearer out of the scrutiny, if they were ripped up with the same vindictive hand, and exhibited with the same vivid colouring. The Nizam's Ministers are not the only Ministers in the world, of whom it has been alleged, that they make use of their patronage to secure their places; and that even in times of financial difficulty, they have, in some cases, granted pensions, which would not stand the test of rigorous examination. After administering the power, and patronage, and revenues of his Government, for fifteen years, and having never been profuse either in his personal habits, or the expenses of his family, if Rajah Chundoo Loll were to die to-morrow, his bitterest enemy will not assert that he would leave one shilling behind him. Not only he has not spent the money of the State for his own purposes, but he has spent his own money for what he believed to be the purposes of the State. If, to have died poor, were thought a distinction to be recorded on the monument of the most powerful Minister that England ever saw, let it not be forgotten that Rajah Chundoo Loll, die when he may, will be entitled to the same distinction.

After all, what have been the consequences of all this alleged prodigality? and what is the amount of the distresses, which are said to have brought the Nizam to the brink of ruin? Was he unable to extricate himself from them? or did they threaten his Government with bankruptcy, or dissolution? If he wished to get rid of his debt at once, he had only to open his idle hoards, and he had money enough to pay it twice over; and even if it had been paid out of the current revenue of his country, without the redemption of the Paishcush, twelve years was the longest period computed for the discharge of both principal and interest. If this be the brink of ruin, how many nations would deem it prosperity to stand upon the same brink!

We are compelled, from want of space, to pass over an interesting account of a great public work for the supply of water to Hyderabad, which is to that city what the New River is to London. It consists of an artificial lake between seven and eight miles in circumference, which is formed by closing the mouth of a valley, with a stupendous mass of masonry near a mile in length; the whole being fed by a canal from the river; and the water conveyed by pipes to every street and house in the city. It reminds one of the great lakes, Mœtis and Mareotis, in Egypt, with the addition of improvements unknown in that age, and may well deserve to be called a splendid work of public utility. Would that the surplus revenue of India, since the rulers of that country will not remit it by a reduction of taxation, were laid out in works of this description, for the benefit of the natives of that country! A few lacs of rupees per annum, spent in this way, would do more for our good name, than all the idle pageantry of embassies and presents to all the courts of the East: and if half the sum that Lord Amherst has wasted in the Burmese war, (to say nothing of the lives sacrificed,) had been judiciously disbursed in making vast reservoirs for water of this description throughout India, more benefit would have resulted, both to the natives and the Company, than from the conquest of Ava, Siam, and all the countries between Bengal and China.

To follow the narrative in order: Mr. Russell adverts to the insinuation, that himself and his brother were parties interested in the sixty lac loan, to which he gives a solemn and unqualified denial; and defies the authors of such an insinuation to the proof. He then goes on to say—

It has, however, been asserted, that a secret understanding existed between the Residency and the House. I most peremptorily repel the charge. The

Members of the House were the most competent judges of my sentiments and proceedings towards them. Far from looking on me as friendly, or even impartial to their transactions, they considered me as absolutely hostile; and Mr. Palmer formed his connexion with Sir. W. Rumbold, for the express purpose of resisting the opposition which he expected from me. Mr. Palmer constantly and openly complained of my counteraction. My rupture with him, and the hostility which he attributed to me, were notorious at Hyderabad. They were known to the Minister, and to the natives generally, as well as to the members of our own society. They were topics of common conversation; and there are many individuals now in England, who, from their own personal knowledge, can attest the fact. I assert that no one single instance can be adduced to give colour to the charge, that in my proceedings respecting the house, I was influenced, either by a collusion such as that here imputed to me, or by any unworthy motive of any kind whatever. I do not indeed recollect any one occasion, on which the House required the exertion of my influence, or on which I promoted its concerns with the Minister, or any other person; and in every transaction which could have the most distant relation to my own Government, my sole endeavour was directed to contract the limits of its sanction, and secure it against the shadow of responsibility. Whether the effect of my measures was to advance or impair the interests of the House, I did what I thought my duty; and it does no discredit to my conduct, that while the House complained of my doing too little, the opposite party allege that I did too much.

To this succeeds a declaration of Mr. Russell's speaking of the transactions of the house of Palmer and Co., only as far as he himself knew them of his own knowledge, not professing to go beyond this: but, even here, he is also happy in being able to bring the testimony of Sir Charles Metcalfe as to the general character of its transactions, in support of what he himself has advanced:

Sir Charles Metcalfe himself says, with a qualification which shows that he had considered the subject deliberately: "With this single exception, of the high rate of interest, which I hope to see lowered, as its continuance is not consistent with the financial prosperity of the Nizam's Government, I do not observe any thing in the transactions of the House, requiring interference or restraint on the part of our Government." "The enterprise of such a commercial establishment, and the efforts which it would make for its own benefit, must tend, I conceive, to promote the prosperity of the country:" and again, "I should think it desirable, in every point of view, that this House should be as unfettered in its transactions as any other commercial concern; and that vigilance, on our part, should be exercised, not with a view to restrictions on the proceedings of the firm, but solely in order to guard the interests of the Nizam's Government, and our own, in those transactions in which they might be at variance with the interests of the House."

It is true, that this same Sir Charles Metcalfe afterwards says, when speaking of the same establishment, that "the atmosphere was tainted by their corrupt and unnatural influence," and that it was doubtful "whether the House or the Resident was the real representative of the British Government." Here, indeed, the secret was let out: and he complains, with all the fretfulness of jealousy and disappointment, that the members of the House "would think it a loss of consequence, to be reduced to the necessity of applying for his assistance." Their great crime, in his eyes, was, that they were too much respected and esteemed by the people among whom they lived; that their conduct, as men of business, had obtained them the confidence of persons who could place their trust in no one else; that they could obtain loans or credit, when neither the Minister nor the Resident, without their aid, could procure either; that they kept as large a stud of elephants, and as large an establishment of servants, as the self-styled "Representative of the British Government himself:" or, in other words, that independent and enterprising mer-

chants were equal in rank and consideration to a dependent servant of merchants, whose only office it was to do as he was bid, and receive his monthly pay for his labour. There is nothing peculiarly degrading in this occupation, or peculiarly exalted in the other. But the folly of contending, as Mr. Metcalfe has done, that such influence as that enjoyed by Messrs. Palmer and Co. ought not to belong to *any* merchants, (though it is the necessary and inevitable consequence of wealth and respectability,) while he claims a right to higher influence, as a servant of merchants, whom he is obliged to designate, in all humility, as his "honourable masters," is not merely absurd but ludicrous. His calling these merchants, however, a set of "unprincipled adventurers," and applying to them terms of opprobrium and reproach, while he and his honourable masters are plundering them of their justly acquired wealth, robbing the unhappy creditors whose funds were in their hands, and adding summary banishment of their persons, to arbitrary spoliation of their property,—is not merely unjust, but as contemptible as it is cruel, and deserves the execration of all honest men. We regret to speak thus of one, whom we personally knew and respected: but when lambs are transformed to tigers, and free-men become slaves or tyrants, it is *they* who change their natures, and compel a change in the opinions of those who have the misfortune to witness the transformation.

We hasten to a close: and cannot more appropriately terminate our notice of this highly interesting, powerful, and convincing letter, than by the personal vindication which its able author offers against the rumoured imputations that were afloat respecting himself:—

For the purpose of giving colour to the allegations against me, the most absurd and exaggerated reports have been circulated respecting the amount of my fortune. When I quitted India, the whole of my fortune was invested in public securities, deposited with the Accountant-General and sub-treasurer in Calcutta; and when the loan, to which those securities belonged, was paid off, the total amount was remitted to me, in a single bill on your Honourable Court. Your Honourable Court therefore knows the extent of my fortune. I solemnly declare that that one bill contained the whole I am, or ever was worth; and I appeal to your Honourable Court, whether, considering the situations which I held, and the number of years for which I held them, that sum constitutes an unreasonable fortune for me to have acquired.

It is painful to be obliged to speak of one's-self; but it is sometimes a duty; and when it is, must be discharged. I did not live in a corner. For many years, I occupied a prominent station. To my services, such as they were, the public records must bear testimony. I speak of them unwillingly; but as I have been compelled to deny what I have not done, I will not be deterred from asserting what I have done. If the comparison is to be instituted by those who are conversant with the facts, I do not fear any contrast between my administration, and those of either my predecessors or my successor at Hyderabad.

There is hardly, in the history of your affairs, a period more replete with changes and events of magnitude, than that during which I filled the office of Resident at Hyderabad. Throughout the whole of those eleven years, my conduct and measures received the invariable approbation of my Government; and I cannot more suitably close this letter, than with the recorded testimony which closed my career of service in India:

"The Governor-General in Council deems it due to you to record, on this occasion, his high sense of the eminent zeal, ability, judgment, and address, by which your conduct has been distinguished during a long career of public service, and especially in the management of the important interests confided to your charge at the Court of Hyderabad. His Lordship is sensible that the Honourable Company and the British nation have derived essential benefit from the exercise of those qualities; and he views with regret your departure from a

situation, which you have filled with so much honour to yourself, and so much advantage to the Government."

The letter of Sir William Rumbold to the Court of Directors, which has been published subsequently to that of Mr. Russell, is of much greater length, extending to one hundred and thirty pages, and cannot, therefore, be so easily condensed. We do not think, however, that there is a page too much in it: and we can with great truth, safely recommend the perusal of the whole to all who may desire to possess an accurate knowledge of the case. It is drawn up in a clear and unsophisticated manner, the subjects judiciously divided under separate heads, and each branch treated fully, fairly, and we must add, ably, so as to leave no charge unrefuted, and no imputation unrepelled.

In the introductory paragraphs, a material error is corrected. It had been repeated over and over again, by the enemies of the house of Palmer and Co., that Sir William Rumbold came into it without capital, and that it was to supply this deficiency, that Lord Hastings, as his friend, gave all the weight of his influence to this establishment. This is shown to be untrue, by the uncontradicted assertion of Sir William Rumbold, that he took into the house, the stipulated capital of three lacs of rupees, or 30,000*l.* sterling: and by the letters of Mr. William Palmer at Hyderabad, to Mr. John Palmer at Calcutta, specifically naming it as a condition of his admission to the concern, that he was to furnish the funds required. Had it even been otherwise,—had Sir William joined the house without adding a rupee to its capital, but bringing connexion, weight, talent, or information, in its stead, it would be consistent with the almost universal usage in India, where new partners are constantly added to the first English houses of business, in Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta, without adding a shilling to their capital; and even in England the practice is far from uncommon. It would have furnished no just ground, therefore, for reproach or suspicion had it even been true; but being false, all the inferences drawn from it fall to the ground, leaving nothing apparent but the ignorance and malignity of those with whom the imputation originated.

Before Sir William Rumbold's leaving India for England, the measures taken by the Bengal Government were directed against all the members of the firm; but soon after he left Hyderabad, the anger of these rulers appeared to be principally directed against the European partners; and it being conceived by those who remained that the Government might be softened by such a measure, the retirement of Sir William Rumbold from the firm was publicly announced as having taken place with the consent of his partners. He had, however, by this time left India. Had he not, he would have received an equivalent for his shares: but the subsequent bankruptcy and ruin of the house rendered that impossible, so that his misfortune was aggravated by this step. The exaggerated reports of great wealth having been brought home by Sir William Rumbold, are shown to be false, and the general approbation of the Trustees, expressed in a meeting held by them after the bankruptcy of the house at Hyderabad, where all its affairs were laid open to them, is referred to in support of this declaration.

After these preliminary refutations of error, which it was wise to place

in this prominent light, Sir William enters on the body of his letter, making the following divisions of his subject:—

1st. The rates of interest charged by the house of Palmer and Co. at Hyderabad.

2d. The circumstances of the loan to the Nizam.

3d. Payment of the Berar horse and Aurangabad troops.

4th. The Affidavit made by Mr. W. Palmer and Sir W. Rumbold.

5th. Pensions granted by the Nizam to Mr. Palmer's family.

6th. Political influence of the house over the Nizam or his Minister.

7th. Effect of the transactions of the house on the Nizam's finances, on the credit of the British name, and on the commercial intercourse between the two countries.

8th. Measures adopted by Mr. Adam, on the representations of Sir Charles Metcalfe.

9th. The subsequent conduct of the Bengal Government, which occasioned the total failure and ruin of the house.

It will be readily conceived that, able and interesting as this letter unquestionably is, we cannot pretend to give an abstract of its contents. Each of the nine heads into which the subjects are so appropriately divided, would furnish matter enough for a single number of our work: and yet the defence could not be made in less space than is actually occupied by it. It is an easy matter to call men by such names as, "unprincipled adventurers," "rapacious usurers," and other similar epithets in a few lines, but it takes pages to refute such accusations; for while (unjustly enough, as all must admit,) an accuser's bare assertion is often taken as proof, a defender's bare word in denial is seldom so received, and therefore great length of detail is almost inevitable in those who have to defend themselves from imputations of any importance. We will do our best, however, to give the results, premising that we think the evidence on which they are founded satisfactory and complete.

It is shown that the lowest rate of interest at Hyderabad, before the house of Palmer and Co. was established in that city, was 2 per cent. per month, at the same time that 4, 5, and 6 per cent per month was taken openly and regularly from individuals; and that the Pytans, by various shifts, received as much as 8, or 96 per cent. per annum! while the rate of interest charged by Palmer and Co. never exceeded 2 per cent. per month, or 24 per cent. per annum, to cover commissions and all other usual charges; and this, too, on funds which they had themselves borrowed, and for which they were paying 12, 16, 18, 20, and in some instances 24 per cent. per annum, to those who placed their monies in their hands! The ignorance, or hypocrisy, or both, of the Directors and their servants, is manifest, however, in this. They raise an outcry against an English house of business taking more than 12 per cent. interest in India, because a certain Act of Parliament (the 13th of George III.) is said to have limited the rate of interest to that amount, and that all above this is usury, and contrary to law. But what do they themselves do? It is scarcely credible, but it is nevertheless true, that years *after* this Act passed, the Bengal Government framed regulations, drawn up by their own legal officers, passed by their Governor-General, registered in the Supreme Court of Justice, and laid yearly upon the table of the House of Commons, authorising their own Judges, in the Civil Courts of Judicature in the Company's territories beyond Calcutta, to decree payment of

interest on sums in litigation, at the several rates of 24, 30, and even 37½ per cent. per annum!! Here are a set of usurers, compared with whom the Jews of St. Mary Axe are pure and straight-forward in their dealings. The pawnbrokers and clothesmen of London are not sufficiently finished hypocrites to send petitions against the repeal of the Usury Laws to the House of Commons. But the *honourable* Directors of the East India Company ARE hypocrites enough to pass laws exacting interest of 37½ per cent. per annum from their law-burthened subjects, and to raise a cry of usury and extortion against all others who take more than 12 per cent. —a third of their own modest and humble standard!!! If the annals of the world can present a more perfect picture of consummate hypocrisy than this, it has not yet fallen under our observation.

Sir William Rumbold gives the regulations here alluded to, with date, chapter, section, and all other guarantees of authenticity; so that he who runs may read, and he who doubts may have his belief confirmed.²⁰ We must give the few sentences that follow their enumeration:—

The Act of the 13th George III. is now said to have limited the rate of interest to twelve per cent. all over India. The first of the above regulations was passed *twenty years* after that Act, and authorised the recovery of interest at the rate of THIRTY SEVEN AND A HALF in some cases, and TWENTY-FOUR per cent. in all *other* cases in the Company's Courts, on debts incurred in the Company's territories before the 20th March 1780, which is seven years later than the 13th George III.; and it authorised and prescribed the recovery of twenty-four per cent. interest in the said Courts, on small debts incurred in the Company's territories up to the 1st January 1793, which is twenty years later than the 13th George III.

The second of these regulations was passed in 1803, *thirty years* later than the 13th George III., and ten years later than the 33rd George III. and six years after the 37th George III.; and it directs the Judges in the Company's Courts of Judicature to decree THIRTY PER CENT. per annum, in some cases, and TWENTY-FOUR per cent. per annum in all *other* cases, upon debts incurred before the 10th of November 1801, in the territories which were ceded on that day to the Company by the Nuwab Vizier.

If the Act of the 13th George III. had been considered as restricting the rate of interest all over India, and as in restricting the powers of the Governor-General in Council to sanction the recovery of higher interest than twelve per cent., would any of those regulations have been passed?

If the 13th George III. had been considered to extend to the territories of Native Princes, would the regulations of 1803 have been passed? and how could the very Government which had passed these regulations (by which it was acknowledged that thirty per cent. and twenty-four per cent. were recoverable rates of interest in countries where there are no Courts of Judicature) subsequently declare that these rates had been made illegal by Acts of Parliament, all of which had passed many years before those regulations were enacted?

There is no answering this; and so the Court of Directors, to their lasting dishonour, will find it: for no man in England can *hear* of this consummate hypocrisy without condemning, as unworthy of all sympathy or support, the parties lending themselves to such duplicity.

Sir William then produces evidence, equally conclusive, to show that, even in Calcutta, under the eyes of the Supreme Court and Government, and where there was the freest competition among all the mercantile houses of the place, at as late a period as the year 1819, so high a rate as 3 per cent. per month was paid by persons of undoubted credit, who gave the collateral security of a deposit of the Company's paper also to the lender; and that 30 per cent. per annum, for the use of money at that period of

²⁰ See Letter of Sir William Rumbold, p. 8, 9.

scarcity, was quite common. Sir William Burroughs, formerly Advocate-General in Bengal, Mr. Fulton, Mr. Small, Mr. Melville, and Mr. Rier-son, (the four last all members of the first houses of business in Calcutta, and now in England,) give their written testimony to that effect; and produce instances in point;⁴¹ so that the Honourable Company are here also either grossly ignorant of what every one else in their dominions is familiar with, or are culpably hypocritical in pretending to denounce as criminal, what the most upright and honourable men in India acknowledge to be the universal practice, and what they (the Directors themselves) authorise their own servants to exact from others. Let them take their choice of these alternatives.

The largest interest alleged to have been paid to Palmer and Co. by the Nizam, was 24 per cent. per annum, including or covering commission and all other charges. Since the failure of that house, it has been proved by a resolution of its creditor, to pay off a heavy mortgage, that they were themselves paying 21 per cent. per annum for money, on security to the full amount borrowed, in jewels and timber. Since the cessation of all transactions between the Nizam and this house, he has been compelled to borrow money from native bankers, at 33 per cent. per annum, and has paid 6 per cent. per month discount on a contract, or 72 per cent. per annum.⁴² An extract on the subject of insecurity is worth being given at length :

To these is to be added, the further risk attendant upon the stability of the Government itself. During the period of the transactions of Messrs. William Palmer and Co. almost every Native Government in India underwent a revolution. What security had the house against a similar fate befalling the Government of the Nizam? By such an event the whole debt of the house would have been irretrievably lost. These circumstances were equally appreciated by the firm, and by their creditors, and equally influenced the rates at which they could borrow or could lend. If two of these risks could have been obviated, by an insurance upon the lives of the Minister (who is upwards of sixty,) and the Prince, who is fifty-three, the expense of those policies alone in India, added to the Calcutta interest of twelve per cent., would have swelled the amount of charges which are there authorised by law, to much more than the amount of interest charged by the house; and if the Minister's life alone had been insured, the charges would not have fallen short of those actually made. But, in fact, no insurance could have been effected upon the lives of their debtors, as the life of a native cannot be insured in any office in India. The reasons assigned I believe to be, that in cases of sickness the natives do not adopt the same precautions that Europeans do; and from this and other circumstances, connected with the habits of the country, their lives are supposed to be more precarious. Hence the interest upon all loans to natives are *nominally* higher, because the parties lending become themselves the insurers, and the charge is made under the head of interest.

It is then shown, by figured statements, that, supposing only the legal rate of interest, 12 per cent., to have been charged, and the commissions, &c. usually added by all the Calcutta houses of business, to be adopted, the difference between the Hyderabad and Calcutta charges would have been only 78,000 rupees on an amount of 111 lacs: or a difference of 7,800*l.* sterling on an amount of 1,110,000*l.* The charges on this transaction amounted to 6,43,000 rupees, making the whole expense of the contract to the Nizam less than a single charge of 6 per cent. on the actual payments, notwithstanding the heavy responsibility and insecurity before explained. Thus vanishes into air the alleged extortion and

⁴¹ Letter, p. 12.

⁴² Letter, p. 15.

usury of a house calumniated by the Directors and servants of a Company founded in monopoly, and supported by extortion, usury, and the most grinding oppression of the people subject to its rule!

Sir William Rumbold next enters on the subject of the loan; and, by a skilful and powerful analysis of the whole transaction, refutes every charge that has been raised against it. He proves beyond question, that not half the loan could have been composed of any balances; and that no part at all could have been composed of "unsanctioned balances," as has been so falsely alleged.²³ He shows that upwards of 38 lacs of rupees was paid by the house of Palmer and Co. to the Nizam, in cash, about 49,275 rupees in jewellery, for the Court, and 97,513 in miscellaneous purchases, which, with an interest of 97,513 rupees on the whole, made 40 lacs and half: a sanctioned balance of 11 lacs and half was added to this; and, with the bonus of 8 lacs of rupees, made up the 60 lac loan.

On the items of charge for jewellery, shawls, &c. it is justly remarked that this is the staple supply of an Indian Court. No one pays or receives a visit without such presents; so that they are in as constant use as bank-notes: but, though the accounts of Palmer and Co. have been sifted to the bottom, not a single instance of high charges for such articles has ever been even *alleged* against them:—a fact which, with the existing disposition to criminate all their proceedings, speaks volumes in their favour.²⁴

On the subject of the *bonus* which has been so grossly misrepresented, Sir William is equally clear. The Minister wanted a sum of 52 lacs, for which, at any other hands, he must have paid at least 24 per cent. On condition of his giving engagements for 60 lacs to be paid at the end of six years, Messrs. Palmer and Co. lent him the sum required at 18 per cent. The difference in the Minister's favour was this:—that the interest of 52 lacs at 24 per cent. would have been 12,48,000 rupees per annum, whereas the interest of 60 lacs, at 18 per cent., was only 10,80,000 rupees per annum; which made a *saving* to him, therefore, of nearly 2 lacs a year; and this, with the interest accumulating on it for six years, would be nearly *double* the amount of the bonus which he would then (and not till then) have to pay for the accommodation! The ignorance of financial transactions displayed by Sir Charles Metcalfe, as well as his honourable masters, is scarcely to be believed without seeing their sentiments in print. One would have thought that the notorious facts of paying 23*l.* to a London broker, and receiving a bond of the Spanish Cortes for 100*l.*; of paying 80*l.* for a bond of 100*l.* from a South American government of the first character and credit; and of getting *only* 100*l.* in India stock for a payment of 280*l.* in money, would have been sufficient to teach these sages, that *bonuses* are given and received on ALL loans of every description whatever; and that the only reason why 100*l.* India stock is worth 280*l.*, and 100*l.* Spanish stock worth but 23*l.* is, that there is high actual interest and supposed good security in the one case, and, in the other, but a nominal interest, and no security whatever. Shall, then, these causes operate everywhere else, and be inoperative in India? But the ignorance that is so gross as not to understand this, is too contemptible to be reasoned with.

²³ Letter, p. 25.

²⁴ Letter, p. 27, 28.

The subsequent heads into which Sir William Rumbold has divided his subject, are treated in the same candid and conclusive manner as the foregoing. On the subject of what has been falsely termed the "deceptive" affidavit, he deserves to be heard at length :

I must now solicit the attention of your honourable Court, to the circumstances of the affidavit sworn to by Mr. W. Palmer and myself. I have already mentioned my having been required to attend before the Governor-General in Council, in 1819, on the occasion of the discussions which arose upon our contract with the Nizam's Government, at Aurungabad. While I was before the Council, I stated my readiness to declare on oath that Mr. Russell had no interest in our transactions. In December 1820, a declaration to the same effect was made by Mr. W. Palmer, and in June 1821, our joint affidavit was sworn and transmitted to Lord Hastings. The purpose for which Lord Hastings called for it, and for which Mr. W. Palmer and myself made it, was to establish the fact, that Mr. Russell had not had, directly or indirectly, any interest in our establishment. On this point the affidavit was distinct and explicit, and as far as Mr. Russell, directly, or through his brother, indirectly, were concerned, Mr. W. Palmer and I could have made the affidavit in the terms proposed by Sir C. Metcalfe, himself, as a test. On account of the relation in which Mr. Sotheby had stood towards the firm, it is manifest that we could not declare, that no gentleman belonging to the Residency, besides Mr. Currie, had been connected with it, or had had any interest in its concerns. It was for that reason alone, that the qualification was introduced into the affidavit. There was no deception or evasion in the terms of that document, unless it be deceptive or evasive to swear distinctly to the only fact that is in question at the time, and to abstain from swearing to matters which are not in question.

Your honourable Court will judge, however, of the spirit by which Sir C. Metcalfe was actuated in that stage of his proceedings towards the house, by the fact of his having recommended, that the partners should be called upon to make an affidavit, in terms which he at the same time declared, he knew they could not make without perjurying themselves.

Mr. Adam denies the justice of the plea, that Mr. Sotheby had no political influence, because he was "in a situation where he might suddenly be called to exercise all the functions of the representative of the British Government at Hyderabad." To this I can only reply, that Mr. William Palmer and I swore to a simple fact, and not to a contingency.

More of explanation follows, but this must be quite sufficient to any candid mind. We proceed therefore to the next head,—the allowances to different individuals, paid by the Minister of the Nizam : It has been already shown in Mr. Russell's letter, what were the claims of the Palmers, and the Gordons, to this consideration. The Members of the British Residency under Sir Charles Metcalfe, who have never rendered any such services, could hardly present such well-founded claims. What then will be the reader's astonishment when he learns the following fact, which we do not trust ourselves to communicate in our own language, but quote from the letter before us. It is this :—Sir William Rumbold, speaking of an allowance to his late brother, Mr. George Rumbold, who died in 1819, in the service of the Nizam, says : "Your honourable Court will observe there was nothing remarkable in the allowance to him, since every member of the Residency under Sir Charles Metcalfe, has now an allowance from the Nizam's Minister, PROCURED BY SIR CHARLES METCALFE HIMSELF!!"²⁵ Need another word be added to this ? On the subject of the principal allowance to Mr. William Palmer, who was in the active service of the Nizam for years, as a military officer ; it is shown that naval and military officers in England are al-

²⁵ Letter, p. 45.

lowed to enter into mercantile and other speculations, without losing their half-pay, pensions or rank ; and it is justly asked, why should not Mr. Palmer equally be a member of a house of business and retain the allowances granted by the Nizam, or his Minister, if these " independent " personages chose to continue them ? " In the 15th Article of the treaty between the India Company and the Nizam, in 1800, he is expressly declared to be *absolute* with respect to his own servants : " ²⁶ and yet he is not to be allowed the power of retaining in his pay an old and faithful officer who has shed his blood in his service. This is the way in which the Indian Governments observe their treaties ! Mr. William Palmer, though the son of an English gentleman of the highest character and consideration, was born of a native Indian mother : owing to this, he is shut out from all employment in the Company's service, and now he is equally prohibited from receiving pay from a native Prince. This is the way in which the Indian Governments treat the offspring of their own servants,—the native-born subjects of their Anglo-Indian empire ! May they one day be powerful enough to avenge their wrongs ! we breathe the prayer with as much sincerity as fervour, and hope the time is not distant when this deserving, but degraded race, will boldly demand the rights which they have been unable to obtain by humble prayer and solicitation. Let the following picture exhibit the heartless and unfeeling tyranny of those who furnish the materials for it :—

Your honourable Court is aware, that under Mahometan Governments in India, the sovereign is heir to the personal property of his subjects, on a principle similar to that which prevailed during the feudal times in Europe. I do not believe that this right is rigorously enforced at Hyderabad ; to a certain extent it is ; and it is therefore an object with all servants of that Government, to bequeath to their children, part of the benefits of their own services, by obtaining pensions for them.

Mr. Palmer's accuracy, when he says, " My children must look exclusively to this Government for their future welfare," is fully demonstrated by the situation in which he and his brother, Mr. Hastings Palmer, are now placed by the orders of your Government. Their allowances have been taken from them by its interference, and the house has been made to refund the amount of them for many years back. By the same authority, the firm has been driven to bankruptcy ; its credit has been destroyed ; its private property sacrificed, to contribute towards the liquidation of the partnership debts ; and they themselves, as well as very many of their creditors, are left without any means of procuring a subsistence, unless your honourable Court shall interfere to avert such extensive ruin.

The remarks on the alleged political influence of the House are too voluminous for us to do more than allude to them. They are as satisfactory as all the rest, and leave nothing to be added. It is shown as clearly as demonstration can make it, that the angry passions of Sir Charles Metcalfe were in constant as well as full operation, from the moment that Messrs. Palmer and Co. had the " insolence " to think of forwarding a letter of remonstrance from the Nizam's Minister against himself, without its first passing through his hands ! Admirable legislators ! profound sages ! wise statesmen ! to think the best security for complaints being heard and redressed, is to make them through the individual complained of ! Yet this is Indian policy : the " regular channels " of complaint, they tell you, " are always open." " If you have to complain against a Secretary, your complaint should be sent open through

²⁶ Letter, p. 67.

him; and he will be sure to see his own faults properly exposed, and himself made to afford redress!" Whoever thinks otherwise, and dares to make a complaint through an "irregular channel," is immediately branded as the head, or the member, or the tool, of "a political faction." Sir Charles Metcalfe—(alas! what a falling off is here!)—joins in the senseless cry—talks of "attacks" on his dignity—of complaints "clandestinely" transmitted against him—of "thumb-screws" and "blood," and "copious streams,"²⁷ with all the raving and frenzy of an enraged inquisitor, in some gloomy dungeon of Spain, rather than like an Englishman. This "clandestine communication"—this "disguised proceeding," is called in another place a piece of "unexampled audacity"—a "plot" hostile to his safety—"a conspiracy to procure his removal:"²⁸ and after having himself exceeded his powers; assumed authority to which he had no right; subverted the whole revenue administration of the Nizam's country; and played the despot with more anger and haughtiness combined, than it has ever been our lot to witness,—he winds up the climax by a fit of ungovernable rage, at any man daring to complain of him without passing the complaint first through his own hands: and in this fit, he says of Messrs. Palmer and Co.: "The atmosphere is tainted by their corrupt and unnatural influence. They are traders in pursuit of gain—(who, in the name of candour, are the East India Company? and who their lordly and ungaining servant?)—by means of *their own* contriving; fair or foul, according to *their own* judgment; (here is a monstrous sin!) whose conduct merits pains and penalties; are chuckling and triumphing in the success of their own impositions." This is the language of a man once known to us, as well as to most others, as especially celebrated for mildness and urbanity. Verily, the sun of India can turn men into tigers more rapidly than Mr. Canning imagines; so that the reported transformation of Lord Amherst is not so incredible after all. But what *can* be expected from a school, the head of which, Mr. John Adam, son of a Whig, and the professed admirer of the political doctrines of Charles James Fox, with Whig cousins, tyrants like himself, on the other side of India; what can be expected from a school, the head of which deliberately says: "*It is not possible to CONCEIVE a more gross and open insult to Government, than the defence of an act which has been known to have excited their displeasure!*"

Here is Indian despotism in its naked form: and no doubt, according to Mr. Adam, Sir Charles Metcalfe, Mr. Elphinstone, and the other distinguished slaves of this worthy school,—all the parties who have dared to defend the acts which their honourable masters have already approved, should be "thumb-screwed," bled, and sent to the bottom of the sea. According to their creed, Lord Hastings should be exiled from his family, for daring to defend himself from the censures of the Court; Mr. Russell should be hung, drawn, and quartered, for writing and speaking both, and doing each so well, that no man can answer him; Sir William Rumbold should be sent a circuitous voyage to Bencoolen, Batavia, and China, for his "audacity" in censuring the acts of the Government, under whose countenance and protection he lived; and those who defend them here should be burnt alive, and have their hearts and tongues torn out by

²⁷ Letter, p. 57.²⁸ P. 61.

the roots, for daring to devote both to the "gross and open insult" of publishing in England what the despots of India disapprove!

The next point touched on in Sir William Rumbold's letter, is the effect of the transactions of the house on the finances of the Nizam, on the credit of the British name, and on the commerce between the two states. It is clearly shown, by extracts from letters of Sir Charles Metcalfe at different dates, that he himself entertained the most favourable opinion on this head, until his anger and jealousy entirely absorbed his reason. It will be sufficient, perhaps, to cite one paragraph out of several folio pages: it is, however, a forcible one; and the tenor of the others may be inferred from it:—

The enterprise of such a commercial establishment, and the efforts which it would make for its own benefit, must tend, I conceive, to promote the prosperity of the country; and I cannot discover any cause for alarm in being allowed to have transactions with the Nizam's Government."

In point of fact, the greatest benefits arose to the country from the transactions alluded to; and when Sir Charles Metcalfe thinks it rather "novel for merchants to claim a merit, because they had studied their own profit, and entered into a traffic, from which they had expected and have derived advantage,"²⁹ he must be strangely ignorant of the fact, that the India Company, his honourable masters, have made a merit of this on every occasion of their asking for a renewal of their charter. Then it is that we hear of the great national benefits they have conferred on the country by their carrying out the staple commodities of England, to sell at a loss in India, in ships, navigated at ten times the cost of private traders; and making the unhappy natives pay for this loss by surplus revenue. Then it is we hear of their selling a handful of English goods in China—though they say nothing of their smuggling opium into that country against the law, and of their conferring on Great Britain the high and invaluable privilege of importing tea from Canton, and selling it to the people of England at ten times the cost that it might be procured at, if the China trade were open to all the private enterprise of the country. The single house of Palmer and Co. at Hyderabad, did more in the short space of their career there, to introduce a taste for, and consumption of, British goods among the natives of India, than the East India Company has done since its first establishment.

Between the years 1816 and 1819, English manufactures to the value of 200,000*l.* were introduced by that house for the consumption of that city alone. Let this be another proof, to be added to the many already on record, of the vast and unlimited field which would be opened to British industry, by the immediate Colonization of India by Englishmen. If Hyderabad alone could consume 200,000*l.* worth of British manufactures within so short a period, it is not extravagant to say, that were similar houses of business established throughout every other part of the country, two hundred millions worth of such manufactures might be consumed. The whole population of Ireland, according to Mr. Cropper's benevolent plan, might be kept in full and well-paid employment; and the produce of India and China sold in our markets for less than they now cost on the spot. All this, Colonization would effect: and yet the India Directors set their faces against its accomplishment. If this were the only sin to be laid to their charge, it is one which it would require years of good conduct to atone for. But that which they will not freely give, will ere long be wrested from them.

²⁹ Letter, p. 75.

In the subsequent proceedings of the Bengal Government: there is one fact which deserves to be placed in a prominent point of view, as it will exhibit Mr. Adam's character in its true light;—that of an unrelenting persecutor; who having once conceived a hatred to men who would not bow down before the golden image that he had set up, determined to let nothing stay his career, until he had accomplished their destruction. We shall no more have truth profaned, we hope, by such epithets, as “the mild,” “the gentle” “the humane” Mr. Adam. His humanity is that of the wolf, with the lamb struggling beneath his feet, or the vulture with the dove in his talons. But let facts speak for themselves. The accounts of the house of Palmer and Co. had been sent down to Calcutta, by the Resident, Sir Charles Metcalfe, with all the false and perverted colouring which his inveterate hostility could give them. They arrived on the 29th of June. They were acknowledged on all sides to be so voluminous, as to require weeks at least to peruse and understand: and if nothing had particularly occurred to press an earlier decision, perhaps they might have had the full investigation they needed; but on the 31st of July, only two days after the receipt of these accounts at Calcutta, the new Governor-General Lord Amherst, arrived in the river Hooghley. He might come up quickly, and not being imbued with the hatred which all the members of the then existing Government entertained towards the House at Hyderabad, he might have paused, and hesitated before he consigned them to entire destruction. This might have been surmised, though the subsequently ready manner in which his Lordship lent himself to all the suggestions of his colleagues, shows that this was attributing to him a degree of virtue which he did not possess. But it was important that the doom of the House should be sealed: his coming might have prevented it; and accordingly, it was resolved to send off the despatch to England, and the order to break up the House at Hyderabad, before his Lordship could reach the seat of Government. Such was the “breathless haste,” in which this whole affair was carried into execution. We must quote from the printed letter:

On the 31st of July, five days only after the date of the foregoing despatch, another was addressed to your honourable Court, forwarding the accounts of which the Government merely say “these accounts have in our opinion conclusively established the fact of the fictitious nature of the sixty lac loan;” and they then, “deeming it unnecessary to trouble your honourable Court with any detailed observations,” simply refer you to the accompanying minutes of Mr. Adam, Mr. Fendall, and Mr. Harrington.

Mr. Adam, in his minute states, that the accounts had been received; that he had examined them with all the attention which the time he had been able to devote to them would allow, but that *they were too voluminous, various, and intricate, to enable him to attempt to judge correctly of all the details which they embraced; that an examination in detail was at all events not immediately necessary, nor need they, as it appears to him, delay coming to a conclusion on the main questions arising out of these accounts.*

The reader of this passage is certainly little prepared to expect the following sweeping decision, so confidently pronounced on the very next day, and by the order of the same individual, to Sir C. Metcalfe:

“The examination of these accounts has substantiated in the clearest manner, the justness of your conclusions regarding the fictitious nature of the loan, and has enabled the Governor-General in Council to decide on those points which were reserved until such examination should take place.

“It being now determined to disallow the bonus with its accumulated interest, and the payments or rather charges on account of pensions and salaries to the Palmer family, you will intimate to the house and the Minister, that those

two items cannot be recognized as forming a part of the debt which we have undertaken to discharge, and that the British Government will not interest itself in any manner for the liquidation of those demands, nor can any payments be allowed, in future, on account of them.

"The only remaining point to be noticed, is the procedure to be held towards the house, *whose flagrant misconduct has now been so fully proved*. Conformably to the course prescribed in the Governor-General's minute, you will be pleased, *except in the single case there supposed*, formally to announce to Messrs. W. Palmer and Co. in writing, *that they are no longer to consider themselves under the protection of the British Government, or entitled to its countenance in the remotest degree*. You will, at the same time, *make a written communication to the Minister, apprising him that Messrs. W. Palmer and Co. have, by the general course of their conduct, and more especially in the fraudulent transactions of the sixty lac loan, forfeited every claim to the favour and support of the British Government, which has accordingly withdrawn from all interest in their concerns, and that they are no longer in any degree under its protection*.

"Sir W. Rumbold having embarked for England, no steps can be taken with respect to him, to mark the displeasure of Government at his conduct; and he must be left to meet the award which will be pronounced by the authorities at home. Mr. Lamb must be peremptorily required to quit Hyderabad, and proceed to Europe. The Governor-General in Council will not, however, object to his being allowed a reasonable term for the adjustment of his affairs.

"With respect to Messrs. W. and H. Palmer, the same course cannot be pursued; but though not liable to transmission, the Governor-General in Council will be prepared to insist on their expulsion from the dominions of his Highness the Nizam, should it ever appear that they attempt to renew their usurious dealings with the Minister or other officers of the Government, or engage afresh in intrigues against the British representative, or in otherwise counteracting the just and salutary measures of this Government, for the improvement of the Nizam's country, and the correction of those abuses in the administration of public affairs, which have been the fertile source of their ill-gotten gains."

Well might Mr. Adam say, "I am not aware that any practical object would be attained by more minute investigation," and, "an examination in detail is at all events not immediately necessary." What more could any inquiry, or any measure, have effected to ruin the house, than was accomplished with fatal certainty by the foregoing despatch?

Can any Englishman read such a letter as this, and not feel his veins swell with indignation? For ourselves we find it impossible to speak of such a transaction in measured terms. If Mr. Adam had been Omnipotence himself, dealing out destruction to mortals, he could not have assumed a higher tone of insolent, of arrogant—we had almost said, of blasphemous despotism: for if acts of injustice be offensive in the eyes of God, a grosser act of cruelty and injustice combined, never came before his offended vision. "Protection"—"displeasure"—"banishment"—"expulsion," are terms that dance before the eyes of the astonished reader, and betray the complexion of the writer's mind.—The unhappy man's brain must be disordered. Jove himself never wore divinity with such frowns and terrors as this poor besotted mortal would ape its proud prerogatives. Let the earth open its yawning jaws; let the ocean provide a retreat; let the heavens fall and cover mankind from the dread wrath of Mr. Adam's "displeasure." Alas! alas! for poor humanity, if it is come to this. When this Demigod shall touch, on his relanding, the soil that gave him birth, will not the earth tremble with awe beneath his mighty tread?

After a powerful and feeling recapitulation of the leading features of the decision of a day, on accounts extending over more than a hundred folio pages, embracing transactions for the space of twelve years, and to the amount of many millions of money, and involving the fortunes of

hundreds of Mr. Adam's own fellow-servants of the Company, Sir William remarks:—

On this blind and hasty decision, Messrs. W. Palmer and Co. are barred of their claims on the Nizam's Government, to the amount of upwards of 20 lacs of rupees; the Minister, even if he should voluntarily express his intention of paying them, is prohibited at his peril from doing so,—the transactions of the house are branded with the most opprobrious terms,—an old servant of the Nizam's is stripped of the allowances which his services had earned; the house of W. Palmer and Co. are made responsible for those payments which he had received on account of these allowances, by the Minister's orders for many years preceding; one of the partners is hurried away from India, without being allowed time to settle his affairs; the others, who are protected only by their birth as natives of the country, from a similar fate, are told that they must no longer consider themselves under the protection of the British Government, or entitled to its countenance in any respect; and a similar intimation is publicly given to the Minister, in terms of undisguised menace, for the avowed purpose of intimidation. The inevitable effect of these proceedings, was to deter the native debtors, generally, from satisfying the just demands of Messrs. W. Palmer and Co., who, as they truly stated to Sir C. Metcalfe on the occasion, were thus "placed in the situation of outlaws, subject to every manner of injury, fraud, and imposition, in their dealings, without the right of appeal to any known tribunal."

What follows, can hardly require to be detailed. The House became bankrupt. The Minister was "warned" (a phrase, which, from an Indian Secretary, is meant to imply something as awful as the last trump of judgment,) of the consequences of paying his just debts to Palmer and Co.; in opposition to the declared opinion of the *British* Government; meaning thereby, the servants of a trading Company of tea-dealers, who have usurped a sovereignty never intended to be granted them, and only now maintained under "false pretences," by a "fictitious" charter to trade, which they abandon for political influence and territorial revenue. These "senior merchants," who had risen from "factors" and "writers," to be called "Honourable Sirs," understand their business so well, that they encourage a native Minister to defraud a rival establishment; they place a premium on swindling, nay, they threaten, with pains and penalties, the man who shall dare be honest, and discharge his just debts to this hated establishment of interlopers. This is Indian justice!

The letter concludes in terms humble enough for any suitor,—but far too respectful to the body who sits silently countenancing—nay, openly approving, such atrocities as these. Never, perhaps, was a stronger case of unmerited injuries heaped on deserving men than this: the annals of the world might be challenged to produce so much of folly and wickedness combined. Yet, is justice and reparation asked?—The parties who might give it with a mere word, without a single effort more, without its affecting their purses, their patronage, their power, or any other of those things which they guard and worship,—refuse almost to hear; and obstinately resist all attempts to obtain a restoration of the property of which these injured individuals have been stripped and plundered!

Let this picture of Indian despotism be closely studied; and when the day arrives for that struggle which we trust will terminate their political existence, let it be well remembered, that the people of England may know what is meant when a legal advocate of the Company gets up in the India House, and with the unblushing front of one grown grey in iniquity, exclaims, "India ever has been, now is, and as long as we govern it, always must remain, an absolute despotism." May the hour speedily approach, in which it may be torn for ever from their venomous and deadly grasp!

MR. BUCKINGHAM'S REPLY TO DR. BRYCE.

[In the last Number of the *Asiatic Journal*, was contained a letter of Dr. Bryce, full of falsehoods and calumnies on Mr. Buckingham. The latter, desirous of having his Defence against these calumnies printed in the same Journal, sent a copy of the following letter to its Editor, on the 15th of the month, to secure its insertion. It has been rejected, and returned, under the pretence of its being *too long* to obtain admission into his pages. Let this simple fact explain the character of the work in question, which does not hesitate to admit falsehoods and calumnies against an individual, and when that individual attempts to defend himself, refuses him a hearing!]

To the Editor of the Asiatic Journal.

SIR,—In the last Number of your Journal, you have inserted a letter entitled 'Dr. Bryce's Reply to Mr. Buckingham;' and as the editorial note affixed to it appears to indicate that a regard to impartial justice alone actuated you in giving it publicity, I can anticipate no objection to your affording as ready an insertion to a letter entitled, 'Mr. Buckingham's Reply to Dr. Bryce.'—Your readers will thus have the statement of both parties before them, and can then draw their own conclusions.

The circumstances which led to my removal from India have been so fully detailed in the various debates reported in the pages of your own publication, that it must be quite unnecessary to recapitulate them at this period of time. In offering the few remarks that I feel it necessary to make on Dr. Bryce's letter to you, my task will therefore be confined to pointing out and correcting the mis-statements contained in almost every part of it:—and even in doing this, I shall be as brief as the nature of the allegations and their disproof will admit.

1.—Dr. Bryce asserts, that he "retired from the editorship of the *Mirror* (newspaper) at the very time that his great rival set-a-going the *Calcutta Journal*." This is afterwards qualified by admissions which extend this very time to two or three months after. He adds also, that during this period, Mr. Buckingham had been scarcely ever noticed in the *Mirror*, and in no instance treated with abuse. This assertion is contrary to truth; for scarcely had the Journal been "set-a-going," to use the reverend penman's own elegant phraseology, before a violent article appeared in the *Mirror*, against the personal and private character of the Editor of the Journal, condemning his having been present at what was considered "a profane party," where some young ladies meeting accidentally at the house of a lady of fashion at Chowringhee on a Sunday, talked of some new quadrilles just imported from England, and walked through the figure without music, to let the lady of the house decide, whether it should be introduced at a masked-ball intended to be given by her in the ensuing week. This was magnified into an enormous crime; but the files of the *Mirror* not being within my reach, I cannot quote the exact words. In the fifth Number of the *Calcutta Journal*, however, only a fortnight after its establishment, is contained a long article defending its Editor from this personal attack of the Reverend Doctor, in which he is called the "whiskered moralizer," a phrase that long remained in use, though justified only by his own previous personality; and in which he is also reminded, that "walking through a quadrille" on a Sunday was at least as innocent as superintending a Newspaper press, which was kept at work on this holy day,—this being his own frequent occupation.

2. Dr. Bryce insinuates, that the *Mirror* was *not* an enemy to free trade during his editorship. In the sixth Number of the *Calcutta Jour-*

nal, three weeks only after its commencement, is a letter commenting with just severity on an article in the *Mirror*, where the Reverend Doctor remarking on Mr. H. T. Colebrooke's excellent work, respecting the import of Colonial corn, says, that "the Free Traders to India had deceived themselves:" and adds, that those would be truly "fortunate individuals," who might have "wisdom enough to retire at the proper moment" from so unpromising an enterprize.

3. Dr. Bryce says, that "before he left India in the beginning of 1819, Mr. Buckingham was *scarcely known* as the Editor of a paper;" and only four lines beyond this very expression, he adds, "I remember well, however, that Mr. Buckingham had made himself *notorious* by a libellous attack on the Chief Justice of Bengal." These are fair specimens of Dr. Bryce's consistency:—with him the words "at the very time" and "two or three months after," have the same meaning: and the phrases "*scarcely known*" and "*notorious*" are perfectly synonymous! It should be added, that what the mild and accurate preacher here calls a "libellous" attack was never proceeded against, nor so considered by a court of law. It was *not* libellous, but just and true; and this alone prevented its being made the subject of legal proceedings. Dr. Bryce has, therefore, no more ground for calling it libellous, than for saying it was written in characters of blood. The expression is altogether unwarrantable.

4. Dr. Bryce asserts, that when the letter of 'An Englishman' appeared in India, defending the learned Judge from the alleged libel, it was attributed to him, when he instantly made a public denial of his being the author. Such was his unwillingness to be considered the writer of any thing which did not really proceed from his pen, that although the object of this letter was to defend the innocent from aspersions, a duty which no clergyman need be ashamed to have attributed to him,—that he instantly disavowed any participation in the task.—What was the course pursued by him on a subsequent occasion? Certain letters appeared in the Indian *John Bull*, under the signature of "A Friend to Mr. Bankes," which contained a tissue of libels, pronounced in open court, to be false, scandalous, and malicious, and declared by the Judge to be so atrocious as not to be thought of without horror. These letters were universally believed, and publicly asserted, to be the production of Dr. Bryce's pen; he was challenged over and over again, in print, to deny his being the author of them; yet though the imputation lessened his partizans, contracted the circle of his private friends, and diminished his congregation from a very large to an almost insignificant number, he remained silent. Yes!—this holy teacher, so tenacious of being thought to be the author of a letter defending innocence, never once disavowed the imputed authorship of libels of the most horrid description: and though the belief of their being his, is still as strong as ever, he has not, up to this hour, no, not even in the letter addressed to you, where those libels are specifically mentioned, denied that they were written by himself. Let the reader mark these contrasted facts.

5. Dr. Bryce asserts, that when Mr. Buckingham came to this presidency (Calcutta) he assumed another character than that of an editor, calling himself "Agent du Commerce des Indes, *vis à vis* l'Europe." This is not true. On my arrival in Calcutta, I was known to all as the commander of a ship, and I assumed no other character whatever: but in the

25th Number of the Calcutta Journal, six months after my arrival in that city, and three months after the establishment of the paper, an article was inserted in it 'On the Trade between Egypt and India,' and in illustration of this was given a copy of an original document drawn up by the Secretary of the Viceroy of Egypt and the British Consul at Alexandria, and signed by Mohammed Ali Pacha, Mr. Peter Lee, and myself, as jointly contracting parties to a treaty, intended to facilitate the commerce between these two countries. The assertion of Dr. Bryce, that "Mr. Buckingham was in this case a self-constituted plenipotentiary," is false. I was solicited to take the part assigned to me in the conditions of that treaty, by the British Consul, Mr. Lee, himself; and if any thing had been subsequently discovered to be wrong in my share of this transaction, which seems to be insinuated in Dr. Bryce's note, Mr. Lee would no doubt before this (the treaty having been signed by us in 1815), have thrown the "light on it" which the reverend gentleman thinks it needs: there is nothing, however, in the whole affair which the document does not fully and satisfactorily explain for itself, and I therefore enclose you a copy of it, which, as it is of no great length, and of some interest in a public point of view, you may, perhaps, insert as a Note on this part of the text.¹

¹ *Convention entre Son Altesse Mohammed Ali Pacha, Vice Roi d'Egypte, d'une part, et Messieurs P. Lee et J. S. Buckingham, de l'autre.*

Le Pacha d'Egypte animé du désir d'établir amicalement des relations de Commerce avec les Indes Orientales, promet solennellement d'accorder et de maintenir les conditions suivantes. Et de l'autre côté, M. P. Lee, de la part de la Maison de Commerce de Briggs et Co. d'Alexandrie, et Mr J. S. Buckingham, Agent pour le Commerce des Indes via Suez, également animés des mêmes sentimens, promettent de s'y conformer.

I. Tout bâtiment marchand quelcon que, provenant des Indes, a l'adressé des Negocians intéressés dans le présent contract, pourra librement entrer dans le Port de Suez, et tout autre dans la Mer Rouge dependant du Vice Roi d'Egypte, et il lui sera accordé toute espèce d'assistance et de protection.

II. Le Pacha s'engage de prendre sous sa protection, aussitôt leur débarquement, les Marchandises arrivant à Suez, et de garantir la sécurité des Caravanes jusqu'au Caire. Les Consignataires au Caire seront tenus à payer neuf pour cent *ad valorem* pour Douane, droit d'Escorte, et Assurance des Effets, en consideration de la promesse solennelle de Son Altesse, que si la Caravane vient à être depouillée, ou qu'il s'en égare quelque colis, elle fera aux Consignataires indemnisation entiere de la Porte qu'ils auront éprouvées.

III. Si les Consignataires le jugeront de leur convenance d'exporter les Marchandise en question des Ports d'Alexandrie ou de Damiette, pour les Marchés de l'Europe ou de la Turquie, il est convenu qu'il n'en sera perçu aux dits Ports aucune Douane à la sortie. Et également il n'en sera point perçu à Suez, sur les Articles provenant de l'Europe et de la Turquie, qui aient une fois payées la Douane d'Entrée aux susdits Ports d'Alexandrie et de Damiette, constatés toujours par les Teskerets d'usage. Mais comme ces derniers devront jouir de la même protection du Caire jusqu'à Suez spécifiée dans l'Article II. il est convenu qu'ils seront sujets au (6) six pour cent de droit d'Escorte et d'Assurance.

IV. Son Altesse s'engage de fournir, avec le moindre delai possible, le nombre de chameaux necessaire pour le transport de Marchandises de Suez au Caire, et du Caire à Suez.—Et il est convenu que deux Collonnaires d'Espagne soient payés pour chaque charge de chameau, à titre de droit de chameaux, et pour les restant frais de transport, on doit se conformer au cours qui se reglera suivant les circonstances.

V. Son Altesse, pour donner aux relations de Commerces avec les Indes tout le degre de confiance qu'Elle desire, inspire à une Nation commercante, promet et s'engage que, s'il survenait malheureusement quelque rupture entre les deux Gouvernemens de la Sublime Porte et de l'Angleterre, à ne faire aucune tort ni avanée aux Negocians, qui pourront rester dans le pays en toute surété pendant un an complet; ils pourront dans cet espace de tems vendre leur Marchandises et

6. Dr. Bryce asserts, that while he himself "was in the field," as Editor of the *Mirror*, or two or three months after the establishment of the Journal, "scarcely a dozen people here (at Calcutta) knew Mr. Buckingham; and not one of that number took any interest in what befel him!"—This must have been known to the utterer himself to be untrue. With the very first Number of the *Calcutta Journal* was issued the Prospectus of the *Travels in Palestine*; in which the names of the Governor-General, the Bishop of Calcutta, the Surveyor-General of India, the Professor of Arabic at the College of Fort-William, and several others, were introduced with their knowledge and permission (for each of them had read the prospectus before it was printed) as patrons of the work in question. The List of Subscribers to these *Travels*, even then exhibited the names of nearly 100 persons of the first distinction in India, including all the members of the Supreme Council, Secretaries, and Heads of Offices in Calcutta. I was in habits of familiar intimacy with all the principal families of the place, including those of two of the King's Judges, and others of equal consideration. And moreover, Dr. Bryce must have known, for it was matter of universal notoriety, that the *Calcutta Journal* was itself established by the sum of 30,000 rupees advanced to me by thirty of my personal friends, who thought favourably of my capacity for the undertaking, including nearly all the principal merchants of the city, the whole of which sum was repaid with interest within a few months after the paper was, in his language, first "set-a-going." Let these facts, which are known to hundreds now in England, and to almost every one in India, be an answer to the false assertion, that "Mr. Buckingham was scarcely known to a dozen people in India, within two months after he became an Editor, and that not one of that number took any interest in what befel him."

7. Dr. Bryce says, "the records of the Supreme Court of Justice at this presidency prove that Mr. Buckingham had been *called to account* for more libels than one;" and that he was *warned* also by the Council Board not to infringe the regulations of the Press on pain of *transmission*. An honest man would have added that, though *called to account for alleged libels*, I was in each case honourably *acquitted*. A jury of my countrymen pronounced that writings charged as such were not libels; and this is as well known to Dr. Bryce as to any man living: he must therefore wilfully suppress all mention of this fact. I was *warned* also, it is true, not to infringe certain rules, which were, however, not made laws until after I was punished for an alleged infringement of them. No real breach even of these unlawful rules could however be proved against me, and I was accordingly banished for laughing at the appointment of the Reverend Doctor to be a deliverer out of parchment, wax, pounce, and leather, against which I never had been warned;

Effets, et recuperer de qui leur sera dû; et apres l'année echue, ils seront libres de se retirer avec leur familles et tout ce qui pourra leur appartenir, sans être troublés ni vexés en aucune manière. De même, si pendant cette époque il arriverait des Indes à Suez quelque bâtiment Anglois, il lui sera permis de venir quer son chargement, qui jouira de la même protection. Toutefois, qui au prochain sera observée, aux Indes envers les personnes et les biens, des sujets de Son Altesse. En foi de quoi, etc., nous affixons nos Sceaux et Signatures. (signed)

L. S. MOHAMMED ALI PACHA,

E. S. P. LEE, pour Briggs & Co.

L. S. J. S. Beckingham,

Alexandrie, 8 Decembre, 1815.

and which was not a breach even of the existing regulations; while the appointment was really so deserving censure that the Court of Directors no sooner heard of it, than they sent out orders for its immediate abolition. The impartial and conscientious Divine is silent on this tender point.

8. Dr. Bryce says, "The Journal had been lent to the purposes of a faction, and from them it derived its greatest support." This support came from a larger portion of the community than ever before supported any Indian paper. There was scarcely a town or station, at which a civil or military servant of the Company resided, to which it was not sent. It had nearly double the circulation of any other paper in India, not excepting even the Government Gazette. Its price was twice as much as that of any other, and it enjoyed the patronage of almost the whole of British India. If this be to be supported by a faction, I hold it to be no reproach. Let Dr. Bryce but be so supported, and he may recover in some degree the reputation that he has lost.

9. Dr. Bryce asserts, that from the time he returned to India in Sept. 1822, till Mr. Buckingham quitted it in March 1823, the latter "did go down hill very rapidly." It could hardly be a matter of wonder, when, during these four or five months, the John Bull paper, under the patronage of the Indian Government and its reverend instrument, teemed, from day to day, with libels so atrocious as to make the blood of many freeze with horror, that even the best friends of the individual who was represented by these libels as a perjured villain, a swindler, an impostor, and a thief, should pause as to whether their friendship could be safely and honourably continued, while such imputations remained unrefuted. I brought the secret slanderers to the test of a public trial; they were ashamed to avow themselves, and their accusations were defied to the proof. I was forcibly banished the country, however, before I could bring the prosecution to a close; but even after my banishment, so strong and invulnerable was my innocence of all the charges alleged against me, that even in my absence the atrocious libels of my enemies were pronounced false, as well as scandalous and malicious; and men who had withheld their countenance, supposing it impossible that so much crime could be imputed to any one without some ground of truth, stood in wonder at the wickedness of my persecutors, and were almost ashamed of their own scruples, though so much appeared to warrant them before this decision placed me above the reach of suspicion. If, as Dr. Bryce asserts, I did go down hill rapidly, from the moment of his return to that country up to the period of my banishment, the verdict passed against my slanderers restored me to my rank again, and placed me on even a higher pinnacle than before. Dr. Bryce, however, with the whole force of the Indian Government exerted to support him, while it was at the same time exerted to crush me; had not only descended in the scale of general estimation, but, having gone down rapidly, remained still at the bottom of the hill; and instead of a verdict of the law extricating him from his disgrace, it has plunged him truly deeper in the mire, by the public censure which the Judge passed on his conduct from the bench.

10. Dr. Bryce says, "The Quarterly Review noticed the Travels in Palestine in very severe terms, accusing the author of having acted dishonestly to Mr. William Bankes, the present Member for Oxford Uni-

versity,* whose *SERVANT*, it appears, Mr. Buckingham had been when travelling with him in the Holy Land ;” and charging him with appropriating to the gratification of his own travelling propensities certain monies advanced to him by Briggs and Co. for the commercial purposes of their house. It was for making these assertions in Calcutta that the libellers in the *John Bull* were brought to justice there ; when a verdict was given against them, and they were cast in damages for having asserted that which was scandalous and false. Dr. Bryce knows this, and yet he who commands others, in the language of his Divine Master, “ to forgive his brother seven times if he offend him,” here rakes up, for the fiftieth time at least, accusations that have been legally pronounced false and libellous, as well as disproved by written evidence as often as advanced. To let your readers see, however, how wilfully this mis-statement of my having been a *servant* of Mr. Bankes in Palestine must be put forth by him who makes it, it will be sufficient for me to give a short extract or two from the legally-authenticated letters of this very Mr. Bankes, addressed to me in Syria, which Dr. Bryce has seen and read often before now, and which are “ as familiar as household words ” to almost every man in India. They are these :

Acra, Feb. 28, 1816.

MY DEAR SIR,—There is some fatality about my travelling engagements. I never made one in my life but circumstances turned out so as to prevent my fulfilling it.... I did not, however, give up the idea of *joining you* at once, but made an attempt from Sanhoor.... I resolved to go to Beisan, and so *make my way to you*, if I could find any body to carry me.... As you have no *VISITS* or *CEREMONY* to make at Damascus.... I trust that, at the latest, we may meet in Aleppo, and so make our journey to Palmyra *together*.—Believe me, my dear Sir, most faithfully yours,

WM. JOHN BANKES.

Damascus, April 12.

MY DEAR SIR,—Since I knew nothing of your illness until now, when I hope it is quite at an end, I can only rejoice in your recovery.... By the bye, *from the description in your notes of the fortress of Adjeloon*, I am *almost persuaded* that that also is a Saracen work.... though I know you are of a different opinion ; and *I will not venture to set mine against it*.... I have been very careful and exact in my drawings, which are in great number ; and *I do not think you will be ASHAMED of having your name associated to what I may one day or another throw together into form*.—Faithfully yours,

WM. JOHN BANKES.

After these short extracts, it will be sufficient, perhaps, to ask the reader, whether he conceives this to be the style in which an English gentleman would address his *servant* ? or whether it does not prove that the writer considered (whether justly or not is unimportant) the person to whom he was addressing himself, his *equal* in rank and consideration, if not his *superior* in judgment and understanding ? Dr. Bryce knew these facts, and had read these very letters ; and yet, with an audacity that is almost without parallel, asserts that I was Mr. Bankes's *SERVANT* ! It is difficult to find a name for conduct like this.

The imputed misappropriation of money belonging to the house of Briggs and Co., to the gratification of my own travelling propensities, (would that every man's propensities were as useful or as innocent !) is equally false. I received from that house an unlimited letter of credit

* A person who calls himself a “ Friend of Mr. Bankes ” might have known that it was Cambridge which had the honour of being represented by him.

to draw on Aleppo for any amount I needed, to pay the expenses of a journey from Egypt through Syria and Mesopotamia to India. The journey, from various obstacles detailed in the *Travels in Palestine*, occupied nearly twelve months; and the whole amount drawn for the expenditure of the entire year was less than 400*l.* sterling. Not one shilling of it was appropriated to any other purpose than that for which it was granted; and not one man out of a hundred would have borne the expenses of such a journey out of so small a sum.

11. Dr. Bryce asserts, that "Captain Boog accused Mr. Buckingham of falsifying letters that passed between himself and Mr. Burckhardt; and produced his proofs." This is as false as all that has been said before. Captain Boog produced no proof whatever, either of this or any other charge. He made some strange blunders about the bearings of a town in Persia from Shiraz, supposing it to have been on the east instead of the west; and he mistook a brass binnacle compass for a pocket one; — errors which a reverend divine might be pardoned for making, but which in a sailor were inexcusable. In short, there was nothing in his accusation of the least importance that was not refuted as soon as it appeared; and at the close of the controversy he no doubt repented his ever having had the weakness to lend himself to the purposes of a knot of libellers, who were so signally defeated; though never once molested by the Government, but rather encouraged in their slanderous career.

12. Dr. Bryce asserts, that from this period "Mr. Buckingham's society was any thing but courted; and that the Marquis of Hastings himself set the example, by giving orders that he should no longer be included in the invitations to the Government-House." If it be true that my society was not courted during the period in which every day's Number of the '*John Bull*' contained the most atrocious imputations on my character, and before these imputations were proved in Court to be as false as they were scandalous and malicious, it could hardly be a matter of wonder, as has been admitted before: but the period of my triumph came at last, and established my innocence beyond the reach of cavil. It is not true, however, to say that the Marquis of Hastings at all participated in this personal persecution. The writers in the '*John Bull*' did endeavour to prevail on the Governor-General, on the Stewards of the Public Assemblies, and on the Officers of the Company's Artillery, to erase my name from their usual lists of invitations; but this attempt to revive the reign of terror and proscription did not succeed. The Marquis of Hastings was too high-minded a man to yield to so base a suggestion. The Stewards of the Assemblies resolved not to lend themselves to such a measure, and were indignant at its very mention; while the Officers of the Artillery voted that the '*John Bull*' should be excluded from their Mess-room and Library, for having dared to offer so insulting a dictation. In point of fact, the parties making these assertions in India were dared to the proof, and remained silent. Dr. Bryce knew well that these attempts at proscription drew only shame and confusion on the heads of those who made them; and that the Marquis of Hastings, more especially, never lent himself to their execution, as described.

13. It has been before observed, that Dr. Bryce was publicly accused in India of being the author of the series of letters signed 'A Friend to Mr. Bankes'; he was then challenged to deny it, he never did do so; and even now, in his letter to you, he does not dare so far to commit him-

self, but makes a merit of the evasion by saying, "Junius himself, however, did not escape with more adroitness from every attempt to identify him than did the Friend of Banks." Is it possible, I would ask, after the judgment pronounced in open Court on the libels contained in these letters, characterising them as being too atrocious to be even thought of without horror—is it possible, I repeat, that Dr. Bryce could sit down in silence under the universal imputation of being their author, and not deny it if he dared? If he *did* write them, he is a false, scandalous, and malicious libeller. If he did *not* write them, he can have no regard for his reputation, in suffering them to be thus attributed to him, without an attempt to disavow their being his. Let him take his choice of either horn of the dilemma.

14. Dr. Bryce says "Never was such a mass of testimony inimical to Mr. Buckingham, and subversive of his defence against the Quarterly Review, dragged out and arranged in due order, as that which Mr. Buckingham's Syrian and Egyptian friends were made to produce against him." The falsehood of these accusations becomes more aggravated as the envenomed pen of the author approaches the end of its task. Not a *tittle* of any such evidence as is here described was ever once produced. The libellers asserting all these things were invited to produce their proofs to the world: they boasted that they had them, and would exhibit them at the proper time. They were called into Court. When the day of trial came, they confessed that they had *no* proofs, and prayed that their trial might be put off, to allow them to send to Syria and Egypt to collect the evidence they wished. The Judge granted them a short period, but not sufficient for this purpose. The day of trial came again. They again admitted that they had *no* proofs. They did not even attempt to produce any, and what was the consequence? They were convicted of publishing false, scandalous, and malicious libels, without a *tittle* of evidence to support them, (for a civil action was chosen by me, to give them the fullest opportunity of producing whatever proofs they could obtain,) and a verdict of damages was given against them accordingly. Where then, was the "mass of testimony" of which the Reverend Divine speaks? Alas! it had no existence whatever, and no one better knows the non-existence of such evidence than himself.

15. Dr. Bryce insinuates that Colonel Missett, Mr. Thurburn, Lady Hester Stanhope, Mr. Erskine, and Mr. Wedderburn, of Bombay, were among the number of those whose friendship I had lost, or whose testimony had been instrumental to the production of this pretended mass of evidence. How men can contribute to that which had no existence, it would require some casuistry to explain. But not from one of the parties named have I received the least indication of less friendly sentiments towards me; and even from more than one I have but recently received letters full of the most friendly assurances.

16. Dr. Bryce does not, because he cannot, deny that the office of Clerk to the Committee of Stationery was given to him because of the share he had taken, not in "demolishing the freedom of the press," but calumniating the private character of its most zealous advocate. I and hundreds besides, did believe it, and do believe it still; but it is not true, as Dr. Bryce asserts, that "the reward (namely, his appointment) preceded the act for which it was said to be a remuneration." The act, or series of acts, was that of calumniating *private* character, for the avowed purpose of de-

stroying, if possible, the respect and consideration enjoyed by the person bearing that high private character, in his *public* advocacy of the value of a free press; and although these calumnies were met in a Court of Law, and proved to be without foundation, yet the end arrived at by them was answered, by the banishment of the calumniated individual, by the total destruction of his property, and, what was of infinitely more importance still, by the entire suppression of all freedom of discussion throughout the whole of British India. Lest any of your readers should doubt whether it be possible for any thing so atrocious to exist, as an avowed determination to undermine and destroy an honourable *private reputation*, for the sake of weakening the influence of the public principles advocated by the person to be calumniated, I subjoin the passage from the last of the series of letters signed 'A Friend to Bankes,' in which this is distinctly professed. The writer says:—

The phenomenon of a Journalist venting his sentiments without the aid of a Censor is but new in India; and it was manifest that, in this country, such a man might prove the instrument of incalculable evil. In looking around me, I beheld the evils that might be feared actually occurring. I saw them insinuating themselves into the very stronghold of our power, and possibly paving the way for an event which the enemies of this power have hitherto attempted in vain. Entertaining these views, the *Conductor* of such a Press became in *my eyes* a PUBLIC ENEMY; and resting his power, *as he did*, as well in his CHARACTER as his PRINCIPLES, his *reputation* became a *fair* and a *legitimate* object of *attack*, and its OVERTHROW a subject of *honest triumph* to every lover of his country!

I shall not weaken the force of these hitherto unheard-of doctrines, by offering a word of comment on their atrocious and unholy tendency.

17. It is said that libels appeared in the Calcutta Journal, *after* I resigned the editorship of that Paper. With these I had no participation whatever. If there were such libels, the writers of them deserved to be punished *by law*,—a privilege which was denied to me: for *I* was punished, not merely without trial, but without having committed any offence, cognizable as such by any law whatever. If the Judge, however, who pronounced a verdict against these libellers, declared that Dr. Bryce was entitled to *less* damages than any other clergyman would have been, (which fact is communicated in the Rev. Gentleman's own letter to you,) and if the reason assigned for this was, that Dr. Bryce notoriously mixed himself, not only in unclerical pursuits, but in the constant agitation and disturbance of the peace of society, by his controversies and his quarrels,—I can only say I admire the justice of the decision. In my own case, however, the Judge declared, that had it not been for my express declaration that I came into Court for the sake of maintaining my reputation, rather than for money, he would have awarded me larger damages than were even asked. Dr. Bryce, in his suit against the Journal, after I had left India, laid his damages at 100,000 rupees, and obtained a verdict for 2,000, accompanied with a public censure on his conduct, as a clergyman and a citizen. I laid my damages at nothing, in comparison with a verdict that should maintain my reputation unsullied. I obtained the full extent of my wishes, and my character was untouched. The contrast between our fates is remarkable.

18. Dr. Bryce says, "Mr. Buckingham invited the Indian public to judge between him and Mr. Bankes." I did so, and the verdict of that public was most decidedly in my favour. A knot of secret and concealed

libellers started up, however, to repeat the old and add new accusations: they were invited to avow themselves, and to prove their assertions;—they would neither do the one nor the other. They were brought into Court, through their publisher, and convicted. This proceeding the Rev. Doctor thinks sufficiently illustrative of my view of free discussion and liberty of the press; and insinuates that a love of this freedom, and recourse to legal proceedings, are extremely inconsistent. But my regard for this liberty never extended to the exclusion of all law. My constant cry has been, "Let us have a press, free from previous censorship, free from arbitrary restrictions, and subject, subsequently to publication, to the law alone; let the law reign triumphant, and let arbitrary discretion be put down." The inconsistency lies in this: in a Government telling men that "they are free to publish any thing that is useful or instructive, without restraint;" and then when an editor deems it "useful" to censure an abuse, and "instructive" to point out a remedy, to have him banished and ruined, for doing no more than he was invited to do by those who crush him. This is inconsistent, as well as cruel and tyrannical. But to appeal to the law for redress of wrongs so flagrant as the libels in question were, is an act of which no man need be ashamed. It would suit the Reverend Doctor's taste much better, no doubt, to be allowed to utter calumnies without the necessity of proving their truth; but my appeal to law was not for vengeance, but to show that my slanderers were without a shadow of evidence to maintain their points,—and I succeeded.

19. The concluding note of Dr. Bryce's letter, which is placed as a postscript, as if to attract more attention, states, "that though Captain Boog's charges against Mr. Buckingham were published with his name and address, yet that he did not prosecute Captain Boog." If this means any thing, it must mean that I was afraid and dared not do it. It is curious to observe the inconsistencies of desperate men. In the same breath, Dr. Bryce insinuates that it was inconsistent in a friend of free discussion to prosecute *at all*, let the calumnies heaped on him be ever so false; atrocious; but that it was still more unpardonable for the very same individual not to prosecute Captain Boog! The truth is, there was nothing in all that this gentleman had said which was of sufficient importance to be so dealt with. It is singular enough, however, that Captain Boog's principal charge against me, and since reiterated by Doctor Bryce, was this: that *after* I had received great personal kindness from Mr. Burckhardt, though a grievous injury had since been inflicted on me by him, I was guilty of ingratitude in endeavouring to repel that injury and defend myself from its effects; because, at a period *anterior* to this, I had received kindness and assistance at his hands. This was called (though it never could have been seriously thought) an unpardonable crime. Now, at the hands of Captain Boog I had, at an early period, received greater kindness still. I considered him to have been mainly instrumental in saving my life when he received me on board his ship in almost a dying state, from a severe fever, at Jedda. But to speak the truth of Mr. Burckhardt, after having once been kindly treated by him, was called "*treachery and ingratitude*;" and yet, *not* to prosecute a man to whom I probably owed the preservation of my life, and who in a moment of weakness had been seduced, by Dr. Bryce and others, to lend himself to the unworthy purposes which were then the true passports to favour from men in authority,

is accounted a proof of guilt, or at least a strong indication of crime. Such are the caprices or the shifts of men who have a bad cause to defend. Moreover, had I prosecuted Captain Boog as a principal, it would no doubt have been said, "Yes, Mr. Buckingham is wise enough to include Captain Boog in the prosecution, and thus, by rendering it impossible for him to be called as a witness, to shut the mouth of the only individual who can speak personally as to these transactions, and whose evidence, if we could obtain it, would completely establish our case." Captain Boog was left free to give his testimony whenever he chose; and the libellers of the John Bull might have brought him into Court as a witness on their own behalf, if he had any evidence to produce which could have in the slightest degree injured me. He was in Calcutta at the time the legal proceedings commenced, and until long after; and the parties prosecuted obtained from him no evidence, either written or verbal, to produce. What, then, is the necessary inference?—That he knew of nothing whatever worth being used as evidence in Court; otherwise, no doubt, my enemies would have subpoenaed him on the trial.

I trust I have said quite enough, Sir, to show to you and your readers, that there is not a single point of any importance in Dr. Bryce's letter, which is not founded in misrepresentation and untruth; but as he has chosen to throw down the gauntlet, I could hardly be expected to shrink from taking it up. I have always been ready to meet my antagonists whenever and wherever they chose to summon me, when the points in contention were of sufficient importance to deserve a reply. Those contained in Dr. Bryce's letter to you are certainly of this description; and I rely on your impartiality and justice as a public character, after having admitted his accusations into your pages, not to refuse the same privilege to my defence. I am, Sir, your obedient Servant,

Feb. 14, 1825.

J. S. BUCKINGHAM.

P. S. To show the exact degree of estimation in which Dr. Bryce was held by the leading members of society at Calcutta, about the period spoken of in the preceding letter, or a few weeks only before the commencement of the Calcutta Journal, the first Number of which appeared on the 1st of October, 1818, it will be sufficient to introduce here a copy of a Paper, printed and published in Calcutta, and bearing the signatures of six known and respectable individuals, whose names and rank in society are well known to all acquainted with India. It is as follows:—

Calcutta, 12th August 1818.

The undersigned gentlemen find themselves called upon, in a second publication from Dr. Bryce, to state separately and distinctly the particular assertions referred to in their declaration of the 5th inst., to which the denial of each of them individually is intended to apply. This call they now answer:

In the first place, Dr. Bryce has asserted that Mr. Fullarton "had taken the precaution to bring his friends on the committee to vote for" his "Address;" and again, that Mr. Fullarton had "secured a majority" in the committee. These assertions stand in Dr. Bryce's original publication perfectly unqualified; they are not stated to rest on any particular inferences drawn from this or that particular fact; they are broad and express. Mr. Fullarton, for himself, pronounces them, and Mr. Fendall, Mr. Palmer, Mr. Pattie, Mr. Luskins, and Captain Lockett, in as far as concerns them respectively, or as accords with their knowledge, pronounce them, to be wholly unfounded and untrue. Mr. Fullarton denies, that he either duly or unduly, directly or indirectly, influenced

the nomination of any of the members of that committee, or that any other person did so on his behalf, with his knowledge or concurrence. He denies, that he knew the name of any one gentleman whom it was intended to propose for the committee, until he heard the list read from the chair. He denies, in fine, that any act or word has ever been done or uttered by him, which could give even a colour for Dr. Bryce's charge. With respect to Mr. Palmer in particular, Mr. Fullarton solemnly declares, that he had not seen or conversed with him for a month previous to the meeting, nor had held any communication whatever with him on the subject of the address until he met Mr. Palmer as a member of the committee in the committee-room. Such being the case, Mr. Fullarton feels himself entitled to say, that the whole account of his conduct in the committee, which Dr. Bryce has built on the assumption that Mr. Fullarton "had secured a majority" in that committee, is a gross misrepresentation.

Dr. Bryce has stated, that he received a visit from Mr. Pattle, who told him that he had just come "from seeing Mr. Palmer on the subject of getting an address prepared against the arrival of Lord Hastings, and that he and that gentleman were of opinion that" he (Dr. Bryce) "could prepare an appropriate one." And then, with reference to the proceedings in the committee, Dr. Bryce observes: "I expected it (Dr. Bryce's address) to be supported by Mr. Palmer, from whom Mr. Pattle said he had come." Mr. Palmer for himself, denies that he ever gave it as his "opinion" to Mr. Pattle, that Dr. Bryce "could prepare an appropriate address," or that he ever expressed himself in such terms, either to Mr. Pattle, or to any other person, as could justify the inference that he (Mr. Palmer) wished Dr. Bryce to write an address, or would support any address that Dr. Bryce might write. He denies that he sent Mr. Pattle to Dr. Bryce, or knew of Mr. Pattle's intention to visit Dr. Bryce, or knew that Mr. Pattle had visited Dr. Bryce, until he read Dr. Bryce's publication. Mr. Pattle for himself, denies that he ever stated to Dr. Bryce, that Mr. Palmer was "of opinion that he (Dr. Bryce) could prepare an appropriate address."

Dr. Bryce, with reference again to the proceedings in the committee, has asserted, that "he heard Mr. Palmer declare openly that Mr. Fullarton had brought him to the committee, to support his address." Had Mr. Palmer said so, he would have spoken a falsehood, for no other assigned or apparent purpose, than that of degrading himself. Mr. Palmer distinctly and solemnly denies having openly (or covertly) uttered the words here imputed to him, and he is wholly unconscious of having spoken any words to which such a construction could be given. Mr. Fendall, Mr. Pattle, Mr. Larkins, Captain Lockett and Mr. Fullarton severally aver, that they did not hear Mr. Palmer utter any such declaration.

Dr. Bryce has affirmed, that in the course of the conversation which passed between Mr. Pattle and himself at his (Dr. Bryce's) house, Mr. Pattle observed, "Dr. Jameson has been heard to say, that no one, except Fullarton, can write addresses, and we wish to show him the contrary." Mr. Pattle distinctly denies having so expressed himself. Mr. Pattle admits, that he did pay a visit to Dr. Bryce, and that in the course of conversation he did mention to Dr. Bryce, that he had been with Mr. Palmer on the subject of getting an address prepared against the arrival of the Marquis of Hastings, and that it was his (Mr. Pattle's) opinion, that Dr. Bryce could write an appropriate address. The draft of the address prepared by Dr. Bryce, was afterwards, with Dr. Bryce's permission, transmitted to Mr. Pattle for perusal by a mutual friend, and was returned by Mr. Pattle to that friend, with an observation from Mr. Pattle in writing, "that it would never do." If this observation was communicated to Dr. Bryce *previous to the public meeting at the Town Hall*, (and Mr. Pattle has been informed and believes that it was,) Dr. Bryce could have no pretence for saying, that, "he expected to find" his "Address supported" in the committee "by Mr. Pattle." If it was not communicated to Dr. Bryce previous to the public meeting, Mr. Pattle has the authority of the gentleman who made the communication for expressly asserting, that it was communicated and known to Dr. Bryce *previous to the publication of his letter to Mr. Fendall*; yet the circumstance is left wholly unnoticed in the account which Dr. Bryce has there given of Mr. Pattle's conduct. In either case, therefore, Mr. Pattle has to complain of gross misrepresentation on the part of Dr. Bryce.

Dr. Bryce has addressed Mr. Fendall in these words: "I will appeal to you, Sir, whether you did not say on the morning of the meeting, that my address was the more appropriate of the two. I will appeal to Mr. Larkins, whether he

did not think, and call the *rival* Address tame; and not equal to the one I had drawn up." If any doubt could exist as to these appeals being meant to convey the full force of the most positive assertions, that doubt has been removed by Dr. Bryce himself, who immediately proceeds to assume that such *were* the "*opinions*," entertained by Mr. Fendall and Mr. Larkins on the morning of the meeting,—begs Mr. Fendall to remember, that, at the time when Dr. MacWhirter moved in the committee, that his (Dr. Bryce's) Address should be adopted, he did not know that they had *changed their opinions*,—asks Mr. Fendall, "what he (Dr. Bryce) could think" when Mr. Fendall took him aside at the meeting, and showed him a correction which his Address had received, "but that he (Mr. Fendall) *still* entertained the *same opinion* of it," and then adds, "*I solemnly declare*, that when the motion was made by my friend MacWhirter, that it should be adopted, I did expect to find Mr. Larkins and you supporting it." Mr. Fendall, for himself, distinctly denies that he ever gave it as his opinion, "that Dr. Bryce's Address was the more appropriate of the two," or that he expressed, or could have expressed, on the morning of the meeting, any opinion whatever with respect to the comparative merits of the two Addresses, in as much as he had never seen Mr. Fullarton's Address, until it was produced and read in the committee. Mr. Fendall was asked to bring forward Dr. Bryce's Address, and he did bring it forward; Mr. Fendall had given no pledge, positive or implied, either to Dr. Bryce or to any other person, that he would support Dr. Bryce's, or any other particular Address. Mr. Larkins for himself expressly denies, that he ever thought or said, that "the rival Address" was "not equal to the one," Dr. Bryce "had drawn up," or that he did or could have pronounced any "opinion" whatever with respect to the comparative merits of the two Addresses previous to their being produced in the committee, in as much as till then he had never read nor was in the least acquainted with the contents of Dr. Bryce's Address.

In another part of his publication, Dr. Bryce, again addressing Mr. Fendall, asserts, "I saw you, the Chairman, taken from your place in order, I apprehend, that conviction might be carried to your mind, that Mr. Fullarton's address was, after all, the most appropriate." Mr. Fendall declares to the best of his recollection and belief, that he was *not* "taken from his place" at any time during the sitting of the committee, and in this belief he is confirmed by the testimony of Mr. Salmon, Member of the Board of Revenue, who sat next to him. Mr. Fendall peremptorily denies having been "taken from his place" for the purpose presumed by Dr. Bryce. Mr. Fendall gave no vote whatever in the committee.

Respecting Captain Lockett, Dr. Bryce has observed, "I saw Captain Lockett, of the College, busily employed during the sitting of the committee in private conversation with more than one of its members, and *obviously* on the merits of the Addresses before us." Again, "That Captain Lockett's *private* conversations were on the subject of the Addresses, I can have no doubt, as among others he endeavoured to persuade my friend Dr. MacWhirter, that the Address first read was too long and prolix. I mean not to dispute Captain Lockett's right to object on this or any other ground to this or any of the Addresses on the table: but I could wish he had done it *openly*. I can scarcely think his attempt to shake the opinion of my friend, by privately dilating to him on the faults of the Address written by me, was very handsome; and it is certainly not what I should have expected from Captain Lockett." This account of Captain Lockett's conduct in the committee, taken in connection with the other parts of Dr. Bryce's statement, is obviously calculated to convey the impression, that Captain Lockett was one of those "friends" whom Mr. Fullarton is accused of having brought "on the committee to vote for his Address." That such was the impression intended by Dr. Bryce to be conveyed, has since been placed beyond all question, by a passage in Dr. Bryce's supplementary publication, where, among other reasons assigned by him for asserting that Mr. Fullarton had taken the precaution of bringing his friends on the committee, he expressly states: "I said so because I saw on this committee Mr. Jameson, (Secretary to the Medical Board,) and Captain Lockett, the particular friends of Mr. Fullarton, and his reported coadjutors in address-making." Captain Lockett felt himself called upon publicly to contradict an assumption, which had the effect of exhibiting him to the world, as engaged in a disgraceful cabal, to support a particular Address, without any reference whatever to its merits or to the merits of any

other Address which might be submitted to the committee. Captain Lockett therefore has concurred in pronouncing Dr. Bryce's charge, in as far as concerns him or accords with his knowledge, to be wholly unfounded and untrue. With respect to the particular circumstances of Captain Lockett's conduct in the committee, on which Dr. Bryce has thought fit to animadvert,—Captain Lockett denies it to be true, that during the sitting of the committee, he was “*busily employed in private conversation with more than one of its members, on the merits of the Addresses before them.*” Captain Lockett did certainly, as others did, express himself generally to the gentlemen who sat near him in the committee, on the relative merits of the different Addresses; but there was little discussion on the subject, and none at all of a *private* nature. To the gentleman alluded to by Dr. Bryce, Captain Lockett stated some of his reasons for not voting for the Address which that gentleman supported. *This* Captain Lockett did *privately*, from motives of delicacy to the author, who was sitting immediately opposite, and within hearing. Captain Lockett certainly little expected to see his words afterwards circulated through Calcutta, in a pamphlet, with a commentary, setting forth that he had not acted *openly and handsomely* towards Dr. Bryce. Captain Lockett declares this to be a gross misrepresentation.

The undersigned have thus enumerated the specific assertions in Dr. Bryce's publication, to which they attach the imputations of misrepresentation or untruth. Their denial, they believe, embraces *every single assertion* of the slightest importance, in any way affecting them individually, or tending to affix discredit on their characters or conduct. They trust, they have now made themselves sufficiently intelligible. In entering at all into this detail, they conceive they have done more than by any obligation of justice they were required to do. The appeal to the public has not been from *them*; *they* are the accused, not the accusers; *they* have been dragged before the public, to repel imputations the most wanton and unprovoked: imputations supported by no other evidence than a recital of casual expressions alleged to have dropt from individuals in the confidence of private conversation, and now retailed to the world in open and avowed contempt of the common observances of society. To say that such a recital is untrue, is hardly to affix on it a blacker stigma than that which already belongs to it, and is inseparable from it. Of wilful or deliberate falsehood the undersigned have not accused Dr. Bryce; with Dr. Bryce's motives they have no concern; they can look only to the effect of his statements, and it is to those statements that they have applied the epithets of misrepresentation and untruth.

To the imputations of Dr. Bryce, the undersigned opposed, in the first instance, their simple denial; he is now informed of the specific assertions to which that denial applies; and it remains for him, if he judges proper, to support *those specific assertions* by evidence. With any *other* assertions, which Dr. Bryce may have since thought fit, or may hereafter think fit, to substitute for those contained in his first publication, the undersigned must disclaim all concern. The undersigned feel themselves in no way called upon to change their ground with Dr. Bryce, or to follow him into any new matter; and, for obvious reasons, they decline doing so.

(Signed) JOHN FENDALL, (Member of the Supreme Council.)

J. PALMER, (Merchant and Banker.)

J. PATTLE, (President of the Board of Revenue.)

J. P. LARKINS, (President of the Board of Customs.)

A. LOCKETT, (Secretary to the College of Fort-William.)

JOHN FULLARTON, (Merchant and Banker.)

SELECTIONS

From the mass of Papers laid before the Proprietors of East India Stock, relating to the Transactions at Hyderabad.

*Extract Political Letter to Fort St. George, dated 20th November, 1816.**

Par. 79. We observe, by an enclosure referred to in this paragraph, that the Governor-General in council has authorised the Resident at Hyderabad, to afford every proper degree of countenance to the proposed commercial establishment in the Nizam's dominions, to which we are not aware of there being any objection.

*Extract Political Letter from Bengal, dated 3d January 1817.**

Par. 284. In the year 1814, the Resident at Hyderabad submitted to our consideration a letter from Messrs. William Palmer and Co., expressing a desire to form a commercial establishment at Hyderabad. In reply, we informed the Resident; that we should approve of his affording every proper degree of countenance to the proposed commercial establishment of Messrs. Palmer and Co., consistently with the provisions of the treaty, and of his recommending it to the favourable consideration of the Nizam's Government.

285. In the month of July last, we received a memorial from Messrs. Palmer and Co., requesting the consent and approbation of the Governor-General in council to their doing the several acts, from which they would be restrained by 37th Geo. III., cap. 142, sec. 28, unless consented to, and approved of, by the Governor-General in council in writing.

286. Having previously consulted with our Advocate-General, and being satisfied that the interests, both of the dominions of his Highness the Nizam and of the Honourable Company, would be promoted by the success and security of the commercial and pecuniary transactions, as explained by Messrs. Palmer and Co., we complied with their application. A writing was accordingly transmitted to Messrs. Palmer and Co., under the signature of the Governor-General in council, and the seal of the Honourable Company, signifying the permission of the Supreme Government for their performing the acts above referred to, with no other reservation, than that it should be at the discretion of the Resident at Hyderabad, for the time being, to satisfy himself regarding the nature and objects of the transactions in which Messrs. Palmer and Co. might engage, under the permission accorded.

Letter from Secretary to Government to Messrs. WILLIAM PALMER and Co.,
Hyderabad.

Gentlemen:—1. I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 27th of June, requesting the consent and approbation of his Excellency the Governor-General in council to your doing the several acts from which you would be restrained by the 37th Geo. III., cap. 142, sec. 28, unless consented to and approved of by the Governor-General in council in writing.

2. The Governor-General in council being satisfied that the interests, both of the dominions of his Highness the Nizam and of the Honourable Company, will be promoted by the success and security of your commercial and pecuniary transactions, as explained in your letter, has been pleased to comply with your application. I am accordingly directed to transmit to you a writing, under the signature of the Governor-General in council and the seal of the Honourable Company, signifying the permission of the Supreme Government for your performing the acts above referred to, with no other reservation, than that it shall be at the discretion of the British Resident at Hyderabad, for the time being, to satisfy himself regarding the nature and objects of the transactions in which you may engage, under the permission now accorded. I have, &c.

Fort William,
23d July, 1816.

(Signed) J. ADAM, Secretary to Government.

Instrument, &c. &c.

Whereas the right hon. Francis Earl of Moira, Governor-General of and for the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal, in council, has taken into his consideration the benefits resulting to the Government of his Highness the Nizam,

* This letter was not received at the East India House till the 1st May, 1818.

and to the commercial interests of the territories of his said Highness and of the neighbouring provinces of the honourable the East India Company, from the transactions and dealings of the firm of Messrs. William Palmer and Co., established at Hyderabad, in the territories of his said Highness, and is of opinion that the maintenance and extension of the dealings and transactions of the said firm of Messrs. William Palmer and Co., are a fit object of the encouragement and countenance of the British Government; these are to certify to all persons whom it may concern, that the said Governor-General in council does hereby, in writing, and by virtue of the power in him vested by a certain act of Parliament, made and passed at Westminster on the 20th day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-seven, entitled, "An Act for the better administration of justice at Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, and for preventing British subjects from being concerned in loans to the Native Princes in India," give his consent and approbation to the members of the said firm of Messrs. William Palmer and Co. at Hyderabad, doing all acts within the territories of the Nizam, which are prohibited by the said act of Parliament to be done or transacted without the consent and approbation of the Governor in council of one of the Governments of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies first had and obtained in writing, until the said consent and approbation shall be in like manner in writing withdrawn. Provided, however, that the said firm of Messrs. William Palmer and Co. shall, at all times, when required so to do by the British Resident at Hyderabad, for the time being, communicate to the said Resident the nature and objects of their transactions with the Government, or the subjects of his said Highness the Nizam.

Given at Fort William, this twenty-third day of July,
one thousand eight hundred and sixteen.

To Messrs. William Palmer and Co., Hyderabad.

Ordered, That the preceding despatch be sent under an open cover to Mr. Russell, with the following instructions, and copies of the letter addressed to Messrs. William Palmer and Co., and the instrument enclosed in it.

Letter from Secretary to Government to HENRY RUSSELL, Esq., Resident at Hyderabad.

Sir:—1. I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 27th ultimo, transmitting an application from Messrs. William Palmer and Co.

2. I am now directed to transmit to you, under an open cover, the reply which I have been instructed to return to their application; from which, and from the instrument enclosed in it, you will perceive that his lordship in council has been pleased to comply with their request, subject only to the discretion reserved to the Resident at Hyderabad, for the time being, to satisfy himself with regard to the nature and objects of the transactions in which Messrs. William Palmer and Co. may engage under that permission. You will accordingly consider it to be your duty to exercise that degree of control, at such time, and in such manner, as you may judge to be expedient, in the spirit of the resolution now communicated to you.

3. Copies of my letter to Messrs. William Palmer and Co., and of the instrument enclosed in it, are herewith transmitted. I have, &c.

(Signed)

J. ADAM, Secretary to Government.

Fort William, 23d July, 1816.

Political Letter to Bengal, dated 24th May, 1820.

1. Our last letter to you in this department was dated 15th December last.

2. In paragraphs 284 to 287 of your letter from this department, dated the 3d January 1817, you have drawn our attention to an application from Messrs. William Palmer and Co., British merchants at Hyderabad, and to the proceeding, on your part, to which it gave rise.

3. This communication we deem of sufficient importance to make it the subject of a separate despatch.

4. In the 79th paragraph of our political despatch to Fort St. George, dated 20th November 1816, we stated that we were not aware of any objection to the countenance which you had, in the year 1814, authorised the Resident at Hyderabad to afford to a British commercial establishment at that capital.

5. In thus expressing ourselves, we presumed that the objects of Messrs. Palmer and Co. were completely consistent with both the enactments of the legisla-

ture, and with those views of policy to which we have been accustomed to require conformity on the part of our Indian Governments.

6. It appears, however, from the memorial addressed to you by that firm on the 27th June 1816, which constituted the ground of your proceeding, that besides their business as merchants, they had large pecuniary dealings with the Government of his Highness the Nizam, which, as you state, would subject them to the penalties enacted by the 37th Geo. III., cap. 142, sec. 28, unless, by an exercise of the power vested in you by that Act, you gave your consent and approbation to their engaging in such transactions. And you inform us, that, at the request of these gentlemen, you had granted your permission to their performing the several acts from which, without that permission, they would have been restrained, with no other reservation than that it should be at the discretion of the Resident at Hyderabad, for the time being, to satisfy himself regarding the nature and objects of the transactions in which Messrs. Palmer and Co. might engage.

7. We have to observe, in the first place, that the power which you have thus thought fit to exercise, could not have been granted by the legislature, in contemplation of such an use as you have made of it.

8. It was obviously intended for the purpose of meeting extraordinary exigencies, not of generally licensing an illegal traffic; and we have great doubts whether such a license as you have given (a general license, without a special case of necessity, and without limit) would be held to be legal, and would be found effectual for the protection of Messrs. Palmer and Co. against any prosecution under the Act.

9. But waving this discussion, we desire to be informed whether the Resident has availed himself of the power reserved to him, by acquainting himself constantly and thoroughly with the nature of the pecuniary transactions of that house with the Nizam's Government; and, in the next place, whether he has reported to you respecting them. In the event of his having done so, you will not fail to transmit the report for our information.

10. After the experience which we have had, both in Oude and in the Carnatic, of the dreadful abuses which resulted from the pecuniary dealings of British subjects with native princes, and the jealousy manifested by the legislature of all such transactions, we can by no means approve of the indulgence which you have extended to Messrs. Palmer and Co.; and we positively direct, that the instrument by which that indulgence was conveyed may be, immediately upon the receipt of this despatch, revoked and cancelled, and that the countenance of our Governments may be strictly confined to those objects of a commercial nature, which they professed originally to have in view.

11. You will understand this order as peremptory; and the execution of it must not be delayed, for the purpose of a reference to us, or on any ground whatever.

12. We think it necessary to add, that if any discussion shall at any time arise between the Nizam's Government and the house of Messrs. Palmer and Co., respecting any pecuniary transactions which may have taken place between them, you are hereby positively prohibited from interposing, in any way whatever, the name, authority, influence, or good offices of any sort, of the British Government, for the furtherance of any demand which these gentlemen may bring forward.

13. Since the preceding paragraphs were written, it has been suggested to us that Mr. Palmer, whose name is first in the firm of the house to which you have given the permission in question, is a native of India, but that there are other partners, who are Europeans. We desire to be informed of the names of all the partners of the house to which your license has been granted; and we direct that if, on any future occasion, you should find it necessary to grant a license to lend money, not only the sum to be lent, but the names of all the persons to whom the license extends, may be distinctly specified in the license, and a copy of every such license, with a statement of your reasons for granting it, be transmitted to us by the earliest opportunity.

14. We desire that the receipt of the present despatch may be immediately and separately acknowledged.

We are, &c.

(Signed)

G. A. ROBINSON,

T. REID, &c. &c. &c.

London, 24th May 1820.

Extract from the Minutes of the Court of Directors, the 7th January 1824.

The Chairman calling the Court's attention to the order of the day for taking into consideration the paragraphs for Bengal in the political department, respecting the pecuniary transactions between the Nizam and the house of Messrs. William Palmer and Co. at Hyderabad;

And the said paragraphs being read, it was moved, "That this Court approve the said paragraphs:" whereupon,

It was proposed to amend the said motion, by leaving out all the words after the word "that," for the purpose of inserting the following, *viz.* "the consideration of the said paragraphs be postponed to Wednesday, the 14th instant."

And the question, "That the original words stand part of the question," being put by the ballot;

It passed in the affirmative.

The Court thereupon proceeded to the consideration of the paragraphs: and after a debate of considerable length;

It was, on the main question, resolved, that this Court approve the said paragraphs.

Draft of two additional paragraphs, acknowledging the receipt of several letters on the pecuniary transactions of the house of Messrs. William Palmer and Co., which letters arrived since the paragraphs above mentioned were prepared, was likewise read and approved.

Extract from Political Letter to Bengal, dated 21st January 1824.

1. Our last despatch in this department was dated the 10th ultimo.

2. We now reply to your letters in the same department, dated the 20th and 28th December 1822, and 25th January 1823, reporting your correspondence and proceedings, in regard to the pecuniary transactions between the Government of his Highness the Nizam and the house of Messrs. William Palmer and Co. at Hyderabad, subsequently to the despatch of your previous letter to us on the same subject, dated the 16th December 1820.

5. Our orders of the 24th May 1820 were interpreted by you as not having been intended to prohibit transactions, purely commercial, between the house of Messrs. William Palmer and Co. and the Nizam's Government; reference being had to the judgment of the Resident as to the real character of the transactions. Our object was to prohibit all transactions between that house and the Nizam's Government, which, unless under your special license, were prohibited by law. And, from the experience you have had of the house of Messrs. William Palmer and Co., we are quite sure you will see the propriety of looking at their transactions, be they denominated how they may, with considerable jealousy, and of instructing the Resident to take care that our orders are not evaded, and the law infringed, under any pretence whatever. Usurious loans are often chafed under commercial transactions; and Messrs. William Palmer and Co., in their letter to the Resident, dated the 14th October 1822, describe themselves as *hye dealers* in jewels, and as having supplied the Government of Hyderabad with this article, its consumption of which they state to have been very great.

19. We cannot look at these transactions, in so far as regards the house of Messrs. William Palmer and Co., without feelings of disgust and indignation. With reference to the interests of our ally, they excite shame and sorrow; and in so far as they have been countenanced, or not controlled and checked by our Government or the late Resident, they are matter not only of the deepest concern and regret, but of our most decided censure and condemnation.

25. After carefully perusing the letters from Sir Charles Metcalfe to Mr. Swanton, dated the 3d September, the 30th September, the 7th October, and the 6th December 1822, and also your replies, dated the 20th October and 13th November, together with the Minutes on the subject recorded by the late Governor General and Members of Council in November 1822, we cannot doubt, for a moment that the partners in the house of Messrs. William Palmer and Co. did, without the knowledge of the Resident, hold communication with the Minister on matters of state; and that one of the partners (Mr. William Palmer, according to the Marquis of Hastings' account, and Sir William Russell, as the Charles Metcalfe asserts,) did, in a clandestine and most irregular manner, convey a letter of complaint against the Resident from the Minister to the Governor General, the tendency and (as there is strong reason to believe) the concerted object of

which was, to induce the Governor-General to withdraw his confidence from the Resident.

26. It is hardly necessary for us to observe, that a proceeding of this nature, on the part of the house, was in the highest degree indecent and mischievous : and that it would have warranted a declaration, on your part, that the house had by this misconduct, forfeited the countenance and protection of the British Government. But a more indulgent course was observed in regard to them.

54. We are ready to admit, that our great distance from the country committed to our governance, requires us to place no inconsiderable share of discretion in those by whom the Government is actually administered. Emergencies may arise, in which it may be your paramount duty to act, not only without reference to us, but even in contradiction to positive instructions, issued without any contemplation of the new occurrence. Even where the distance is less considerable, this duty of discretionary action may exist ; as in the case of one of the Governments, subordinate to you, or of inferior civil or military officers. The same liberal construction which you will doubtless put upon the apparent disobedience of one of these functionaries, we shall always extend to you ; but we shall feel it our duty to require from you, as you, we are satisfied, require of those under you, two indispensable conditions : First, That the emergency be undoubted ; that is, that the occurrence be one either clearly without the contemplation of the superior, or so inadequately provided for as to leave the public interests in imminent danger : Secondly, That the measure which assumes the emergency for its justification, shall not go beyond that which the emergency requires.

70. The extinction of the Nizam's Government, the great evil to be apprehended, and the consummation of which we have most sincerely at heart to prevent, may be brought about in two ways. It may be subverted, should we withdraw our support from it, or it may be superseded by our active intervention.

71. The probability of its subversion in the event of our withdrawing our support, is founded on the reigning Prince's alleged inaptitude for discharging the duties of a ruler, the state of his family, and the chances of a struggle among his sons for the succession ; the habit in the Government of depending on foreign aid, and its consequent supposed disability for independent action, if left to itself ; and lastly, the corruption which pervades the whole system of internal administration, and which, in order to find the means of gratification, might, if unchecked by us, resort to measures so intolerably oppressive, as to excite the people to resistance, and thereby throw the country into a state of inextricable confusion and anarchy, at once incompatible with the stability of its own Government and the tranquillity of its neighbours.

99. Since the foregoing paragraphs were prepared, we have received your letters in the Political Department, dated the 7th and 31st March, 8th May, 16th June, 1st, 26th and 31st July, and 9th August.

100. We shall reply to these communications on the subject of the Hyderabad transactions without any unnecessary delay.

We are, &c.

(Signed)

W. WIGRAM,
W. ATELL,
&c. &c. &c.

MR. PATTISON'S DISSENT.

Extract from Minutes of the Court of Directors, of the 21st of January, 1824.

A dissent, signed by James Pattison, Esq., from the Court's resolution of the 7th instant, approving the paragraphs for Bengal in the Political department, respecting the pecuniary dealings of the house of Messrs. William Palmer & Co. at Hyderabad with the Nizam ; also,

A dissent, signed by the Honourable William Fullarton Elphinstone, and by James Daniell and Charles Mills, jun. Esqrs., from the same Resolution, were delivered in and read, the same being as follows, viz.

Mr. Pattison's Dissent.—To the Honourable the COURT of Directors.

Gentlemen :—I feel it my duty to record my dissent from the vote of the Court of the 7th instant, approving a letter to Bengal in the Political department, respecting the affairs of Hyderabad, and that on a cursory reading, in a thin Court, although the same had been in preparation for many months, and had

been announced by the Chairman to the Court as a subject to be seriously and deliberately discussed.

And I cannot but notice with concern, on their account, the want of courtesy on the part of the Court exhibited on this occasion towards myself, who was well known to take a deep interest in this question, and to have devoted much time to the due understanding of it; and to whom, though confined to the house by sickness, the delay of one week was denied, although there was no assignable motive for hurrying the matter forward.

To the letter itself, had I been permitted to offer them, I should have brought forward many serious objections; and those not only to the principle which pervades it, but also to the inconsistencies to be found in its construction and reasonings. Having been debarred that privilege, in the exertion of which I might have convinced some members of the Court of the impolicy of their adopting so implicitly rumours for facts, deliberate convictions of a prejudiced individual without proof for absolute truths, and misconstructions of a solemn affidavit for impeachments of its veracity, I much regret the not having been allowed to advocate, to the extent of my faculties, the necessity of maintaining the dignity of the Court by keeping it aloof from and above the party spirit which, after creating a schism in the late Bengal Government, has magnified the miserable question of the extent of advantage taken by the house of William Palmer and Co. over the necessities of the Nizam's Government, into a matter of State Policy: and if I had failed in these objects, I should still have striven to the last, to prevent the Court's implicating itself by the adoption of a series of innuendoes and inferences in a course of reasoning, the main purpose of which, barely concealed by the avoidance of names, is to insinuate that the Government of the Marquis of Hastings, supported, by its influence, the house of William Palmer and Co. through right or wrong, on account of the connexion subsisting between that noble personage and a partner of the house, Sir William Rumbold; who, in fact, did marry a ward of Lord Hastings; and I should not have despaired to persuade the Court, or, at least, many of its members, that while, on the one hand, such an insinuation stands unsupported by a single fact; on the other, it is, and must ever be, the duty of the Supreme Authority to protect a public functionary, though far less distinguished by his services than the noble individual in question, from the annoyance of such base and pitiful calumnies.

If it be possible that the Court can really entertain any doubts on this head, it would be, in my opinion, both dignified and just to state them, and the grounds on which they are founded; and further, to call upon the Noble Marquis for explanations on precise and clear points of charge. But thus to record and become party to ex-parte insinuations and dark innuendoes, whereby a vital stab is aimed at a high and distinguished character, appears to me to be both unjust and derogatory to the Court's dignity.

The beneficial effects of that highly gifted Nobleman's achievements and statesman like policy are becoming every day more obvious. India is in profound peace, and likely to remain so, from the removal of incentives to war, and of ability in any of the native Powers to rise against our supremacy. The late operations evince the prophetic knowledge of the noble Marquis of our financial improvement, while the results are acknowledged by his successor to flow from the great political measures of his administration; and his prognostication of vital evils in another department, which drew down upon him at the time the Court's displeasure, shows clearly that his deep acquaintance with human nature enabled him to foresee, and endeavour to guard against mischief, then quite in embryo; but now, from delay to apply appropriate preventives, ready to burst into life, and calling for the immediate application of antidotes, which his successors are enabled to supply, from the growing resources and increasing prosperity of the country.

On the return of this great man from his Government, after nine years of distinguished service, in the decline of life, unenriched and involved in difficulties of an ancient date, he has been suffered to proceed to a distant country, as the place of his future residence, without the slightest mark of attention or respect from the Court; and a motion to grant him an annuity, which would have brought the sum-total of the Court's munificence towards him to an equality with what was granted to his noble predecessors, Marquises Cornwallis and Wellesley, was negatived by the Court, mainly on the plea of its being first necessary thoroughly to investigate this miserable Hyderabad question.

This investigation has gone forward for months, volumes of materials have been

accumulated, and the result has been the production of this political draft, which, without bringing forward a single fact, in any degree implicating the noble Marquis in the transactions of the house of Palmer and Co., does not scruple, by innuendo, to connect him with all the farrago of loans deemed extortionate; statements of accounts stigmatised as false, and an affidavit hardly termed deceptive; matters wholly foreign from his cognizance, and into all and every one of which, when brought to the notice of his Government by Sir Charles Metcalfe, he directed the most rigid inquiry to be gone into without delay.

Whether or not, on the first application of the house of William Palmer and Co. to be permitted to settle at Hyderabad, it was wise to sanction that establishment; whether or not it was prudent to accede to their desire to be exempted from the penalties of the law, and to be thus permitted to have pecuniary dealings with the Nizam's Government; whether the Aurungabad arrangement, under the critical circumstances which gave rise to it, was or was not a measure of expediency, bordering on necessity; and, finally, whether the sixty lac loan was or was not necessary, with a view to the objects proposed by the Minister, Chundoo Loll, and sanctioned by Mr. Russell, the Resident, are questions so involved in contradictory testimony, that it were fruitless now to investigate them. But the motives which led the Bengal Government to adopt these measures are to be found on the records. It will there be seen, that on some of these occasions the Governor-General was up the country, and was not a party to their adoption; but that the Resident, Mr. Russell, strongly urged their fitness, and especially that of the financial measures, as vitally important to the well-being of the State of the Nizam, and of the alliance. It will be seen, that strong testimony was borne to the advantages resulting from the Aurungabad arrangement; and it was believed, from the declarations of Mr. Russell, that the sixty lac loan was in beneficial operation. The accounts of the Aurungabad arrangement had been forwarded to Calcutta the moment they were asked for; had been circulated through the Council, and returned to Sir William Rumbold, with a congratulatory note from Mr. Metcalfe himself, then Secretary to the Government. But on that gentleman's appointment to the Residency, on the departure of Mr. Russell, it was soon seen that all that had been done must be declared wrong, and that unless, under his own direct and immediate control nothing could prosper. Accordingly, Sir Charles Metcalfe has, ever since his arrival, busied himself incessantly in casting aspersions on the character of the Minister, on that of the late Resident, on every individual of the house of William Palmer and Co., and indirectly on that of the Governor-General himself, his friend and benefactor. He has given ear to every rumour, and even common report has been enlisted as effective in his hostile array. He has declared his solemn conviction, without an atom of proof, that Mr. Russell, the late Resident, was a partner in the house of William Palmer and Co.; that Sir William Rumbold received a personal allowance from the Nizam's Government (and that presumptively, for the notable reason that his late brother had received one); and that the Minister, whom he deems at one moment as unworthy of belief, and adduces the next as a good and true testimony, was wholly under thralldom to the house of William Palmer and Co. He then proceeds, in total disregard of the instructions to his predecessors, which he, at length, discovered penned by himself, when Secretary to the Government, to persuade, or rather compel, the Minister to consent to a new settlement of the revenue of the whole of the Nizam's country, even to the extent, hypothetically, of a settlement in perpetuity by British officers; while he asks (treacherously, it would appear, inasmuch as regards the Minister), of the Bengal Government, what course he is to pursue, in the event of the Nizam's wishing to dismiss Chundoo Loll, and receives at his house the nominal Minister, Moonerool Moolk, to the great annoyance of Chundoo Loll; and when these proceedings, evidently tending to his own elevation to the actual duties of Dewan, aggravated by the indecent conduct of Lieutenant Hislop, a subaltern in the King's service, in annulling a settlement made by the Minister, and substituting one formed by himself, on such imperfect knowledge as to embrace only one-half of the lands comprised therein; when these proceedings, I repeat, induced the Minister, after fruitless remonstrances at the Residency, and a wish expressed for their transmission to the Sudder, to forward a letter of complaint to the Governor-General direct, through the medium of Messrs. William Palmer and Co., and Mr. John Palmer, a cry of conspiracy against the Resident is handed up to Government, and is adopted as a grievous offence, in dissent from the opinion of the Marquis of Hastings, by the whole Council; and the conduct of Sir Charles Met-

calf is loudly eulogised, while, with manifest inconsistency, he is still directed to make the instructions to his predecessor the rule of his future conduct.

The Court, by its hasty adoption of this Hyderabad letter, as it is termed, has made itself a party to the whole of these proceedings. It has, it is true, in the fifth and sixth divisions of the subject, expressed its disapprobation of the extreme interference of Sir Charles Metcalfe in the affairs of the Nizam's Government, and has recommended a return to wiser courses. Although not a word is said in the letter of Lieutenant Hislop's improper interference, which is not even hinted at, nor of Sir Charles Metcalfe's still more improper praise of the zeal of his youthful coadjutor, there are pages of reference to evils which grew out of the officering the troops of the Nabob Vizier with British officers; and to the desirableness of the abolition, in due time and season, of that system at Hyderabad. This matter would appear to be somewhat irrelevant to the subject under immediate review: But it is introduced in the draft, in order to detract from the Marquis of Hastings' just view of the proper course to be pursued by our Resident at Hyderabad, which is acknowledged by the Court to be correct, but which should have been applied equally, it is said, to this point also of officering the troops of the Nizam. The candour of this reasoning may be evinced, by reference to the closing sentence of the 43d paragraph, where the Court, while acknowledging the soundness of Lord Hastings' political reasonings on the subject of interference in the affairs of native Princes, as opposed to Sir Charles Metcalfe's zeal, which, it is owned, had gone beyond the mark, close, with admirable inconsistency, by echoing the opinion of the Members of Council, that Lord Hastings's letter to Sir Charles Metcalfe, of the 25th October 1822, on this subject, was harsh and unjust. Now I must presume, that every Member of the Court who sanctioned these paragraphs had previously perused this letter of Lord Hastings with attention; and so presuming, I cannot but wonder at their decision on this point, as it appears to me, while Lord Hastings blames Sir Charles Metcalfe's excessive interference, and attributes some of his feelings to over-sensitiveness, the letter abounds in conciliatory expressions of cordial esteem and regard.

The short period allowed for recording a dissent will not admit of my analysing this (in my humble opinion) ill-judged and ill-judging Hyderabad letter as I could have wished to do. I had prepared myself for a *viva voce* discussion of its merits, paragraph by paragraph, such having been the declared intention of the Court: but the same materials will not serve for a record, and I must content myself with a brief mention of a few objections which present themselves to my recollection, omitting many others equally obvious, but of inferior moment.

At the very outset, so early as the 5th paragraph, the whole question, inasmuch as regards the character of the house of William Palmer and Co., is summarily decided, by the innuendo that they were engaged in usurious loans under cloak of commercial transactions; and in the ninth paragraph, by parenthesis, they are declared no longer worthy of the countenance they had enjoyed. Now it appears to me, that it would have been somewhat more decorous, and conformable to usage, to have deferred this sweeping sentence, even by innuendo, until a deliberate examination of the charges and defence had been gone into. If, after such investigation, this decision were judged proper, it would surely have been well to transpose the sentence of the Court from the opening of the pleadings, where it now stands, to the close or summing up, where it should stand.

The term usurious is very freely adopted in the Draft; but its adoption betrays much ignorance of the rate at which money has been ever obtainable by native Princes, when, in necessity. Our own records abundantly show such rates rarely to have fallen short of twenty-four per cent.; and as the securities given on such occasions, even tankhas, are resumable at pleasure, it is not to be wondered at, that persons who lend money should protect themselves by high interest, their only possible safeguard (insufficient as it is) against such borrowers. In the progress of the Aurungabad arrangements this is sufficiently manifest. To repay monthly advances of two lacs each, tankhas to the amount of thirty lacs had been assigned, nominally or really. But did these tankhas avail? Evidently not; they were changed or withdrawn at the pleasure of the Minister; and when the order of the Court to put an end to these periodical advances was enforced, the very tankhas which had been allotted for repayment of them, were withdrawn at the same time from the houses, and applied to the paying the troops directly and progressively. And yet the Court, in these

paragraphs, in which (vide tenth paragraph) they admit that "the repayments were not invariably made as stipulated," express displeasure that the orders of May 1820 had not taken "complete effect," when, in fact, they *had* taken effect, to the extreme point of abrogating the advances, and at the same time of extinguishing the stipulated means of retribution. Can it be wondered at, that a high rate of interest should be exacted under such circumstances? and can it, with any shadow of reason, be matter of surprise, as it is to Sir Charles Metcalfe, and by adoption to the Court, that the debt of the Nizam bearing a high rate of interest, and that interest not paid, should increase at an alarming rate?

On the subject of the Arungabad arrangement no more need be said, than that, by the confession of all parties (vide Sir Charles Metcalfe's letter of March 1823), the troops were better paid during its continuance than they were previously to its adoption, or have been since its abrogation.

In the tenth paragraph, the reluctance of the house to produce its accounts is declared to be "ground of suspicion of illicit transactions." I grieve to see the adoption of such reasoning, and cannot but ask also, how the argument (unsound as it is) applies to the present case? In 1819, when the Arungabad accounts were asked for, they were despatched *instantly* by Mr. William Palmer. The accounts of a house of such general business cannot be produced without sensible and great inconvenience; and their production must be allowed to be attended, to a certain extent, with a breach of private confidence. Yet has not Sir Charles Metcalfe had accounts furnished him respecting the whole of the transactions of the house with the Nizam's Government? Has he not busied himself in analysing them, and extracting therefrom, and from the Minister's accounts, the history of the objectionable bonus, and the equally objectionable allowances to some of the members of the house, charged with heavy interest? Where has there been any of this concealment? and whence has the Court drawn the epithet of illicit, as attached to the transactions *suspected* to exist? It is now well known, from recent legal opinions obtained, that twelve per cent. is the maximum of interest receivable under any of the circumstances at issue. But was that known when the bargains were made? Was not the contrary opinion the prevalent one, as to dealings of natives at least, though British subjects, if beyond the pale of our dominion? Can it now be said, justly or reasonably, that the reluctant production of the accounts justifies a suspicion of this nature, when, in fact, the actual production of them has taken place, and has evinced that no desire of concealment, beyond that felt by all persons engaged in banking transactions, actuated the conduct of the house in this respect.

The grant of a bonus cannot be deemed illicit, or our own loan-contractors would have long since been involved in a præmunire. Viewed as an addition to interest discovered to be illegal, a bonus adds to the amount of the illegal earning, but not to the illegality, which an excess of interest beyond twelve per cent. had already established.

The acceptance of pensions or donations from the Nizam's Government by natives and their children, is, I presume, in no degree illegal, and a charge of interest for retarded payments of such allowances, pitiful as it is, is only illegal, from its exceeding the bounds of twelve per cent. The allowance to the deceased Mr. Rumbold, an European British subject, received by him without sanction, may have been an illegal act on his part: but I presume the Court's sweeping sentence intends to go far beyond that insulated case, and is therefore, in my opinion, as a general position, wholly untenable.

In the thirteenth paragraph, the Government is charged with concealment. This, I suppose, has reference to the examination of Sir William Rumbold in 1819, which was not recorded. There was, therefore, nothing to conceal, and the charge is both unfounded and unworthy of the Court, whether the inferences drawn therefrom be intended to apply to the Government or to Sir William Rumbold, which the happy obscurity of the passage leaves in great doubt.

In paragraph fourteen, an affidavit, sworn to by two gentlemen of some rank in society, is declared by the Court to be deceptive, and of no value whatsoever. This is dangerous and not very guarded language. It would appear that the paragraphs estimate a solemn oath, not by the nature of such an appeal to the Almighty, but by the liability to, or security from, a verdict for perjury. That alternative is, on the contrary, however serious in my opinion, a trifle indeed, when compared with the responsibility here and hereafter attached to so solemn an asseveration; and the Court, I think, should have paused, ere it ventured

collectively (and consequently without personal responsibility) to speak slightly of so solemn an act, and, in concurrence with the casuistry of Sir Charles Metcalfe, to inflict a perpetual stigma of so disgraceful a nature on the character of the individuals in question. At the least, it behoved the Court, in my judgment, previously to becoming the echo to the sentiments of Sir Charles Metcalfe and of the new Bengal Government, to weigh well every word of the affidavit, to trace its origin, and develop its declared object. If so examined, I cannot but think that the Court would have been satisfied, that the design of the affidavit, made at the request of the noble Marquis himself, was to remove from his mind the suspicions excited by the doubts of Mr. Stuart, which had been communicated to his Lordship by Mr. John Palmer, of the partnership in the house of Mr. Russell, the late agent. This suspicion is distinctly repelled by the affidavit. In the denial of participation of profits, it is expressly limited to functionaries at the head of any public office or department, possessing influence from such station; and the denial involves the whole period since the formation of the firm. The affidavit, moreover, names the actual partners at the period of contracting the sixty-lac loan. Why are these limitations found in the affidavit? Why is a chief of office possessing influence specially designated, but because such a person was the declared object of suspicion? Why were not subordinate officers included in the declaration? For the best of all possible reasons: because such persons were not the objects of suspicion: and moreover, because they could not, with truth, have been so included. And why was the partnership at the period of the sixty-lac loan only sworn to, but because that was the transaction under discussion, and to which the charges of illegal earnings attached; and because it was notorious, that at an earlier period other persons had been partners, such as Dr. Currie, whose connexion was so far from being a secret, that its dissolution was made matter of public advertisement; and Mr. Rumbold, who had died; and, lastly, Mr. Hans Sotheby, who was a cypher at the Residency, and had had, as an act of friendship, large interest allowed him for his money, but who never had taken an active part in the business, and who moreover had been paid off? The affidavit, I must confess, appears to my limited faculties perfectly correct throughout. It aims at establishing certain facts. Whether they be true or not may be proved; but I see no evasion aimed at; and the limitation to heads of offices and to defined periods shows, as plainly, words can show, that it meant no more than it says.

It is a curious circumstance to be found in these multifarious details, that Sir Charles Metcalfe acknowledges to have had this, or some affidavit, laid before him by Sir William Rumbold. He says he scarcely glanced his eye over it, but shortly after states his conviction (a favourite mode of argument of the Resident's,) that the affidavit sworn to differs from that which he saw. Who can fail to admire this as the perfection of diplomacy, thus to be able to glance with apparent heedlessness, but with such intuitive faculty, as to arrive at immediate conviction of the identity or nonidentity of a paper of some length!

I must be permitted a further observation respecting Sir Charles Metcalfe and the affidavit. He gives in detail, in one of his almost innumerable communications, what the affidavit should have been to meet his views. He gives it at full length, though aware, from the information he had derived from the accounts, that it could not have been sworn to by the parties, had he attempted so to entrap them, without the commission of perjury! and had any such affidavit really been tendered to them, I am persuaded it would have been rejected with scorn and indignation.

In paragraph 15, Sir Charles Metcalfe's false delicacy is properly noticed, and, indeed, nothing can be more Jesuitical than statements that the parties were known to him, while he appears to deprecate the disclosure of their names; a proceeding which was certain to produce an order to divulge them. And if any thing can be more disgusting than this farce, it is his attempt, after his notable disclosures, to patch up the characters by fulsome panegyric, which he had so anxiously endeavoured, with or without proof, to destroy.

In paragraphs 18 and 19 it is argued as if the facts of the houses and of other objectionable matters were known to the Government, while, in truth, they were wholly unknown till September 1822: and, on the other hand, it is said that the existence of former pecuniary dealings of the houses was unknown, in the favourite form of a parenthesis, the Aurungabad arrangement; and the sixty-lac loan are described, as the only two transactions of which Government was cognizant. But, on reference to the application of the house to be relieved from the

penalties of the law, it will be found that doubts of the legality of some of their existing pecuniary dealings with the Nizam are stated as the cause of the application; and in the plan of the sixty-lac loan, the payment of debts to the house is specifically mentioned by the Minister as one of the objects to be attained by such means. These two transactions cannot, therefore, fairly be said to be the whole that were within the cognizance of Government. Of the bonus, and of the allowances to the partners, the Government were altogether ignorant, and the implication of the Government in the blame (which, if there be any, can only attach to the Resident) although modified by the words, "in so far as they have been countenanced and not "controlled by our Government," is palpably unjust. The blame is absolute, and the words, "in so far," &c., are designed to implicate the Government therein, though wholly ignorant of these transactions till September 1823, when, under date of the 13th of that month, the displeasure of Government was strongly manifested thereat, and instructions were issued to examine into and report upon them: the result of which, in detail, had not, I believe, reached Calcutta till just before the Marquis of Hastings' departure for Europe.

In paragraph 20, Sir Charles Metcalfe's various testimonies are brought to notice. In one place it is, "according to report," "a person," &c. In another, from the seventy-fourth paragraph of his letter, it is, "as Sir Charles Metcalfe had heard." In paragraph 77 it is, "a prevalent belief;" and further, "the house is identified with the Minister by the common people." In this paragraph, Chundoo Loll's testimony is of great avail, though in Sir Charles Metcalfe's letter, paragraph 71, he declares it is not to be relied on. Chundoo Loll is said by Sir Charles Metcalfe to declare himself, "if he is to be believed,"—to have been averse both to the Aurungabad arrangement and to the sixty-lac loan, which were forced upon him by the house. Which is to be believed, Sir Charles Metcalfe's *assertion* of Chundoo Loll's *assertion*, or the Minister's own urgent application on record, for such relief to the finances of the Nizam? It is said in this paragraph, that Chundoo Loll, "whether truly or otherwise," was firmly persuaded that the house of William Palmer and Co. were enabled, by means of their influence at Calcutta, to induce the Supreme Government not to insist on the execution of our instructions. It would appear, from this mass of undigested matter, that the credibility to be attached to Chundoo Loll's assertions, and to every description of rumour, depends wholly on their conformity with Sir Charles Metcalfe's views; and as these views tend on all occasions to disparage, by every possible innuendo, the government of Lord Hastings, the "firm persuasion of Chundoo Loll," "whether felt truly or otherwise," is brought forward to establish the existence of the influence, at Calcutta, of the house of Palmer and Co. over the Supreme Government. I really blush to think the Court can have been induced to sanction such sophistical inconsistencies.

In paragraph 21, the Government is blamed for its answer to Sir Charles Metcalfe, because it does not accord in the adoption of the whole of his rumours, convictions, and detractions; and the Court steps out of its way to introduce a comparison between this answer to a former letter, quite irrelevant thereto, in which protection is promised to the house of William Palmer and Co., so long as its conduct shall deserve it. The motive of the comparison is too evident to need further mention.

In paragraphs 22 to 28, in which the subject of Chundoo Loll's direct appeal to the Governor-General is treated of, the alleged conspiracy of the house of William Palmer and Co. with the minister to undermine the Resident is the main feature. The substance of the charge brought forward by the Minister, namely, the excessive interference of Sir Charles Metcalfe, and the degradation of the Minister below a stripling subaltern officer, are not even noticed. The dignified assertion of the Governor-General, that he would not shut the door to just complaints, is also unnoticed; and the whole of these paragraphs is little better than rhapsodical echo and outcry against this supposed conspiracy. Why is the provocation received by the Minister wholly overlooked? Why is it not distinctly laid down how complaints of a Resident's misconduct, or overwhelming assumption of authority, are to arrive at the cognizance of Government? Is a Resident at a foreign durbar to be considered beyond the reach of all representations but those which he may himself furnish or transmit, even though the fact of the non-transmission of Chundoo Loll's letter to Lieutenant Barnett, which it was desired might be forwarded to the

sadder, stares us in the face? Can the Court shut its eyes to the danger of such unbounded authority, vested even in persons of acknowledged judgment and discretion? And has Sir Charles Metcalfe evinced those qualities in so eminent a degree as to render it safe to hold him up as fit to be placed beyond such appeals; as the object of strained eulogium, and as the prototype or model for his successors, or for Residents at other Courts? Surely the Court has overlooked the consequences of this extraordinary exaltation of Sir Charles Metcalfe, who, in his letter of the 31st August 1822, seems already well enough disposed himself to instruct his Government as to the nature of his duties, instead of receiving instructions from them. I need not add, that the views of the Court, adopted in consonance with Mr. Adam's government, on this part of the subject, appear to me highly injudicious, and fraught with much future mischief.

The fourth division of the question, respecting the state of the Nizam's finances, and how they have been affected by the pecuniary transactions of the house, begins, as in the first division, by prejudging the question; and the mild terms of profligacy, blind improvidence, and scandalous prodigality, are showered down by the Court most pitilessly, but without any proof of the justness of their application. The term profligacy, I am at a loss to understand as applying to the question. Its reference should, at least, have been defined. Blind improvidence, must have reference to the neglect of better means than those adopted at a moment of exigency. But as it has never yet been shown, that better terms could have been obtained without our guarantee from the Shroffs or elsewhere, the problem of blind improvidence appears far from approaching to demonstration. Scandalous prodigality on the part of the Minister, must have reference to the pensions and allowances granted, and must, I think, be acknowledged to be a somewhat outrageous expression, when applied to the acts of the Minister of a state independent of us by treaty, though under the influence which policy and the imbecility of its sovereign have rendered imperiously necessary.

Strange puerilities are to be found in paragraphs 33 and 35; and in paragraph 36 it is said that "the most incredulous would be satisfied," &c.

The incredulous have certainly not been found in the Council, nor, as appears by the adoption of the paragraphs, in the majority of the Court. But there may still be some sceptics, who require something more than assertion or declarations of solemn conviction to influence their belief, and I declare myself one of them. The incredulous are, forsooth, to be satisfied, that the embarrassments of the state of the Nizam are principally to be imputed to the house of William Palmer and Co., and how? By the fact, that large sums were constantly passing into the coffers of the house, and yet that the debt progressively increased. Wonderful logic this! But I would ask, does such largeness imply adequacy also? If not, and I cannot discover them to be synonymous, the reasoning is nought.

I hope I may be allowed, without a heavy charge of scepticism, to withhold my belief, also, from the assertion of the Resident, in his report of the 14th June, that the sixty-lac loan was a fictitious transaction. The Bengal government, indeed, in their letter of 18th July last, received 21st December, acknowledge that no proof of the truth of this assertion has yet been afforded by ocular inspection of the accounts; and the extreme improbability of such a statement, as the creation of a debt equal in amount to above half a million sterling; without the actual disbursement of a rupee, justify me in the belief, that Sir Charles Metcalfe's knowledge of accounts is extremely limited, and that the facts he adduces, by giving "to airy nothings a local habitation and a name," are wholly apocryphal. He brings in the Minister's testimony again, however, on this occasion; and he is made to declare, that a real advance of eleven lacs would have been of equal value to him as this nominal advance of sixty lacs. How can this assertion of the Minister be reconciled with his requisition of sixty lacs,—with his declared appropriation of twenty-five lacs to purposes of reform,—or with his acquiescence in a bonus of eight lacs, which an actual and immediate advance of a very large sum could alone in any degree justify? These inconsistencies are too glaring to be admitted; and I have consolation in finding that the Court, in its despatch, does not lay very great stress on such manifest absurdities. The paragraph proceeds to say, it is matter of wonder that the Nizam's Government is not ruined by this baneful connexion, and that it should not have perished by exhaustion. Here again is a

problem to be solved. How a borrower, who does not pay, is to perish from exhaustion. The exhaustion seems to be more likely to attend the lender. It is easy to make these round assertions. But are they true, in fact or in reasoning? Certainly not. The state of the Nizam is neither near to ruin nor to exhaustion. A debt of a crore of rupees may easily be discharged from the resources of a state enjoying a revenue of two crores; and the intended or actual extinction of the debts of the state by means of the peshcush, under Mr. Fendall's recommendation, has clearly shown the fallacy of these overstrained lamentations.

So much for the predicted ruin and exhaustion! and as for the causes of these imaginary evils, they are, in truth, equally supposititious. It is beyond a dispute that the embarrassments of the Nizam's Government are of much more ancient date, the debt being fifty lacs in 1814 (vide paragraph 32;) and until it shall be proved that money could have been raised in that country at an easier rate without our guarantee, the house must stand acquitted of having occasioned any aggravation of the indigenous evils of the State, beyond what those evils themselves unavoidably occasioned.

As the Court have determined to go so much into these miserable matters, it appears to me it would have been consistent, as well as prudent, previously to decision, to refer the books of William Palmer and Co., which are come home, to the Auditor of Indian Accounts or the Accountant-General, for a report thereon, exhibiting the origin, progress, and actual state of the Nizam's debt to the house, from its commencement to the latest date. But I am far from recommending such a measure now, after the Court's summary decision on less practical information; and as, by the latest despatches, it appears that the Aurungabad account has been adjusted, and the other accounts are in train to be speedily adjusted, I can only regret that this Hyderabad letter was not laid aside, and another substituted, expressing satisfaction at the final close of these transactions, and laying down much more definitively than the approved Draft has done, instructions to be strictly observed by Sir Charles Metcalfe, and all other Residents at the durbars of native Princes.

In the fifth and sixth divisions of the letter, the propriety of Sir Charles Metcalfe's measures is arraigned, and Lord Hastings' views, recommending less arbitrary interference, are approved, though detracted from, as I have before observed, in reference to matters quite of a different nature. It appears that Lord Hastings took alarm at the excessive interference of Sir Charles Metcalfe in 1821, and laid a Minute to that effect before the Council: and it is to be regretted that his Lordship's unwillingness to impede the progress of Sir Charles Metcalfe's measures, for the statesman-like reason, that though going far beyond his instructions, they appeared to be adopted in perfect accordance with the Minister, and to be producing beneficial results, prevented the record of that Minute, and the adoption of checks to Sir Charles Metcalfe's zeal, which would have consequently followed. Sir Charles Metcalfe, in the inquiry into his conduct, is certainly entitled to the benefit of this silence, which kept him in ignorance of Lord Hastings' disapprobation of his measures; while the answers he received to his communications respecting them were such as not to discourage his continuing to pursue them. But still there is no ground for blaming this forbearance on the part of Lord Hastings, arising, as I have observed, from his belief in the Minister's cordial co-operation, and the publication of his opinions, in October 1822, on the receipt of Chundoo Loll's letter; and the exposure of the act of Lieutenant Hildy, with Sir Charles Metcalfe's commendations of his zeal, unmixt with any blame of the act itself, together with other proceedings complained of, seems to have been no longer matter of choice but of necessity. The whole of this part of the subject is argued in the letter favourably for Sir Charles Metcalfe, and his favouring supporters in Council, although the policy of their views respecting interference is entirely disapproved by the Court; while, on the other hand, every effort is made to disparage Lord Hastings' conduct in this matter, although his political views regarding interference are manifestly consonant with those entertained by the Court. Can any thing be less candid or less dignified than such inconsistency? It is, in truth, almost without parallel; unless it be in the insinuation in Mr. Adam's Minute of the first November 1822, quoted approvingly by the Court in paragraph 17, namely: "That not a breath of complaint was heard against Sir Charles Metcalfe's measures of reform, until other proceedings seemed to affect the interests and honours of the House of William Palmer and Co." How does such an intendo affect the justice of the complaint? Not in the slightest

degree, must be the answer of all unprejudiced persons. I shall not weary the Court's patience by entering into much further detail in this dissent. There is scarcely a paragraph in the Draft in which the jaundiced view of the question is not discernible; but I shall forbear to notice many more of them, and shall content myself with touching one or two only of the highly discoloured objects under review, and then close these remarks, which the deeply-rooted prejudices I have had to comment upon have drawn out far beyond their designed length. A trait particularly deserving notice is, the mode in which the Court have treated the subject of the plans proposed for paying off William Palmer and Co. by means of the guarantee of the British Government. On this point of fiscal arrangement, the endeavours to throw blame on Lord Hastings abound even to excess. It is asked, in paragraphs 60 and 62, why what was negatived in 1820 was sanctioned in 1829? The reasons have been given by his Lordship distinctly: such a measure was believed by the Governor-General to be illegal, and such was the Advocate-General's opinion. The noble Marquis had, moreover, doubts as to the effect of such a proceeding on the Company's pecuniary interests at the conclusion of the charter. This difficulty, sound or unsound, manifestly sprung from becoming zeal in the Governor-General to protect the interests of his employers. But how is this feeling met in the paragraphs? Not by due acknowledgment of such zeal, but by impeachment of his reasonings, in a tone as if it had been his object to sacrifice, instead of protecting them. When, in 1822, the Governor-General was in possession of the Court's letter of 1821, and construing it as all reasonable men would construe it, and as Mr. Harrington, in his Minute, has construed it, as an acquiescence in the principle of affording such relief to an ally (*vide* paragraphs 40 and 41 of the Court's letter), though appearing to deny any such view in paragraphs 70 and 71;—when the noble Marquis, I repeat, so construing it, with the aid of Mr. Fendall's suggestion respecting the peshcush, which appeared to make the illegality of the act somewhat more doubtful, determined to accede to the proposition, misconstruction of the Court's letter is directly made a matter of charge: and to close the matter with a ludicrous climax, the Court is made to ask,—And why, as you did so construe it, and determined so to proceed, did you not do it sooner, and thus increase the saving to accrue therefrom to the Nizam's Government? On this inveterate search after faults in the noble Marquis' conduct, no comment can be necessary. And here I cannot but observe, that in my opinion the Court would have done well to quiet its perturbed and wrangling spirit, and instead of discussing whether or not the real intent and meaning of the incongruous paragraphs on this subject, in the Court's letter of November 1821, had been seized by the Government, it would have shown somewhat more of practical wisdom, by deciding and giving directions upon the positive fact before them,—of the advance of a million from the Company's treasuries, “to advance both our interests and reputation, by a generous and successful endeavour to serve an ally in time of need.” (*Vide* Court's letter, 28th November 1821.) Surely it was of more consequence to say to the Government, “We approve of your act under all circumstances before you,” than thus to pursue, through endless mazes, what was altogether passed and gone by; leaving the important fact at issue almost without notice, and certainly neither approved nor disapproved. Some querulous sentences might still, for the Court's gratification, have remained, on the lateness of our knowledge of such a measure being in contemplation, and on the decision thereon previous to our sanction. But the act being determined upon, and 100,000*l.* already despatched to Hyderabad, I certainly could have desired to see the Court speak definitively and positively on such an appropriation of our resources, which the urgency of the case seems to have rendered imperiously necessary.¹

¹ N.B. I observe, with some satisfaction, that the Board have made an addition to the sixty-third paragraph, giving sanction to the measure, by saying, “we will not now disturb the arrangement.” I am still at a loss, however, to account for the incongruity of the last sentence of their addition, *viz.* “That the additional delay required for a reference to us could not have produced material inconvenience,” with the text of the sixty-third paragraph, *viz.* “If it was considered open to the construction put upon it by the Marquis of Hastings, we are surprised that it was not acted upon sooner.” By this addition, the Court is made to blow hot and cold with the same breath; and it would be desirable that the Board should be requested to modify their addition to the sixty-third paragraph, so as to reconcile it with that paragraph, or alter the paragraph consistently with their addition.

I observe that the Draft, after reprobating the conduct of the Government of Mr. Adam^{son} for acceding to Mr. Fendall's plan, without the previous assent of the Court, seems to recognize that plan as the best, deeming it exempt from legal objection. I presume due care has been taken by the Court to ascertain its superior legality. Doubts are expressed, in paragraph 84, of the liability of British officers serving with the Nizam's troops to our martial law; and, in paragraph 86, Mr. Hastings is quoted as saying, they are in truth exempt therefrom. Surely, in a letter from the ruling Power, the expression of doubts on so vital a point is not very enlightening or characteristic of wisdom; and it were well, in my opinion, to remove them from our own minds, rather than thus to communicate them: especially as their transmission from Calcutta to Hyderabad will naturally follow, through some public or private channel, and cannot be expected to improve the discipline of the Nizam's military establishment.

I shall close this dissent with observing, that the strong eulogium pronounced by the Court, at the close of this extraordinary letter, on the merits of Sir Charles Metcalfe, appears to me to be wholly undeserved and highly dangerous. On arriving at the Residency he found the affairs of the Nizam improved and improving. With a restless desire to distinguish himself, he has unsparingly assailed the character of every one who came within his range, including the Marquis of Hastings, his own predecessor, and the Minister, Chundoo Loll, whom, however, he is constrained to acknowledge to be the only man in the country fit for his station. In neglect of his positive instructions, he instantly busied himself in the internal administration, to the extent of making new settlements of the revenue for various periods, contemplating even perpetual settlements; and several of these mighty changes were adopted without previous sanction from the Bengal Government, and have been carried into effect with the forced acquiescence of the Minister, under his own instructions, founded on the imperfect knowledge gained in a few months, and under the superintendence of European military officers of all ranks and ages; who, it may be presumed, without disparagement to their capacities, had but very slight experience in such matters. Desirous of unrivalled power, he has evidently contemplated the removal of Chundoo Loll, the ablest man in the country; and his latent endeavours, which I grieve to see the Court encourage, by saying, in paragraph 92, "this point should be settled," instead of saying, it should most seriously be inquired into previously to a single move, seem to be to endeavour to set up the Nizam, whose imbecility is of universal notoriety, as a fit person himself to govern his dominions. Can any one be so short-sighted as not to perceive, that the drift of all this proceeding is to get rid of the only man fit to govern the country, to place an imbecile sovereign in the nominal possession of authority, and then to establish himself in despotic and unrivalled sway? Such, at least, appears to me to be the hoped-for result of these measures. I may be mistaken in attributing such designs to Sir Charles Metcalfe; but that the removal of the Minister, and the bringing forward the Nizam himself to be the ruler, must produce results of that nature, either in the person of Sir Charles Metcalfe or of some other European, to the total destruction of even the nominal independence of the Nizam's dominions, appears to me to be no more than the natural combination of cause and effect.

Of Sir Charles Metcalfe's indefatigable industry in collecting rumours and establishing "*convictions*" upon them, I have said enough. All that is known of the *real* transactions of the house of Palmer and Co. has been drawn from the accounts furnished by themselves and by the Minister; and Sir Charles Metcalfe's merit in these transactions is confined, in my opinion, to his expertness in feeding the insatiable desire which party-spirit had engendered, of mixing the name of Lord Hastings with these miserable dealings. By the latest advices, I see all connexion between the house of William Palmer and Co. and the Minister is at an end; which, under the new arrangement for paying off the debts of the Nizam, may do good, and can do no harm. I perceive a strong accusatory letter has been addressed to the Minister, Chundoo Loll, of the justice and propriety of which I permit myself to entertain the strongest doubts; and I observe a repetition of the fulsome eulogium on Sir Charles Metcalfe, which the Court's

The Board having taken the same view as I have expressed, regarding the necessity of a clear decision on this application of our resources, whether surplus or otherwise, I cannot but regret that they have so hastily returned the letter approved, as the perusal of this dissent might have suggested some further and more important changes.

Letter has deigned to echo. But although I may stand alone in my opinion, I must re-assert, that I consider Sir Charles Metcalfe wholly undeserving of praise in these transactions; and I am constrained to express my fears that, at no distant period, it will be found that that gentleman's merits have been greatly exaggerated, and that vital changes in our relations with the Nizam's Government may be expected to ensue in prejudice thereto, if the Bengal Government be not strictly enjoined to put an end to Sir Charles Metcalfe's unwarrantable encroachments.

To conclude, I beg it may be understood that, although I may appear, by the course of my argument, to have advocated the cause of the house of William Palmer and Co. I have been actuated by no such desire; and I beg to add that every individual of the house is wholly unknown to me. Were I to judge from appearances only, or from partial statements, I should be inclined to think very unfavourably of the bonus, and of the allowances to the partners of the house, bearing interest. Indeed, it appears difficult to reconcile these transactions, under any explanation, with our European notions: yet am I disposed to concur with Mr. Harington, as stated in his Minute, that as the sentiments of Government on this subject, as communicated to the Resident, "are chiefly founded on presumption and inference (however strong such grounds of imputation may be), it is possible that Messrs. William Palmer and Co. may be less culpable than, from the evidence before us, we conclude them to have been."—I have, &c.

London, 19th January 1824.

(Signed) J. PATTISON.

Dissent of the Hon. W. F. ELPHINSTONE, Mr. DANIELL, and Mr. MILLS.

Concurring entirely in the opinions so forcibly expressed in the foregoing paper, (with the exception of the solemnity and importance attached to an extrajudicial affidavit), we beg to record our Dissent from the Hyderabad dispatch; and more particularly from those paragraphs, where the most erroneous inferences are drawn from unauthenticated statements, and opprobrious terms applied to transactions not as yet investigated.

East-India House, 21st Jan. 1824.

(Signed)

WM. F. ELPHINSTONE.

J. DANIELL.

CHARLES MILLS, Jun.

Letter from Sir WILLIAM RUMBOLD, Bart. to the CHAIRMAN, DEPUTY CHAIRMAN, and DIRECTORS, of the East-India Company.

Honourable Sirs: In laying the accompanying documents before your honourable Court, in conformity with the consent you were pleased to give to my application, begging permission to do so, I trust I shall be pardoned if I take the liberty of offering a few observations relating to those documents; and, in so doing, I am compelled to advert to the political state and public credit of the Nizam's country, for many years before the establishment of the house of William Palmer and Co.

The house of William Palmer and Co. acted under the impression, that the decided and public support given by the British Government to Chundoo Loll, had arisen out of the knowledge which the British Government possessed, that a very powerful party, to which the Nizam himself was supposed to lean, existed in his Highness's Court opposed to the British interests, and hence the firm concluded that any assistance rendered to Chundoo Loll for the support of his Government, would be looked upon favourably by the British Government.

At the period when the house became involved in pecuniary transactions with the Minister, the credit of the Nizam's Government was very low, and the Minister's assignments upon his collectors were discounted in the bazars at a discount of three and four per cent. per month. The house, in lending him money upon much more favourable terms, supposed that its transactions were beneficial to his Government. At this time it never entered into the contemplation of the firm, that their accounts with the Minister would be subjected to an audit by the British Government. It was supposed that the Minister's satisfaction with the terms of their engagements was sufficient, and therefore all charges to him were consolidated under the head of interest, by which the adjustment of accounts with him was much simplified. Had the house anticipated a re-audit of its accounts, the charges for expenses and commission would have been made separately, and the interest would not have then appeared so high.

In support of this, I beg to submit that the usual charge, of British houses of

agency at the Presidency, of one per cent. commission upon one side of an account current, amounts frequently to three or four per cent. upon the amount of the balance.

But the accounts were kept only for the information of Rajah Chundoo Loll ; and the firm having received the sanction of the British Government to their dealings with the Minister, supposed that he was equally competent to make his bargains with them and with the native bankers ; and they always believed that when he resorted to the house in preference to a native for accommodation, he did so because he found the terms of such accommodations from it more advantageous to him than those he could make elsewhere. I beg to submit to your consideration, that during the Residency of Mr. Russell, all the transactions of the Minister with the house were upon the security of the Minister only, and that the Resident had required from the firm an acknowledgment in writing, that they understood themselves to have no other security than that of the Nizam's Government, and no right to expect from the Resident any further assistance for the recovery of their debts, than such as he could give them by his influence over the Minister, without involving the British Government in any discussions with the Nizam's Government on the subject.

In estimating the terms of the advances made by the house, it is hoped that the nature of the security will be taken into consideration ; and I am sure I am justified in saying, that no natives would have lent money so cheap upon such security as the house held.

In configuration of this, I beg to state that the native bankers at Hyderabad refused to take half the amount of the loan upon the terms of the agreement with the Minister, and only agreed to lend money for the purpose of the loan to the house upon its security, taking from it, at first sixteen, and afterwards eighteen and twenty-four per cent. for these advances, and compelling the house to pay them the same rates for all their previous advances. These facts are so notorious at Hyderabad, that I am convinced their accuracy will not be disputed.

I further submit for your consideration, that at the period of the great advances made by the house to the Nizam's Government, the interest of money in Calcutta was never less than twelve per cent. : that during that time the Company's Government had opened a loan, giving ten per cent. interest for a year, and that the rates of exchange at which money was received for that loan at different treasuries, and other advantages given to the lenders, afforded them a bonus of six or seven per cent. upon the money lent.

If such was the value of money in those times in Calcutta (and it may be easily ascertained by a reference to the houses of agency in London) among merchants living under the protection of a British court of justice, and when they had ample security for all money transactions, your honourable Court can thence form a just conception of the rate at which individuals at Hyderabad were likely to borrow, when the lenders were aware of the hazardous speculation in which the borrowers had embarked.

I have understood that the present Resident at Hyderabad, at the commencement of last year, urged thereto by the distresses of the regular and reformed troops of his Highness, was induced to borrow money at Hyderabad through the First Assistant at the Residency ; and that, upon the ample security of the British Residency, he could only obtain two lacs of rupees at twelve per cent. This fact I have only learnt from private letters to me : your honourable Court may have information on the subject. If the fact be correctly stated, I venture to hope that it may be considered as highly in favour of the transactions of the house ; for at the period above alluded to, the houses of agency in Calcutta would not receive money at a higher rate of interest than five per cent., and refused to receive large sums even upon those terms.

I beg to submit to your honourable Court, that the large debt to the house originated in the advances made to the Minister for the maintenance and equipment of troops during Lord Hastings' campaigns. That in making those advances, the firm was fully aware of the depth of the speculation into which they entered. They saw, on one hand, the imminent risk to which they were exposed of losing the whole, for they were aware that the spirit of resistance to the British Government, which manifested itself in all Central India, was fully as strong at Hyderabad as in the other native Courts. Had Chundoo Loll been murdered by the opposite party, or had he been dismissed by their intrigues, or had his pecuniary resources failed, they were convinced that the Nizam's Government would have joined the confederacy against the British Government.

On the other hand, they had full confidence in the firmness of the British Resident, and in the zeal and fidelity of Rajah Chundoo Loll. They were aware of the vast importance which must be attached by the Company's Government to the active co-operation of the Nizam's, and of the alarming consequences of his defection, and they imagined that, if the capital and credit of the house could be made essentially useful to the Nizam, they should render a public service, which could not be overlooked by either Government. The firm saw the defection of other native Courts in succession with dismay, and could not but dread that the Hyderabad State would be involved in the general wreck; but it nevertheless continued its assistance, and the Nizam's Government stood firm to the end.

I venture to solicit your honourable Court to refer to the despatches of your Residents for years previous to these campaigns relative to the state of the credit and finances of the Nizam's Government, and to consider the extent of the military aid which he did furnish to the British Government; and if that aid was greater than might have been expected from his resources, I trust it will appear that he must have received great and unexpected assistance, and that the house of William Palmer and Co. may hope for some consideration for having furnished it.

The Resident and the Minister have frequently acknowledged the great public services rendered by the house at the above times; and we always hoped that the Governor-General would feel disposed to look favourably upon an establishment which had asserted claims to his protection upon their joint testimony.

I humbly submit, therefore, that if these high authorities appear to have shown peculiar consideration for the house, the causes of this consideration may be readily accounted for, as proceeding from motives creditable to our establishment: and I hope and trust, that if it does not seem expedient that our house should be allowed to continue its transactions with the Nizam's Government, the liberality and justice of your honourable Court will induce it to look favourably upon the house in the adjustment of its claims, and that it may not lose the benefit of the countenance of the British Government, in prosecuting its commercial and other banking transactions at Hyderabad.

I have, &c.
London, 19th January 1824. (Signed) WM. RUMBOLD.

Statement (10) to which the Documents refer.

Sir William Rumbold accompanied Lord Hastings to India, and landed in Calcutta in October 1813. In the early part of the year 1814 he received, through Mr. Palmer of Calcutta, a proposal to become a partner with William Palmer and Co. of Hyderabad. Lord Hastings being at that time in Calcutta, Sir William Rumbold consulted his Lordship on the prudence of accepting the offer, but was discouraged by his Lordship from acceding thereto.

In the month of June, Lord Hastings proceeded up the country, and in the autumn Sir William Rumbold addressed his Lordship by letter, urging his inclination to join the house at Hyderabad.* By a reply, dated 4th November 1814 (No. 1), Lord Hastings again discouraged the project. In order to understand the reference to trust-money in this and letter (No. 2), it is requisite to state, that Lord Hastings is a trustee to the marriage settlement of Sir William Rumbold, and his consent is therefore necessary to the employment of any and every portion of the funds in settlement.

In consequence of further information, Sir William Rumbold again addressed Lord Hastings in a letter (No. 2), in the latter end of 1814, recurring to the subject of the Hyderabad house, and enclosing a letter from Mr. De Fries of Madras (No. 3). To this Lord Hastings replied by a letter dated 4th January 1815 (No. 4).

In the month of April following, Sir William Rumbold proceeded to Hyderabad and became a partner, and signed a deed of copartnery with Messrs. William Palmer, Hastings Palmer, Bunketty Dos, Dr. Currie, and Hans Sotheby.

On reference to Lord Hastings' letter of January 1815, it appears that a letter from the Governor-General in Council had been previously written to the Resident at Hyderabad, giving the benefit of the British Government's sanction and countenance to the house of William Palmer and Co., "in consequence of the service rendered by that house to the Nizam's Government at the request of the Resident."

* That House was established in February 1814.

The disturbed state of Central India, and the distressed state of the Nizam's treasury at this and following periods, rendered it very desirable to the Minister, Chundoo Loll, to be able to command money for the payment of the troops, at times when the resources of the country did not enable him to provide it.

The house of Palmer and Co., well aware of the pledged support afforded to the Minister by the British Government and Resident, did from time to time meet his wishes, so far as they deemed it consistent with safety and propriety. It is not to be forgotten, that the Nizam's country, under the resolute and faithful conduct of Chundoo Loll, was the only ally in that part of India that remained attached to the British Government, and efficiently supported it in the field at a momentous crisis. That it was enabled to afford that assistance, and that the Minister was enabled to preserve his station and power against the intrigues of his rivals and his enemies, was owing to the resources he found in the confidence and liberality of Messrs. William Palmer and Co.

In the year 1816, the house directed its attention to the precise terms and import of the letter addressed by the Supreme Government in their favour to the Resident; and although he had considered it sufficient to authorize him in sanctioning the transactions they had had with the Nizam's Government, they thought it right to address a letter to the Governor-General in Council, dated 27th June 1816 (No. 5), requesting a specific official protection against the penalties of the 37th George III. according to the terms of the Act. The licence, under the hand and seal of the Governor-General in Council (No. 6), was transmitted in a letter from Mr. Secretary Adam, dated the 23d July 1816 (No. 7.)

In 1817 an application was made to William Palmer and Co., on the representation of Captain Sydenham, the British Political Agent at Bernar, to establish a branch of the firm at Auringabad, for the purpose of paying with regularity the regular and reformed troops of His Highness.

It is important to observe, that Captain Sydenham was most urgent in desiring that the house of Palmer and Co. should consent to undertake this transaction; and yet it has been insinuated, that Mr. Russell was a partner, or otherwise interested in the money transactions of the house of Chundoo Loll. Surely Captain Sydenham would not have suggested the transaction, had he deemed it one merely calculated for the undue advantage of the house, at the expense of the Nizam's Government, which is the insinuated ground on which it is pretended Mr. Russell's interested consent to the transaction was alone obtained.

The extract of a letter from Mr. William Palmer to Mr. John Palmer (No. 18), gives the account of the motives which induced the former to assent to the arrangement.

This letter was written after Sir William Rumbold had left Hyderabad to go round to Calcutta, and in consequence of having heard of certain objections to the Auringabad establishment, which led to the call made by the Governor-General in Council for the accounts of the house in September, 1819.

To this proposal the house declined assenting, seeing that it would be attended with considerable difficulties and expense, that the advances they might be called on to furnish would be considerable, and feeling the pressure of those they had already made in the late campaign, at the urgent request of the Resident, to enable the Nizam's Government to equip and support their troops co-operating with the Company's armies; to induce the house to make which advances, they were repeatedly assured they would thereby entitle themselves to the grateful considerations of both Governments. Upon a repeated and more urgent representation to the house by the Resident, at the commencement of the year 1818, Captain Sydenham holding out the prospect of an impending revolt of the troops, William Palmer and Co. did consent to the proposed establishment at Auringabad.

The house engaged to make monthly payments to the troops, to an amount not exceeding two lacs of rupees per month, for which the Minister was to give them, at the commencement of each year, assignments on the Collectors, to the amount of thirty lacs of rupees. An account-current was to be opened with the Minister, who was to be charged eighteen per cent. for interest, and six per cent. for commission, (including all charges for providing specie, &c.) On the debtor balance against him the house were to debit themselves with 12 per cent. interest for any balance of cash in their hands, arising from an excess of their receipts from the Collectors beyond their payments. It depended on the Nizam's Governor, therefore, by seeing that the Collectors made punctual payment of the charges upon

them, that Messrs. Palmer and Co. should derive no advantage whatever from the contract.

The Resident was fully acquainted with the contents of the contract.

On the 4th September, 1819, the Governor-General in council wrote to desire a copy of the accounts of Messrs. Palmer and Co. with the Minister Chundoo Loll, relating to the Aurungabad contract. Whilst the letter was on the road, Sir William Rumbold was crossing it on his way to Calcutta.

On learning, on his arrival there, what had been done, he addressed a letter to the Secretary to Government, announcing himself as a partner in the house of William Palmer and Co., and, in the name of himself and partners, declining to produce the accounts called for. Sir William Rumbold was summoned before the council, but for what purpose he was not informed, and he there stated that he objected on principle to disclose any account between his house and any constituent: but he stated, that the accounts had been delivered to the Minister, and that he was the proper person to be applied to for them.

The Council sustained the validity of the grounds of the objection, and Sir William Rumbold understood the demand would not be persisted in.

Sir William Rumbold being before the Council, stated that he had heard that an impression existed of Mr. Russell's being, or having been, a secret partner in the firm of which he was made member, and he tendered himself to be examined on oath on that subject, but his offer was not accepted.

After the Council broke up, he received a note (No. 8), dated 9th of October, from the Secretary, Mr. Metcalfe, stating that it had been determined that the arrangement between the house and Chundoo Loll should not be interfered with. In the mean time, the requisition of the Governor-General in Council had been transmitted to Hyderabad; and in Sir William Rumbold's absence, Messrs. Palmer and Co., deeming that erroneous conclusions might be drawn from the withholding the accounts, transmitted them in full detail to the Resident, with a letter (No. 9), 12th September, 1819. On the following day, Mr. Russell acknowledged the receipt in letter (No. 10).*

On the 3d February, 1820, Mr. Metcalfe addressed a letter (No. 11) to Sir William Rumbold, stating that the accounts had been received, and that after passing in circulation among the Members of Government, they had been returned to Hyderabad, there being no plea for scrutinizing or recording them. It should be here stated, that the Minister had observed his part of the contract to the letter only, but not the spirit; for the assignments he gave to the house proved to be not claimable to a very large amount; and thus was the house left, after acting under the contract for a year and a half, under an advance of cash of nearly fourteen lacs of rupees, on the Aurungabad contract.

The house was, at this time, urgent with the Minister to keep his promises made to them at the period of their advances during the Pindarry war, and for the pay of the Berar Suwars, and to give them good assignments as security or a discharge of their claims.

The Minister urged his inability to keep his word, at a moment too when he was pressed by the British Resident to diminish the establishment, and that such reductions required the immediate command of a sum of money to discharge existing claims; and that he only saw one way of being enabled to do his duty to all parties, viz., by raising a loan sufficient to discharge all his debts bearing a higher rate of interest, and at the same time leave him a sum to discharge the claims to be paid on reducing the establishment.

The proposal of the Minister was replied to by a letter from the house, which letter, together with the Minister's proposal delivered to the Resident, were at a later period forwarded by him to Calcutta, and the sanction of the Council was returned to the loan. The terms on which the proposal was submitted to the Supreme Government were, that for an advance of sixty lacs, six annual repayments, of sixteen lacs each, were to be received in return. These repayments were to include interest, commission, and all charges.

To raise so large a sum within the limited district to which the constituents of the house were usually confined, did not come within the calculation or expectation of Messrs. Palmer and Co. It was their scheme to have furnished the money by instalments, within a limited period of some months; in the interval,

* The copies of these letters furnished by Sir William Rumbold are dated, No. 9 the 12th October, and No. 10 the 30th October.

they counted upon receiving money on loan from the different Presidencies, at a moderate and ordinary rate of interest. The proposals for the loan, on the terms above specified, were made in the month of March or April, but not sent to Calcutta till some months later, for the formal approval of the Governor-General in Council. The terms and object of the loan had been immediately communicated to Mr. Russell, and received his sanction. He was of opinion, that under the letter of licence, the express sanction of the Government to this transaction was not requisite. The measure was one of evident advantage to the Minister, as by it alone was he enabled to comply with the Resident's wishes of reduction, and at the same time to meet the call for the fulfilment of his engagements to Palmer and Co. and to other creditors.

Immediately on the assent of Messrs. Palmer and Co. being signified to the Minister, he became urgent with them to let him have advances made to him at the moment, those payments to be counted as in part of the loan, when the contract should be formally drawn up and completed. These previous advances at the period between the proposal for and the actual contracting for the loan swelled up the amount of Messrs. Palmer and Co's claims, when the loan came to be completed, to an amount so nearly approaching the whole of it, as to make it appear merely a transfer of one security to another; but the money was not the less actually paid to the Minister. For his accommodation the loan was anticipated, and he gave the bonus for that service and risk.

For this accommodation, at the great expense and inconvenience of the house, he offered them compensation in the shape of the bonus, out of the loan, of eight lacs. Messrs. Palmer and Co. are ready to submit to any mercantile persons the question, whether, under their circumstances, they would not have much preferred the delayed payment, than to have made the advances at the risk they did for the bonus? In fact, from the representations of the Minister of the urgency of his necessities, and the peril to their own claims previously existing, they felt themselves compelled to support Chundoo Loll at this crisis. Those claims had arisen with the knowledge of the Resident.

On the 1st January, 1821, Mr. Metcalfe addressed a letter (No. 12) to Messrs. Palmer and Co., intimating the order of the Court of Directors that the licence of July, 1816, should be suspended, as to any future transactions between the house and the Nizam. On the 15th January, Messrs. Palmer and Co. replied by letter (No. 13).

Soon after Mr. Russell's retirement, Mr. Metcalfe, his successor, addressed to Messrs. Palmer and Co. a letter, (No. 14), dated 19th March, 1821, announcing his intention of submitting to the Supreme Government a plan for discharging the sixty-lac loan. To this letter Messrs. Palmer and Co. replied, on the 24th April, by letter (No. 15).

On the 5th April, Mr. Metcalfe submitted his proposal to the Governor-General in Council, but it does not appear to have been approved. It has been supposed that its failure was owing to Sir William Rumbold's influence with the Governor-General. This is, however, a completely erroneous impression, for it so happens that Sir William Rumbold, differing in his view of the effect of the proposal from his partners, by whom, after repeated discussions, he was outvoted and overruled, was very anxious that the proposal of the Resident should be complied with.

On the 10th of June, 1821, Lord Hastings addressed a private letter (No. 16) to Sir William Rumbold, desiring that, with a view to remove any doubt on his own mind, the firm of Palmer and Co. should define, upon oath, whether or not any British public functionary had, at any time, had pecuniary transactions with the house, which could influence him in countenancing their dealings with the Nizam's Government. In the end of this letter, Lord Hastings expressly states the object of his inquiry to relate to Mr. Henry Russell. In this letter Lord Hastings refers to a former communication he had made to Sir William Rumbold, stating the expediency of Mr. Palmer's making a similar declaration the preceding month of December, 1820. Upon that occasion Sir William Rumbold waited upon Mr. Metcalfe, the Resident, and communicated to him Lord Hastings' wish, and at the same time read to him the declaration (No. 17) to which Mr. Palmer was ready to swear. He also stated to Mr. Metcalfe the fact of Mr. Sotheby having been at one time a partner in the house, whilst he occupied the station of Assistant to the Resident; and he further acquainted Mr. Metcalfe with the peculiar circumstances under which Mr. Palmer had been induced to give him a share in the house, which fully acquitted Messrs. Palmer and Co. of any corrupt motive in having so done.

Sir William Rumbold considered his communication of Mr. Sotheby's connexion to Mr. Metcalfe as having been made in the confidence of private and friendly intercourse, and he felt convinced that the Resident would not make any public use of the knowledge so acquired, to the injury of that gentleman.

Sir William Rumbold would probably not think himself authorised to refer to it now, if he had not heard that it had been alluded to in Calcutta. He states it now, as proof that the house did not consider the connexion as objectionable in point of fact, and also as explanatory of the purpose of the affidavit afterwards made out. Sir William Rumbold's object in this communication to Mr. Metcalfe was simply to obtain his private opinion, whether the declaration would be considered by Lord Hastings as a sufficient answer to the information he had required; and it was necessary to explain to that gentleman the difficulty of making it more general, without involving Mr. Sotheby. Mr. Sotheby, at the time he was admitted a partner, was scarcely on speaking terms with the Resident, and never set his foot within the Residency, except on public or formal occasions. The terms he was on at the Residency did not vary during the whole time that he continued a partner. The declaration of Mr. Palmer (No. 17) was read over to Mr. Metcalfe, and not objected to by him, and was transmitted to Lord Hastings by Sir William Rumbold in a letter, dated the 22d December 1820 (No. 19). On the receipt of Lord Hastings' letter of June 10th, 1821, above referred to, (No. 16), which could not have reached Hyderabad earlier than on the 25th June,* Sir William Rumbold and Mr. Palmer drew up an affidavit, (No. 20), and attested the same before Mr. Sotheby, the first Assistant, (in Mr. Metcalfe's absence.)

On the 26th of June it was transmitted to Lord Hastings, in a letter from Sir William Rumbold (No. 21). This affidavit has been the subject of unmerited and unfounded remarks.

It is submitted that a fairer or more conscientious, honest, and open declaration was never made; one which it was utterly impossible to misconstrue or misapprehend.

In reference to this affidavit, Mr. Metcalfe wrote to Sir William Rumbold on the 8th May 1823 (No. 22), and enclosed a letter from the Supreme Government (No. 23), to which Sir William Rumbold replied by letter (No. 24).

Letters (No. 25 and 26) are here added, as completely bearing out the correctness of the affidavit, in confutation of the insinuations which have been made against its truth.

The affidavit embraces a period commencing with the present house of William Palmer and Co., and distinctly denies any improper connexion with Mr. Henry Russell and also with Mr. Charles Russell: for had he been connected with the House, the partners could not have sworn that Mr. Henry Russell was not indirectly connected with them.

(12.)—DOCUMENTS NOTICED IN THE FOREGOING STATEMENT.

(No. 1.) Letter from Lord MOIRA to Sir WILLIAM RUMBOLD, Bart., &c. &c. &c.

Mr. dear Sir William:—You are very good in making for me so much allowance respecting the tardiness of my answer to your letter. It is very true that I have ample occupation both for my mind and time, yet I should not have overlooked your business, had not another cause than multiplicity of other adventures operated. I was very solicitous of recurring to a memorandum which I had made of points discussed respecting your affairs by me with Sir Edward Lytton. I sought that paper in vain. The hope of retrieving it when I might be able to make a closer rummage, led me to delay till I should have a moment of leisure for that research; but, alas! when was that moment to be found? Though I have not got the scrap, I recollect sufficient of the particulars to answer, perhaps, your purpose. Sir Edward was decidedly of opinion, that I could not be justified in assenting to the embarking any part of Harriet's fortune in any but Government Securities. This I mentioned to you at the time, and I see you look to the direct operation of that principle, but I am not sure whether you take into calculation its indirect effect. You talk of borrowing the sum which you are to advance for a share in the firm. How can you do that without security to

* The post, in fine weather, is about thirteen days coming. The rains began in June; after which the time is very uncertain.

pledge? Your own money cannot be made that security, because that would be to subject it to the very risk which Sir Edward East regarded as illegal. If this be not an obstacle, I ought to suggest for your consideration a point to which you probably have not adverted. You do not only hazard the sum which you place in the firm, but any one of the partners is individually liable, to the whole extent of his property, for the debts of the house: any accumulation, therefore, which you might make, with the view to comfort hereafter in England, would be exposed to that danger. I state this only for your reflection. I am not competent to form a judgment, satisfactory to myself, of the advantage or peril of your engaging in the business. A man of greater worth and honour than John Palmer nowhere exists, if universal testimony is to be relied upon, and he is unquestionably of strong talents: on the other hand, he has the character of speculating in commerce, to an extent disproportioned to his capital. This opinion may be only the loose guess of the uninformed, or the misrepresentation of the envious; still having heard it advanced by a person whose situation gave him a special view of the commerce of Calcutta, I am bound to impart it to you. Whether the house of Hyderabad is in such acknowledged connexion with the house of John Palmer in Calcutta, as that the one can be responsible for the other, I am not able to say. That fact would be a material consideration. Your best procedure will be to consult Sir Edward East. The kindness of his disposition will ensure you against his thinking it intrusion; and his judgment is so sure, that you would have perfect comfort in relying on it. Adieu, my dear Sir William. Give my affectionate remembrances to Harriet, and believe me, &c.

Camp at Powain, 20th Nov. 1824.

(Signed)

MOIRA.

(No. 2.) Letter from Sir WM. RUMBOID, Bart.

The answer to this Letter is dated 4th January, 1815.

My dear Lord:—I mentioned, in a letter I wrote you some weeks since, in answer to one of your Lordship's, that I should take the liberty of troubling you again about the house at Hyderabad. I trust you will let me trespass a few moments upon your time, in explaining what has occurred relative to that subject since the conversation I had with you. When my taking a share in the house was first proposed, I imagined that I should be expected to reside in Hyderabad; the principal object of my inquiry was, therefore, as to the advantages I should derive by giving up all chance of employment under your Lordship, and quitting a place where I should leave the friends I have in this country. I did not see any use in entering into the question of whether or not the trust-money could be safely embarked in the house till I had determined whether it was advisable to entertain Mr. Palmer's proposition at all.

The conversation I had at that time with your Lordship and Lady London, and the kind intentions you expressed towards me, induced me to give up all idea of leaving Calcutta. The subject has since been revived, because it is now proposed to me to become a member of the house without residing at Hyderabad. All the information I have been able to procure has convinced me that such a step would afford me a fair chance of realizing a fortune, and that with little or no risk. The funds required for this object, in order to make it answer to me, would amount to three lacs. I think they might be procured without much difficulty: in fact, I have the offer of the money at twelve per cent., provided I can find security for it. The first object with me, however, is to act with your Lordship's approbation. My interests and my inclinations are equally concerned in this line of conduct, the propriety of which has been repeatedly urged by Mr. Palmer, however unnecessary such a caution may be: at the same time he perseveres in saying that he knows no such certain way of making a fortune. Were I assured of your approbation of the scheme, I would state to you what occurs to me, with respect to the possibility of appropriating the trust-money to this purpose, and how far the matter may be arranged without that money, should your Lordship see any difficulty in the way of its being so appropriated. I have already acquired from different persons much important information about the house, and have been waiting for the letter, of which I now enclose a copy, before I would trouble you. The letter is from Mr. De Fries, a friend of my family, being under obligations to them, and the head of the great Portuguese house at Madras. I thought him, from his local knowledge and the reputation he has of being a particularly careful man of business, the best person I could refer to. I in consequence wrote to him, informing him of the offer that is made me, and requesting he would advise me what to do. Your Lordship will, I trust, consider

his letter as very strong in favour of the house; but I should, if you approve of the plan, be inclined to go to Hyderabad myself, before I positively embarked in the scheme.

I have &c.

(Signed)

WM. RUMBOLD.

(No. 4.) Letter from LORD MOIRA, to Sir WILLIAM RUMBOLD, Bart.

My dear Sir William:—The account you have given of the house of Palmer and Co. at Hyderabad is very favourable, and certainly the details justify your inclination for going to that city, in order to inspect the books. I enclose you a letter to the Resident, couched in terms which will ensure to you his attentions and most earnest good offices. The partners speculate, that you being one of the firm will interest me in the welfare of the house, to a degree which may be materially beneficial to them: it is a fair and honest calculation. The amount of advantage which the countenance of government may bestow must be uncertain, as I apprehend it would flow principally from the opinion the natives would entertain of the respect likely to be paid by their own Government to an establishment known to stand well in the favour of the Supreme authority here. Perhaps a more distinct benefit may attend the firm, from the consequent discouragement to competition with you, by any other British partnership, to which a similarly professed sanction would not be granted. It is on the ground of the service to the Nizam, at the request of our Resident, that I have consented to let the good wishes of Government for the prosperity of this firm be signified. No new establishment could have such a plea. Believe me, &c.

Camp, at Kurnaul, 4th January, 1815.

(Signed)

MOIRA.

(No. 16.) Letter from the MARQUIS of HASTINGS, to Sir WILLIAM RUMBOLD, Bart.

My dear Sir William:—It is difficult for me to make you comprehend the unpleasant discussions which have been within this fortnight past recorded, with regard to the pecuniary engagements between the house of William Palmer and Co. and the Nizam. The whole has originated in these underhand suggestions of Mr. ———, which a false delicacy towards him prevented my exposing. They made impressions on others, who, acting on the erroneous persuasion, staked themselves in a manner which makes them flounder obstinately now, in order to preserve consistency. Much advantage is given to them by an apparent (I am sure not a real) want of frankness on the part of your house. I apprised you long ago that it was expedient for the firm to define, upon oath, whether or not any British public functionary had at any time had pecuniary transactions with the house which could influence him in countenancing your dealings with the Nizam's Government. The evasion of so simple a declaration is awkward, even in the eyes of me, who have so strong a belief in the honour of your proceedings. Though Mr. Stuart declared he had never thrown on Mr. Russell the imputation of a secret understanding with you, peculiar circumstances convince me that such a suspicion was communicated to persons at home, and was received with ready faith.

It depends on the house whether I also must not admit doubts.

Sincerely yours,

Barrackpore, 10th June, 1821.

(Signed)

HASTINGS.

(No. 17.) Declaration of Mr. WILLIAM PALMER.

I am prepared to make oath and declare, that the partners of our house at Hyderabad, styled Messrs. William Palmer and Co., are as follows: William Palmer, Sir William Rumbold, Hastings Palmer, and George Lamb: That there are no other partners, and that no public functionaries, here or elsewhere, have any personal interest, directly or indirectly, in our concerns: That when Sir William Rumbold went to Calcutta last year, we heard that it had been reported that Mr. Russell had some interest in our house. Sir William Rumbold was authorized at that time, and was anxious to declare upon oath, what I am now ready to declare, that Mr. Russell has not, and never has had, any personal interest in our concerns.

Hyderabad, 23d December, 1820.

(Signed)

W. PALMER.

(No. 19.) Letter from Sir WM. RUMBOLD, Bart.

Extract of a Letter to LORD HASTINGS, dated 22d December, 1820.

enclose a declaration made by Mr. Palmer, and to which he is ready to swear, if you wish it. I trust it will be satisfactory in proving, that whatever support we

have received from public officers, has been disinterested, and from a view of justice to us. I will, however, beg of your Lordship merely to use this paper in the event of your wishing to send it to England. Of course our inclination, as well as our duty, would lead us at all times to give your Lordship any information you require; but we should not like such a declaration to be used officially in Calcutta, because we might be liable to be perpetually called upon in the same way. Our objections to this are upon the same ground which I urged in Calcutta last year, requesting that we might not be called upon to produce our private accounts in Council. As mercantile men, we have no right to publish the affairs of those persons who transact business with us; and if the Council were to assume the right of making demands of this nature from us, our request to be exempted from affording the information required upon any occasion, might excite suspicions as to our motives which they would not deserve.

Your Lordship may remember, that after the Council had, in compliance with our request, agreed to dispense with the production of the papers above referred to, we did lay them before the Council, and thereby proved that our objections were not to the inspection of our papers, but to the being called upon to produce them: for these reasons, I entreat your Lordship not to call for Mr. Palmer's affidavit, unless it be for your private satisfaction, or for the purpose of sending it to England.—I have, &c.

(Signed) WILLIAM RUMBOLD.

Affidavit by WILLIAM PALMER, Esq. and Sir WILLIAM RUMBOLD.

We, the undersigned, William Palmer and William Rumbold, do hereby make oath and declare, that the partners of our house at Hyderabad, called by the name of William Palmer and Co., are as follow: William Palmer, Esq., Sir William Rumbold, Bart., Hastings Palmer, Esq., George Lamb, Esq., and Bunketty Dos, and that no other persons of any description have, directly or indirectly, any partnership with us, or any interest in any concerns, beyond such as the public has in every other house of agency. We further declare, that no public functionary, at the head of any public office or department, ever had any avowed or direct partnership, directly or indirectly, with us, or any interest in our concerns, which could influence him in countenancing our dealings with the Nizam's Government, or give him any means of deriving any personal advantage from them.

We think it proper to add, that several individuals, Natives and Europeans, who supported us with their capital at the commencement of our establishment, did, in consequence of such accommodation to us, derive benefits from our house. These were, however, such as we gave them from private friendship, or a sense of private and pecuniary obligations to them; but we repeat, that although we have made this declaration for the purpose of being perfectly explicit, no person or resident at the head of any public office or department of Government, or any one to whom we looked for public support or influence, have had any such benefit; and that no persons, of any description, but the above-named partners of our house, have been associated with us in any way, since the time we first entered into treaty for the loan we negotiated for the Nizam's Government.

(Signed) WM. PALMER.
WM. RUMBOLD.

Sworn before me, this 26th day of June 1821.

(Signed) HANS SOTHEY.

(No. 21.) Letter from Sir WILLIAM RUMBOLD, Bart.

To the Most Noble the MARQUIS OF HASTINGS, &c. &c. &c.

My dear Lord:—I trust the enclosed affidavit will satisfy your Lordship, that any backwardness we may have shown to make the declaration required, did not arise from any such motive as you have thought possible. It is a difficult thing for people who have had such ruinous and extensive transactions, to take so sweeping a path. If I could have said roundly, that none but the partners of the house had had any advantage in any of our dealings, I should have sent the declaration long ago; but this I could not do: for we have frequently been obliged to resort to friends for accommodations, and if we have given them any benefit for their assistance, it has been from motives purely disinterested and honest. The enclosed paper proves that those friends have not been the persons whom it is your object to be satisfied about; and it would be very hard that we

should be obliged to injure them by our declaration. I say, "iojure them," because nearly any person in this country may be termed a public functionary, being in the Company's civil or military service; and I believe, strictly speaking, no such persons ought to have any dealings, which could be in any way construed into mercantile ones; and that if we were not to make the exception we have made, we should find it difficult to take the oath at all.—I have, &c.

Hyderabad, 26th June 1821.

(Signed)

WM. RUMBOLD.

Political Letter from Bengal, dated the 31st October 1823.

1. On the 27th ultimo we had the honour to receive your letter of the 9th of April last.*

2. In obedience to the orders of your honourable Court, we have published in the Government Gazette, and communicated to the subordinate Governments and to the Residents and political Agents at the native courts, the instructions and explanation conveyed in the third and fourth paragraphs of your honourable Court's letter regarding illegal loans, and directing the prosecution of British subjects who may contravene the law in that respect.

3. Previously to promulgating the notice above adverted to, we deemed it expedient to consult the Advocate-General on certain points connected with the subject of your honourable Court's commands, on which we were desirous of receiving more particular information. We beg leave to refer your honourable Court to the accompanying copies of our letter to Mr. Fergusson, and his reply. In cases of a contravention of the law by British subjects residing in a foreign territory where they cannot be made amenable to the process of his Majesty's courts, the institution of a prosecution against them will, it is to be feared, be generally attended with much difficulty and with very doubtful success.

4. We do not conceive that it was the intention of your honourable Court to give a retrospective effect to your orders regarding prosecutions for the misdemeanour therein mentioned, and we have accordingly confined our proceedings in the case of Mr. Lamb, the European partner in the house of Messrs. William Palmer and Co., to requiring him to quit Hyderabad by the end of December next, and to return to England; with an intimation, that if, after the notice he will now receive of the illegality of the transactions in which he has been engaged as a partner of the firm, he shall continue to be concerned in such transactions, he will subject himself to the penalties of the law.

5. As being connected with the subject of this letter, we avail ourselves of the present opportunity to transmit, as numbers in the packet, the series of despatches from the Resident at Hyderabad, and of our instructions in reply, since the date of our last address to your honourable Court on the subject of Hyderabad affairs. We shall have the honour, hereafter, to report the result of the Resident's proceedings under those instructions, the tenour of which, we trust, will be approved by your honourable Court. We have, &c.

(Signed)

AMHERST,

JOHN FENDALL.

(Enclosure No. 1.)—Letter from SECRETARY to Government to R. C. FERGUSSON, Esq., Advocate-General.

Sir :—1. I am directed to transmit to you the enclosed extract from a letter from the Court of Directors, under date the 9th April last, with the case therein referred to, and to desire that you will state your opinion, as to the course of instituting a prosecution for a misdemeanour against British-born subjects contravening the law, as explained by his Majesty's Attorney and Solicitor-General and the Company's counsel, where the offence shall be committed by such persons residing out of the Company's territories. You will also be pleased to state your opinion, as to the expediency of instituting a prosecution in such cases, considered with reference to the practicability of obtaining the attendance of the necessary witnesses, whether subjects of the state in which the offence has been committed, or British subjects resident in the territories of such State.

2. You will further state your opinion, whether the misdemeanour in question, namely, lending money, and taking a higher rate of interest than twelve per centum per annum, whether to individuals generally, as prohibited by the 13th George III. cap. 68. sec. 30, or to native Princes, as prohibited by the 37th George III. cap. 142. sec. 28, can be considered an offence of that heinous de-

* Vide page 104.

scription which, according to the usages in Europe, would justify the British Government in applying to the Government of the foreign State in which the offence had been committed, to seize and surrender up the offender to the officers of the court charged with the execution of the legal process, and deputed to the frontier for that purpose.

3. You will also be pleased to draw up and submit to Government, the form and mode of publishing, for general information, the explanation and instruction adverted to in the concluding paragraph of the honourable Court's letter.

4. You are further requested to state your opinion as to the description of persons comprehended within the terms, "subjects of his Majesty in the East Indies;" and as to the liability of the native or country-born partners of a mercantile or banking-house to punishment for contravening the statutes quoted in the case, on which latter point it appears the law authorities at home are doubtful.

5. The Governor-General in Council will be happy to receive, at the same time, your sentiments on the general question, with such observations and suggestions as the subject may appear to require, and with advertence to the opinions stated in the accompanying letters of the former Advocate-General, under dates the 19th July 1816, and 14th of February 1823.

6. You are requested to return the documents now sent to you, with your answer to this letter.—I have, &c.

Council Chamber,
3d October 1823.

(Signed) G. SWINTON,
Secretary to Government.

(Enclosure No. 2.)—Letter from ADVOCATE-GENERAL,

To GEORGE SWINTON, Esq., Secretary to the Government.

Sir:—1. In reply to your letter of the 3d instant, I have the honour to state, for the purpose of being submitted to the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council, that British-born subjects offending against the provision of the Act 37th George III. cap. 142. sec. 28, although the offence be committed out of the Company's territories, and by persons residing out of those territories, may be prosecuted in his Majesty's Courts in India, when they can be made amenable to the process of such Courts. There might, of course, be difficulties in procuring the attendance of witnesses to prove the offence, our Courts having no power to compel the attendance of witnesses residing in a foreign territory.

2. I am of opinion, that the misdemeanour in question, namely, lending money, and taking a higher rate of interest than twelve per centum per annum, whether to individuals or to native Princes, cannot be considered an offence of that heinous description, which, according to the usages of Europe, or the general principles of public law, would justify the British Government in applying to the Government of the foreign state in which the offence had been committed, to seize and surrender up the offenders.

3. The terms, "subjects of his Majesty in the East Indies," as construed by the Supreme Court, are held to include, not only his Majesty's European subjects, but all persons, sons of British fathers, born in wedlock in the East Indies, without regard to the description or country of the mother; but persons born out of wedlock, although the sons of British fathers, and born within the Company's territories, have been held not to be included within the terms "British subjects," or "subjects of his Majesty," which are used indifferently throughout the Acts of Parliament.

4. With respect to the liability of country-born partners of a mercantile or banking-house to punishment, for contravening the statutes referred to, and on which the law authorities at home appear to be doubtful, I am decidedly of opinion, that persons of that description are not liable to prosecution of punishment for any such acts. I have, &c.

Fort-William,
13th October 1823.

(Signed) R. C. FERGOUSON,
Advocate-General.

(Enclosure No. 13.)—Letter from SECRETARY to Government,

To Sir CHARLES T. METCALFE, Bart., Resident at Hyderabad.

Sir:—1. I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch of the 27th August, submitting copies of a correspondence with Messrs. William Palmer and Co., relative to their claims against Umeen ool Moolk (brother of Mooneer ool

Moolk), as the security of Shah Yar ool Moolk, and to communicate to you the following observations and orders of the Governor-General in Council.

2. Under the orders of the Honourable the Court of Directors of the 24th May, 1820, the Governor-General in Council is positively prohibited from interposing, in any way whatever, the name, authority, influence, or good offices of any sort, of the British Government, for the furtherance of any demand which Messrs. William Palmer and Co. may bring forward. With advertence, therefore, to those orders, and to the instructions lately issued to you, under date the 31st July last, you will consider yourself to be strictly prohibited from interposing with the Nizam or his Ministers, in favour of any demands by Messrs. William Palmer and Co. against all individuals whomsoever. No interdict exists against the intercourse of the house with any one except the Ministers of His Highness the Nizam; and it is, of course, open to Messrs. William Palmer and Co. to apply for redress to the tribunal of justice, which, it appears by Mr. Russell's letter of the 1st September, 1820, has been established at Hyderabad, and which is also alluded to in your despatch of the 20th September, 1823. I have, &c.

Fort-William,
17th Oct. 1823.

(Signed) GEO. SWINTON,
Secretary to Government.

(Enclosure No. 17.—Letter from SECRETARY to Government,

To Sir CHARLES T. METCALFE, Bart., Resident at Hyderabad.

Sir:—1. I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch of the 29th August last, submitting an application from Mr. Lamb, of the firm of William Palmer and Co., to remain at Hyderabad until the month of June next, on the plea of its being impracticable for him to settle his affairs before the close of the business year of the house in that month.

2. Although Mr. Lamb may not have taken an active part in all those transactions of the house with the Government of the Nizam, by which it has justly forfeited every title to the countenance of the British Government, still his Lordship in Council observes, Mr. Lamb has been associated with those who were the principal actors, and has shared with them the advantage accruing from those transactions. It can, therefore, be considered but a negative merit on his part, not to have taken an active and prominent share in the system of deception, misrepresentation, and intrigue, which was perhaps not the less adroitly conducted without his assistance, while his unavoidable knowledge of some, at least, of those improper proceedings, his reserve when called upon to speak to points of which it is not easy to believe he could be so entirely ignorant as he professed himself to be, and his participation in the profits of the house, fully implicate him in whatever criminality has been held to attach to the acts of the firm.

3. Adverting to the above circumstances, and to the fact of Mr. Lamb having been apprized of the order of the Honourable Court for his return to England ever since the month of December, 1821, the Governor-General in Council cannot regard the application of that gentleman as containing any adequate ground for further delay, in carrying into execution the above order. You are accordingly directed to intimate to him that the period of his stay at Hyderabad is limited to the month of December next; at the expiration of which month he is peremptorily required to quit the dominions of his Highness the Nizam, and proceed to Europe, in conformity with the orders of the Honourable Court. In the event of any attempt on his part to evade this positive order, you will call on the Government of his Highness to fulfil that stipulation of the treaty of 1798, which provides that no European shall be permitted to remain in the Nizam's territories without the consent of the British Government.

4. In communicating the above order to Mr. Lamb, you will caution him against all further concern with the firm of which he is a partner, in any usurious and illegal transactions, with reference to the public notification, under this date, regarding loans at a rate of interest exceeding 12 per cent., appraising him that any contravention, on his part, of the law, as so explained, will render him liable to a prosecution.—I have, &c.

Fort-William,
17th October 1823.

(Signed) G. SWINTON,
Secretary to Government.

Translation of a Petition of RAJAH CHUNDOL LOLL, sent to his Highness the NIZAM.

Your ~~shah~~ has no other object than the welfare of your Highness's State, and employs his whole time, day and night, with a view to that purpose, in order that affairs may be properly conducted, and that a surplus may be paid into your Highness's coffers. I formerly delivered a statement of annual payments by instalments, amounting to ten lacs of rupees, to be made into your Highness's treasury, in the year 1233 Fusly. I now have arranged that, from the Fusly year 1234, fifteen lacs of rupees, in excess to all expenses, will be annually paid to your Highness.

During an audience, I some time back represented that I had settled the matter of the payment of the debt to the Kothec (Messrs. William Palmer and Co.) in exchange for the peshcush of Seekacool; I now, therefore, submit the Deed of Cession, for the purpose of receiving the seal and signature of your Highness. After being sealed and signed, I beg that it may be returned, as the Resident not only daily urges me for the delivery of this paper, but complains of my remissness in this affair.

In consequence of the war, during which, in addition to the customary expenses, were added those of entertaining the troop (regiment of cavalry) and the battalions, together with purchase of military stores, and of grain, cattle, &c. although, from a debt being incurred, loss was apparently sustained, yet, in reality, by the performance, during the war, of engagements agreeably to treaty, your Highness's Government has received much benefit.

In the first place, the chout formerly collected in your Highness's country by Rao Pundit Purdhan has been ceded to your Highness. Secondly, the above mentioned Rao had a claim on your Highness's Government for a large sum of money; a relinquishment of this claim has been obtained from the Honourable Company, whereby there no longer exists any demand whatever against your Highness. Thirdly, by the increase of the friendship of the Honourable English Company, the late treaty, promoting the strength of your Highness's Government, present and future, has been concluded. Fourthly, an advantage has been derived by the yearly payment into your Highness's coffers of fifteen lacs of rupees, in addition to the expense of troops, &c. Fifthly, the payment of the debt of the Sirkar, which was incurred in consequence of the war, has been effected, by the relinquishment of seven lacs of rupees yearly. Indeed, of this sum of seven lacs of rupees, your Highness's Government has, in the territorial exchanges, received an excess of two lacs of rupees annually; consequently, by the relinquishment of only five lacs of rupees annually, the entire debt of the State has been liquidated.

From the commencement of the reign of the late Nizam, notwithstanding the great extent of territory, so large a sum annually has never been paid into the treasury: the proof of which is, that had such sum been annually paid in excess to all expenses, an accumulation would have taken place, but such has not been the case.

Although I, who am but your chumburda (shoe-carrier), was obliged by extreme difficulties during the war to contract a debt, yet what I have done has been for the prosperity and stability of your Highness's Government.

Letter from Messrs. W. PALMER and Co., to Sir CHARLES T. METCALFE, Bart., Resident, &c. &c. &c.

Sir:—We have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 1st November, communicating to us an extract of a letter from the honourable the Court of Directors to the Supreme Government.

We regret that it is not in our power to bring all our transactions to an immediate close. It is our desire to accomplish this as speedily as possible, and we earnestly entreat your assistance to enable us to recover our outstanding balances, by which means only we can hope to effect it.

In the mean time, we beg to inform you that Sir William Rumbold, Bart., and Mr. George Lamb, have retired from our establishment from the 1st of this month.

We most earnestly and humbly entreat your aid, to enable us to realize our different claims, both as connected with our own interests, and on account of our numerous European constituents, whose fortunes are involved in our concerns.

We have, &c.

Hyderabad, 8th November 1823.

(Signed)

WM. PALMER & Co.

(Enclosure No. 5.) Letter from RESIDENT at Hyderabad, to GEORGE SWINTON, Esq., Secretary to Government.

Sir:—1. I have the honour to submit copies of correspondence with Messrs. William Palmer and Co.

2. I am not surprised at their feeling a difficulty in regard to a resort to the courts of this country, for I know of none of sufficient respectability to warrant any reliance on their decisions; and I am not aware that any possess authority over the class of persons, against whom the largest demands of Messrs. William Palmer and Co. are charged. I have, &c.

(Signed) C. T. METCALFE, Resident.

Hyderabad Residency, Nov. 15, 1823.

Letter from Messrs. W. PALMER and Co., to Sir CHARLES T. METCALFE, Bart., Resident, &c. &c. &c.

Sir:—We have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of 11th instant, regarding the existing restrictions.

We humbly hope that no retrospective charge of interest will annul to us the benefit of the consideration which the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council has been pleased to extend to us, and all future charges of interest, either from the 1st of Rubee ool Awul, or from the last settlement of accounts with the respective parties, as you shall be pleased to direct, shall be regulated in conformity to the orders of the Supreme Government.

We, however, beg to say that we experience difficulty in regard to a resort to the constituted courts of this country. In the first instance, we do not know of any tribunal exercising judicial authority in these matters. We shall submissively refer our suits to such court as you shall be pleased to make known.

Under every circumstance, we feel that our only reliance for the adjustment of our claims will rest with you. We have, &c.

Hyderabad, November 14 1823. (Signed) WM. PALMER & Co.

Letter from RESIDENT at Hyderabad, to Messrs. WILLIAM PALMER and Co.

Gentlemen:—1. I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of a second letter from you of the 14th instant.

2. A copy shall be submitted for the consideration of the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council; but I cannot hold out any hope, after the instructions which have been received, that his Lordship will authorise any intercession for the payment of demands on which illegal interest is charged, either prospectively or retrospectively.

3. I am sensible that you must experience difficulty with respect to a resort to the judicial courts of this country, which shall be represented to the Supreme Government. At present, I can only point out to you the courts established at Hyderabad and Aurungabad respectively: if those are not competent tribunals I do not know of any other. I have, &c.

Hyderabad Residency, 15th Nov. 1823. (Signed) C. T. METCALFE, Resident.

Letter from RESIDENT at Hyderabad, to Messrs. WILLIAM PALMER and Co.

Gentlemen:—1. Your application on the subject of your claim against Umeen ool Moolk having been submitted to the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council, I have received his Lordship's commands thereon.

2. It is considered to be open to you, to apply for redress to the tribunals of justice established at Hyderabad, and in the event of your being desirous to appeal from the decision of the court of justice to the Government of his Highness the Nizam, I am permitted, under the existing restrictions against your direct intercourse or communication with his Highness's Government, to transmit written representations from you to the Minister, and to receive and convey to you his reply, provided that the rate of interest charged in the account on which your claim be founded do not exceed twelve per cent. per annum.

3. With respect to the special transaction between your firm and Umeen ool Moolk, his Lordship does not consider it to be one which the British Government is in any way pledged to adjust. I have, &c.

Hyderabad Residency, 11th Nov. 1823, (Signed) C. T. METCALFE, Resident.

Letter from RESIDENT at Hyderabad, to Messrs. WILLIAM PALMER and Co.

Gentlemen :—1. Having submitted to the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council a view of your situation with respect to the recovery of just demands, under the existing restrictions against your intercourse with the Government of his Highness the Nizam, I have received the following commands :

2. I am authorised to transmit appeals from you to the Government, provided that no higher rates of interest than twelve per cent. be charged on the transactions to which they refer, and that you have, in the first instance, applied for redress in the constituted courts of the country.—I have, &c.

Hyderabad Residency,
11th Nov. 1823.

(Signed) C. T. METCALFE,
Resident.

Letter from RESIDENT at Hyderabad to Messrs. WILLIAM PALMER and Co.

Gentlemen :—1. I am directed by the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council to communicate to you the following reply, on your reference regarding the bonus attached to your sixty-lac loan, and the allowance granted by Rajah Chundoo Loll to Mr. William Palmer and his family.

2. The conduct of Rajah Chundoo Loll, with regard both to the bonus and to those allowances, had been pronounced to be extremely reprehensible, and he is held accountable for it to his Sovereign and to the British Government, whom he has grossly deceived.

3. Under these circumstances, the British Government never could sanction, by its countenance, so shameful and criminal a misappropriation of the public funds by the Minister, as the liquidation of your demands on account of the bonus and those allowances ; and in the event of his taking upon himself to satisfy those demands from the coffers of the State, I am instructed to make a representation directly to his Highness the Nizam, remonstrating against such misappropriation of the public money.

4. The Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council will always be ready to pay attention to any representations on your part, in explanation of the justice of the demands in question, into the merits of which you expressed your incompetency to enter fully at the time of writing. I have, &c.

Hyderabad Residency,
12th Nov. 1823.

(Signed) C. T. METCALFE,
Resident.

Letter from RESIDENT at Hyderabad, to Messrs. WILLIAM PALMER and Co.

Gentlemen :—1. A copy of your letter, soliciting a revision of the order declaring you to have forfeited the countenance and protection of the British Government, having been submitted to the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council, I am directed to apprise you as follows.

2. His Lordship is unable to discern, in any explanation as yet afforded by you, any ground for the revision of that order, while much has since appeared to his Lordship in Council, to confirm the justice and propriety of the resolution.

3. You are on the same footing with all other British subjects in the Nizam's dominions, and are free to present, through the British Resident, to his Highness's Ministers, any lawful appeal for redress. No shackles are imposed on the licit exercise of your commercial pursuits : you are only interdicted from dealings with the Government of his Highness the Nizam, and from direct intercourse with the Ministers. I have, &c.

Hyderabad Residency,
12th Nov. 1823.

(Signed) C. T. METCALFE,
Resident.

Extracts of a Letter from Messrs. W. PALMER and Co.,

To Sir CHARLES T. METCALFE, Bárt., Resident, &c. &c. &c., Hyderabad.

Sir :—We have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of 12th November, regarding our reference to you on the subject of the bonus, and the allowances to Mr. William Palmer and his family.

Mr. Palmer has shown, that his best possessions and commands were held by him under the Minister, Rajah Chundoo Loll's predecessor in office, and that his rise in the service was progressive.

Mr. Palmer cannot presume to contend against the opinions entertained by the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council : but he hopes it will be admitted, that a change of relations alone between the Governments, which he could not foresee, extended to his individual case, which had long subsisted

without comment, has subjected him to his present unhappy condition; and he humbly hopes, that Government, in its universally acknowledged liberality, will save him from the misery of a measure affecting him, by a retrospective operation.

His career has been one of reputation and credit, and his appeal would be cheerfully made to the community where he has passed his whole life.

With the views formed by Government regarding the bonus, we cannot but regard our situation as peculiarly unfortunate and embarrassing, and we must rely wholly upon the clemency of Government to put the most liberal construction upon the act. We acceded to a loan upon a smaller rate of interest than we had been in the habit of charging, and we were called upon to make it at a time when we were totally unprepared for it, and were destitute of funds, and which situation necessarily exposed us to an increased charge of interest, and thus a portion of the loan was occupied by others for their benefit, unprofitably to us, but still upon our own risk, and a considerable former balance held by us advantageously was converted into a similar unprofitable occupation of the loan. We had the honour to submit the particulars to you by our letter of the 14th October 1822, to which we respectfully beg to refer you.

The investiture of our funds in a loan, which was repaid slowly and gradually, exposed us to subsequent losses, and our necessities being prominent, every banking transaction of ours, whether on exchange or discount, was subjected to a loss. We at one period encountered a run upon the house, which was obviated by considerable sacrifices.

With the feelings of men who acted for their gains, we could not have sacrificed our advantages and encountered risks, without the hope of adequate compensation; and reverting to the wishes of the Minister, whom we considered as the best judge in his own affairs, we apprehended that the arrangement was not burthensome to him, and was necessary to shelter us from a present positive, and subsequent eventual loss. The saving which this arrangement has led to, on the part of the Government, by enabling the Minister to disband a number of troops earlier than he could otherwise have done, has amounted, we humbly submit, to a much larger sum than the stipulated bonus.

Our gains have never been exorbitant, compared to the rates of profit obtained by houses of business in India; and we beg to state, that at no period since the loan has been made, have our dividends exceeded seven per cent. upon the amount of capital employed.

We entreat you to take into consideration, that the bulk of the money employed by us was invested by European capitalists, and that our payment of interest to them was twelve per cent. clear, without any charge for agency. We considered our transactions as beneficial to that community, which could not have obtained more than five, six, or seven per cent. at our Presidencies.

We fear to be troublesome, but we hope we shall be pardoned for dwelling on a matter of vital importance to us; and we once more beg to be permitted to revert to the circumstance, that through our agency alone, a considerable market was opened for British manufactures, at a time when the opening of the trade made a glut of British commodities in India ruinous to English houses, and that our efforts have established a navigation of four hundred miles, between a productive part of the Nizam's country and the Eastern coast. Whilst our labours have succeeded in the primary object, we have suffered very severe losses from circumstances which we could not control.

We entreat the Government to direct their attention to our fate, in the consideration that, in the examination of our accounts for a period of twelve years, we have been subjected to a severe ordeal, from which no body of men, acting for their own advantage, could perhaps escape without reprehension.

Reverting to our rate of interest, we beg to say, and we shall readily submit to the severest scrutiny, that it is a reduced rate to that which obtained in the market before the establishment of our house. A ready proof of this may be found in Soucars discounting their own and each other's acceptances at two per cent. per month; and we are ready to prove, that Government bills in private hands have been discounted at five per cent. per month.

We will not presume to argue upon the grounds that different rates of interest are legislated for different countries, as witness England and the East India Company's dominions; and that, in respect to our transactions, we could not (with submission) but feel ourselves justified by the licence of the Supreme

Government, afforded to us under its seal and signature, under date the 23d July 1816.

We humbly entreat you to consider, that whilst certain grounds of our conduct may have been liable to unfavourable imputations, we have not been exempt from endeavours to do good. We humbly implore the Government to avert the ruin from those unfortunate persons, who though unoffending, will suffer from having vested their fortunes with us. We have, &c.

Hyderabad, (Signed) WILLIAM PALMER and Co.
17th November 1823.

SELECTIONS

From the Official Correspondence contained in the Appendix to the Memorial of Messrs. W. Palmer and Co. to the Supreme Government of Bengal.

To Messrs. WM. PALMER and Co. Hyderabad.

GENTLEMEN,

1. I am directed by the honourable the Governor-General in council to inform you, that all intercourse between the members of your firm and the Nizam's Minister, personal or written, direct or indirect, *except through the channel of the British Resident*, is for the future prohibited, in the same manner as in the case with regard to other British subjects at Hyderabad.

2. I shall at all times *be happy to* receive any communications that it may be proper for you to make to his Highness' Government; and I trust that you will find that due attention is paid to *your just claims and interests*.

3. During my absence from Hyderabad, whenever you may suppose that your interests will suffer from the delay of a reference to me, I beg that you will address yourselves to my assistant, Lieutenant Barnett. With exception to the case supposed, I shall prefer receiving your communication directly.

I have the honour, &c. &c.

Hyderabad Residency, (Signed) C. T. METCALFE, Resident.
Camp, Amba, 10th February, 1823.

To Lieutenant H. L. BARNETT, Acting Resident, &c. &c. &c. Hyderabad.

Sir,—We have the honour to state to you the following circumstances for your consideration.

1. We have immediate calls on us, for the payment of upwards of three lacs (300,000) of rupees, which we are totally unable to meet.

2. Our demands on his Highness, the Nizam's Government, and individuals in the city of Hyderabad, exceed forty lacs of rupees (4,000,000).

3. These loans were made under circumstances perfectly justifiable to ourselves, at the time of the advances to the respective parties, against whom our principal claims are now laid.

4. Since the orders of the Supreme Government, prohibiting our intercourse with the Ministers of his Highness the Nizam's, our claims on them, on Shah Yar'ool Moolk, and on Umeen ool Moolk and others, have been addressed to the British Resident.

5. You are acquainted with the result, and we need not revert to the total failure of our representations.

6. Subsequent to this, our demands have been termed illegal, and denied admission.

7. Since the month of November, 1823, we have lived in the unheard of situation, of a banking and commercial establishment, existing without a possible appeal for justice to any quarter.

8. Should a sense of justice, induce our principal debtor to offer a voluntary payment of his debt, we have been told by the British Resident, that he is *directed to exert the influence of his Government against the measure*.

9. We are now reduced to the inevitable consequence of such a situation, unless speedily relieved by an interference on your part in our behalf.

10. We must declare ourselves bankrupts.

11. We trust that the Supreme Government could not have anticipated a result so fatal to our constituents, and to ourselves in the execution of their orders, and we earnestly beg that you will be pleased to extend a portion of the British influence in our favour, to save us from a wreck which we cannot otherwise avoid.

12. We subjoin a statement of our claims, the particulars of which have already been submitted to the British Resident.

Rajah Chundoo Loll	-	-	-	-	22,00,000
Mooncer ool Moolk	-	-	-	-	8,00,000
Shah Yar ool Moolk	-	-	-	-	7,00,000
Munsoon Khan	-	-	-	-	1,50,000
Noor ool Omrah	-	-	-	-	1,00,000
Sundry demands amounting to	-	-	-	-	1,00,000

Hyderabad,
12th February, 1824.

We have the honour to be, &c.
W. PALMER and Co.

(Signed)

To Messrs. WILLIAM PALMER and Co. Hyderabad.

Gentlemen,

1. I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 12th inst.
2. The enclosed extract of a despatch from the Supreme Government, under date the 5th of December, which I was on the point of forwarding to you when I received your letter, will show you, that it is not in my power to interfere in any way for the purpose of procuring payment of the demands included in the statement transmitted by you.—I have the honour to be, Gentlemen,

Hyderabad Residency,
13th Feb. 1824.

Your obedient servant,
(Signed) H. L. BARNETT, Acting Resident.

To Lieut. H. L. BARNETT, Acting Resident, &c. &c. &c.

Sir,

We have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 13th February, enclosing an extract of a dispatch from the Supreme Government, dated 5th December last.

2. We have delayed an earlier reply to your letter in the hopes of succeeding in a negotiation with the Soucars at this place for the relief of our immediate wants, as stated in our letter to you of the 12th February.

3. We have failed in our endeavours, and we feel it a bounden duty that we owe to our constituents to appeal again to you.

4. We must repeat our hopes that the right hon. the Governor General in Council could not have anticipated so destructive a result as we have already laid before you as being the inevitable consequence of the execution of the orders of the Supreme Government.

5. We have been referred to the constituted courts of the country for redress.

6. To that in the city of Hyderabad we have appealed in vain, and we venture to bring to your consideration that the British Resident has himself expressed his doubts as to the competency of this court.

7. Situated as we are, *precluded by the orders of the British Government from direct intercourse with our principal debtors*, and denied a communication to them of our distresses, which we cannot but feel confident they would exert themselves to alleviate, and thereby point out to our minor debtors the necessity of their being just also; we could humbly ask in reply to the 5th paragraph of the despatch forwarded in your letter of the 13th instant, to whom are we to state our grievances, and to whom are we to look for their redress?

8. Should it not be in your power to afford us the assistance we require, we earnestly beg that you will have the kindness to state our distresses to the right hon. the Governor-General in Council for his consideration.—We have the honour to be,

Hyderabad
18th February, 1824.

Sir, your most obedient humble servants,
(Signed) W. PALMER and Co.

To Sir C. T. METCALFE, Bart, Resident, Camp.

Sir,—It is with extreme regret that we find it necessary to intrude on your attention, with the affairs of our establishment, but our situation is such as to preclude the possibility of any longer delay in so doing.

2. We earnestly entreat your consideration to the several letters we have been compelled to address to the acting Resident, during your absence of the 12th, 18th, and 22d February, and 12th of March, which we trust will prove to you the critical situation in which we are placed.

3. We have now demands on us for four lacs of rupees which we are unable to meet unless we be relieved from our embarrassment by your kind assistance.

4. We cannot more strongly depict our distress than by repeating our solemn declaration, that we are on the verge of bankruptcy. Our ruin, and that of our

numerous constituents is inevitable unless assisted by your speedy interference, and we venture to hope that on a consideration of the circumstances we have stated, this indulgence will not be denied us. We have the honour to be, &c. &c.
Hyderabad, 30th March, 1824 (Signed) W. PALMER and Co.

Sir,

To Sir C. T. METCALFE, Bart.

1. We have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 1st inst.
2. We regret that the assistance we so anxiously looked for from you, cannot be immediately afforded to us; but we lament to say that our apprehensions of ruin are now on the point of being realized. Our situation is such, that we fear we shall be compelled to put our affairs in the hands of trustees, ere the final determination of the Supreme Government relative to them can be made known to us.

3. We shall be necessitated to take this step for our own vindication to our Constituents, and in so doing, we feel it an imperious duty we owe to those who have entrusted their property to our care, to reply particularly to that part of the third paragraph of your letter, where we are informed that the British Government considers us as alone responsible to our Constituents for the jeopardy in which their fortunes have been placed by our transactions.

4. With every deference to the will and pleasure of the Supreme Government, we humbly but most strongly beg to protest against this inference. Our pecuniary transactions in this city were not uncommon, and the benefits arising from the peculiar state of a native monied market, were not exclusively enjoyed by ourselves. We confidently assert, that our charges of interest on sums advanced to his Highness, the Nizam's Government, and to individuals in his territories, were lower than could have been procured from any other mercantile establishment; and our profits were not exorbitant, for our books will prove the rates at which we have ourselves borrowed money. The British Government have interfered so far in our transactions as forcibly to take from us, in two instances, the right (and we presume it is an established right) of a direct appeal from the creditor to his debtor, and it has even denied to us the possibility of any communication whatever of our distresses to the parties against whom our principal claims exist. We cannot tacitly surrender the balance of our demand against Rajah Chundoo Loll as exhibited by our statement. The well known situation of this Minister, identified him to us as the responsible authority of his Sovereign's Government; under these circumstances our advances were made to him, and we trust, that his repeated signatures to our accounts prove their validity.

5. Our fall as a banking establishment is inevitable; but we hope to convince those who have relied on our integrity, that their confidence has not been abused, and though our entire submission to the orders of the British Government communicated to us through you, has not been of any avail to ourselves, yet we trust it may plead in some way favourable to our numerous friends, and that the right honourable the Governor General in Council, may be pleased to grant that assistance to our trustees, which we have solicited in vain, and we venture to express a hope that our entreaties on this point will meet with your support.

Hyderabad,

6th April, 1824.

(Signed)

We have the honour to be, &c.

WILLIAM PALMER and Co.

AT A GENERAL MEETING

Of the Creditors, and Representatives of Creditors, of the late Firm of Messrs. William Palmer and Co., held at the office in Hyderabad, on Tuesday, June 8, 1824, pursuant to public notice:

PRESENT.

Trustees.—Major W. M. Robertson, G. Mickle, Esq., Captain Oliphant, Paymaster H. B. Wray, Captain Powell, Motew Sing, and W. Palmer, Esq.

Creditors and Representatives of Creditors.

Captain James Oliphant for himself, for Colonel Macdonald Kennier, and Josiah Nisbett, Esq.

G. Mickle, Esq. for himself, and representative for S. M. Stephenson, T.

Evans, W. Macdowall, B. Williams, D. Boyd, R. Scott, G. W. Griffiths, and J. Morton, Esqrs., Captains George Hunter, Mountford, H. W. Hodges, and Lieutenants A. Macpherson and Barr.

Major Robertson for himself, and representative for Major-General Sir Wm. Keir Grant, Lieutenant Colonel Vaughan, Major Bowler, 16th Regt., Captain Macqueen, 18th Regt., Captain Mackintosh, 14th Regt., Lieutenant Robertson, 9th Regt., and Lieut. Newman, 20th Regt.

Lieut. Yolland for Capt. J. Wilson.

Captain Powell for himself, and representative for Captains A. Scott, Logan, and Wilson, 12th Regt.

Major Lynch, and for Elizabeth and John Duun, and Lieutenant G. Sandys.

Captain J. Harrison.

Lieutenant F. Plowden for himself, and representative for Lieutenant Colonel Pepper, and Captain S. J. Hodgson.

Paymaster H. B. Wray for himself, and for Major General Scwell.

Captain F. Doveton for Captain J. Wetherall.

Lieutenant Chas. Arrow for himself, and representative for Mr. Arrow, and Sahib Beygum.

Colonel Charles Macleod, C.B., for himself, and representative for Colonel Boles, Miss Boles, Colonel Yates, Captain Austen, Colonel P. V. Agnew, C.B., Mr. F. Steddy, Colonel N. Macleod, Captain L. MacLaine, and Colonel A. M. Murray.

Captain J. Ketchen, representative for

Major Hare, Major E. Davies, and the Rev. H. Harper.

Capt. J. H. Crisp for Capt. W. James, Mr. William Collins for himself, and representative for Mr. Drewe.

Captain P. Brown for himself, and representative for Messrs. Gordon and Co., J. C. Munro, Esq., Captain C. Redmond, Lieut. Hewson, and Paymaster J. Grant.

Mr. C. French representative for J. H. Jones, Esq., P. Ramasawmy Moodalcar, and Lieutenant E. S. Dickson.

Mr. C. C. Brooks for Mr. Conductor Francke.

Lieutenant W. Hislop.

Lieutenant Thomas, for C. Price, Esq., Ackiah Naldoo and Motee Sing.

1.—Captain Powell opens the proceedings of the Meeting by stating, that pursuant to the Resolutions of the Creditors at the General Meeting, held on the 29th April, 1824, the Trustees have prepared a Statement of the Affairs of the late Firm, which he proceeds to explain thus:—

Abstract of the Estate of Messrs. W. Palmer and Co.

Debts due by the House on Bonds	1,20,000	0	0		
On Running Accounts	50,04,133	8	0	51,24,133	8 0
ASSETS.					
Due to the House on Bonds and written Acknowledgments	50,16,097	14	1		
Due on Running Accounts	8,92,001	2	1		
Timber	1,00,000	2	0		
Jewellery and Schedule A.	15,000	0	0		
Glass Ware do. B.	25,000	0	0		
China Goods do. C.	15,000	0	0		
The Office and Godowns D.	30,000	0	0		
Property of the Native Partner	2,00,000	0	0		
Mr. Wm. Palmer, No. 4.	1,52,474				
Do. No. 11.	63,800				
	2,16,274	0	0		
Mr. Hastings Palmer, No. 2.	32,500	0	0		
Sir William Ruinbold, a House and Garden	30,000	0	0		
Mr. G. Lamb	8,000	0	0	65,85,973	0 1
Balance in favour				14,61,839	8 1

These accounts are made up without interest, but they exhibit nearly a true statement to the 29th April last, as the debit and credit interests to be calculated, will counterbalance each other.

In producing the above statement of accounts, the Trustees think it necessary to make the following remarks:—The debts and transactions of the house appear to be equally good, and exactly of the same description as they have always been since the house was established; but, in consequence of the intercourse with the Minister having been interdicted by the Supreme Government, the prospect of realizing debts, however just, has become a matter of considerable difficulty. One item of the debts is a sum of nearly twenty-three lacs of rupees, acknowledged in writing by Ra-

jah Chundoo Loll, and regarding which the resident at Hyderabad wrote to the late firm to the following effect:—"That in the event of the Minister taking upon himself to satisfy those demands from the coffers of the state, a remonstrance against such misapplication of the public money should be made to His Highness the Nizam."—This exposition is made with a view to explain the circumstance of so large an exhibited balance in favour of the house not being immediately realizable.—A sum also of nine lacs of rupees due by the Mahomedan Minister cannot be demanded owing to the above-mentioned interdiction: an interdiction equally extending to the trustees, as may be seen by the Resident's letter to them, under date May 1, 1824.—The knowledge that the support of the Supreme

Government has been withdrawn from the late firm, is of itself a sufficiently obvious reason why Natives generally will endeavour to elude the payment of their debts.

The property of the firm, and of its individual Members, has been stated with reference to the present supposed value.

2. Read Letters from Major Napier and Mr. E. Gordon.

3. The Trustees have thought it their duty to call upon individuals indebted to the house for a liquidation of their balances, and they have given notice to those who had assets or property of the Members of the late firm in their hands, to hold the same at the disposal of the Trustees for the general benefit.

4. The Trustees beg to notify that a deed of assignment having been prepared, and duly executed by the partners of the late firm and themselves, is now ready for the signature of the creditors at large;—time specified for creditors in India (6) eight months, and those in Europe and elsewhere beyond seas, two years.

5. The timber of the house having been mortgaged for 80,000 rupees, the Trustees have thought it advisable to redeem this mortgage as early as practicable, on account of the high rate of interest which it bears, and have accordingly paid (30,000) thirty thousand rupees in part liquidation.

6. In consequence of reports being in circulation prejudicial to the character of the members of the late firm, the Trustees feel it but justice to Messrs. William and Hastings Palmer to state the candid and unreserved manner in which they have come forward, in affording every assistance and information in their power towards adjusting the affairs of their late establishment; and they take this opportunity of stating their opinion that the creditors may place the strictest confidence in the honour and integrity of these individuals.

7. Read the warrant under the hand and seal of the Governor General in Council, permitting Messrs. W. Palmer and Co. to make loans to Native Princes.

8. Read proceedings of the Trustees from the 6th May to the 8th June.

9. Cash book exhibited, and account passed.

10. Captain Powell concludes, and the Trustees resign their charge to the creditors.

11. Colonel Macleod moves that the thanks of the meeting be given to the Trustees, and proposes that all their acts be approved and confirmed; seconded by Lieutenant Arrow, and unanimously agreed to.

12. Proposed by Captain Oliphant, and seconded by Mr. Mickle, that Colonel Macleod be requested to preside as Chair-

man of the Meeting,—Colonel Macleod accedes to the motion, and takes the chair accordingly.

13. The Meeting proceed to the election of permanent Trustees.

14. Colonel Macleod proposes the re-election of the former Trustees, seconded by Captain Doveton, and unanimously resolved that those gentlemen be requested to resume their charge of the trust—Major Robertson—Captains Powell, Oliphant, and Harrison—George Mickle, H. B. Wray and W. Palmer, Esq.—and Motce Sing, having assented, their nomination is carried, *nem. con.*

15. Major Napier's letter being submitted, his claim is deemed perfectly inadmissible.

16. Read a letter from Mr. Linarens enclosing one to his address from Messrs. Palmer and Co. of Calcutta; resolved to lay over for decision to the Trustees.

17. Proposed and unanimously agreed that allowances not exceeding 500 rs. per mensem be made to Messrs. William and Hastings Palmer, and that a proportion of household furniture and plate be allowed to be retained by each of these Members of the firm—the quantity and description to be restored, to be left at the discretion of the Trustees.

18. Mr. William Palmer addresses the Meeting in the following words: "Several individuals having come forward to make me an offer for my maintenance, and circumstances having disposed me to accept of the offer of a member of my family, I beg for myself to decline for the present becoming a burden on the funds in trust. I return my acknowledgments to the creditors for their liberality in this instance, and in their proceedings throughout; my resort shall be made to them on a future day with the utmost confidence in their kindness, which I cannot mistake from the conduct which has already been adopted regarding us, should my necessities render such a proceeding necessary."

19. Proposed by Lieut. Hislop, that a monthly sum not exceeding (2000) two thousand rupees be held at the disposal of the Trustees, to defray the various expenses of the Office Establishment; seconded by Lieut. Arrow, and confirmed by the Meeting.

20. Lieut. Yolland proposes that a General Meeting of the creditors shall be called on Wednesday, the 8th December next; seconded by Captain Ketchen, and approved by the Meeting.

21. Captain Doveton moves the thanks of the Meeting to Colonel Macleod for his conduct in the chair; seconded by Captain Oliphant, and unanimously agreed to.

(Signed)

C. MACLEOD,
Chairman.

Hyderabad,
8th June, 1824.

EXTRACTS

From the Memorial of William Palmer, of Hyderabad, in the Territories of the Nizam, in the East Indies, on behalf of himself and his Partners, to the Right Honourable Lord Amherst, Governor-General.

SHREWETH,

1. THAT your Memorialist having been many years in the service of the Nizam, about the years 1810 and 1811, established, in conjunction with some other persons, a banking and commercial concern at Hyderabad, under the firm of "William Palmer and Co."

2. That at the time of the formation of the said house, the rate of interest throughout the territories of the Nizam was arbitrary, but the *ordinary rate* was from three to four per cent., and in some instances as high as *six* per cent. per mensem.

3. That the object held out to the public, by your Memorialist and his partners, on the formation of the house, was to *lower* the rate of interest to *two* per cent. per mensem, an object which the firm more than fulfilled, and the beneficial results of which have been sensibly felt, and universally admitted, by all who were acquainted with the affairs of the Nizam, at the period the house was established. It has been also admitted by the constituted authorities of the Nizam's government, and even by the former Resident of the East India Company at the Court of the Nizam.

4. In the beginning of the year 1814 a new partnership was formed, under the same firm of "William Palmer and Co." previous to which time the Government of the Nizam had received from the establishment of your Memorialist, in their business of bankers, frequent advances required for the exigencies of the state, at the rate of two per cent. per mensem, although, prior to the establishment of your Memorialist's house, the Government was unable to raise money on loan to any considerable amount, and were frequently driven to the necessity of issuing bills on which they could not procure money, excepting on heavy discounts from three to five per cent., an inconvenience to which they were never subjected after the formation of the house of "W. Palmer and Co."

7. The advantages held out to the public and the British Government have been fully answered. The house of your Memorialist having been the means of introducing, into Central India, British manufactures in very considerable quantities, and to a much larger amount, than any other establishment in the East Indies.

12. British manufactures were introduced into Hyderabad during those years (1814 to 1819) to an amount of from fifteen to twenty lacs of rupees; whilst the ordinary rate of interest of money was diminished to two per cent. per mensem, and less occasionally was charged by your Memorialist and his partners.

13. During this period no complaints were made against the conduct of the said house by the British Resident, or any other persons.

14. The acts of the house were at all times open and notorious, and the members of the house, on all occasions, were perfectly ready to give any information which might be required by the Supreme Government, or their Resident at Hyderabad, respecting any transactions connected with their business, in which your Memorialist and his partners had no motive for concealment.

21. Towards the close of the year 1819, overtures were made by the Minister at Hyderabad, to the house of Messrs. William Palmer and Co., for a loan to the Nizam's Government of sixty lacs of rupees, to be repaid in six years; after some discussion Messrs. William Palmer and Co. agreed to make the loan, subject to the sanction and approval of the Supreme Government.

22. The exigencies of the Nizam's Government required immediate advances, and it was urged that their ultimate wants would be considerably diminished by such advances being made.

23. Reliance was placed by your Memorialist and his partners on the sanction of the Supreme Government being obtained, and they were therefore willing, if possible, to make the advance; but as recourse to the native bankers, and the constituents of Messrs. William Palmer and Co. was necessary to enable them to procure the funds required, without their being able to offer more than their own personal security and credit in the first instance, great sacrifices were necessarily anticipated. Of this the Minister was fully aware, and undertook to make good to Messrs. William Palmer and Co. all losses which they might sustain thereby.

24. The first proposal was to grant such a rate of interest as should secure to Messrs. William Palmer and Co. the means of raising the amount, without loss to them; and the Minister proposed

to grant two per cent. per mensem as such interest.

25. It was subsequently considered that the loan might, through unforeseen events, remain unpaid at the expiration of six years; and as the object of the Minister, in which he had ever been upheld by Messrs. William Palmer and Co., was to reduce the rate of interest ordinarily paid through the Nizam's dominions, he ultimately determined to avoid entailing upon the country the possibility of having so great a burthen lastingly thrown upon it; and rather to grant such a bonus to Messrs. William Palmer and Co. as should secure them from loss, whilst in case of the anticipated period of redemption not being lengthened, some benefit would result to the Nizam. A calculation on this basis was made, and a sum of eight lacs was agreed on, as answering such purpose.

30. By the correspondence it will appear, that the protection and influence of the British Resident was expressly asked in favour of Messrs. William Palmer and Co.'s claims, arising out of that loan, the sanction of the Government was obtained, and such protection and influence therefore promised.

31. If the conduct of Messrs. William Palmer and Co., composed of such persons as above mentioned, were illegal, as it has since been contended, it is at least evident that the illegality of their measures was not very glaring, or it is difficult to believe that the protection and influence of the Supreme Government would have been granted for their support.

41. In a letter from the Resident, of the 13th December 1822, Messrs. William Palmer and Co. were directed to furnish accounts in detail from the commencement of the house, under any denomination, with the Minister, and of all loans made to the Nizam's officers on the Minister's guarantee.

45. Having obtained the permission of the Minister, Messrs. William Palmer and Co., by a letter of the 17th of the same month, intimated their intention to comply with such requisition, at the same time complaining of the extreme hardship of such an interference with their concerns, and deprecating the evil consequences which must ensue to their prospects, from such an unusual exposure of the accounts of a banking establishment. Mr. Metcalfe's letter, and the reply, will appear in the Appendix, marked No. 12.

46. On the 5th February 1823, Messrs. William Palmer and Co. received a letter from the Resident, stating that their objections to the production of their accounts were inadmissible, and they were directed to produce them, with such

explanations as might be required of the items. Their compliance was stated to be the indispensable condition of the interference of the Government for the adjustment of the accounts, and of their future countenance in commercial dealings. The accounts were furnished without any avoidable delay by Messrs. William Palmer and Co., and were ultimately concluded and forwarded through the Resident on the 22d April, 1823. But your Memorialist regrets to state, that whilst he and his partners have risked the credit and stability of their house, by a compliance with the requisition of the Supreme Government, the interference which they contemplated for the adjustment of their accounts, and the countenance to which they looked forward, has not only been withheld, but your Memorialist and his partners have subsequently been prohibited from making use of the only means they possess for the recovery of their demands. The letter of the 5th February, together with a subsequent one of the 17th, containing a second requestration from Messrs. William Palmer and Co. on the subject of the accounts, are also contained in the Appendix, No. 12.

47. On the 10th February, Messrs. William Palmer and Co. received from the Resident a letter, by which all intercourse between the members of the firm and the Nizam's Minister, personal or written, direct or indirect, except through the channel of the British Resident, was for the future prohibited; and in the same letter they were informed, that the Resident would be happy to receive any communications that it might be proper for Messrs. William Palmer and Co. to make to his Highness's Government, and that he trusted they would find that due attention was paid to their just claims and interest. This interdiction will be found, with the reply to the letter in which it was contained, in the Appendix, marked No. 13.

48. As a native of India, your Memorialist, as well as some of his partners, could not be legally bound by such an interdiction; but your Memorialist, in deference to the Supreme Government, felt every disposition to comply with every direction of the British Resident, and could not but feel that his opposition to such direction might be prejudicial to the interests of the Minister, and under the influence exercised by the Supreme Government, could not be beneficial to himself, he was the more disposed to yield obedience to those orders, from an assurance derived from the letter in which the interdiction was contained, that his rights and interests would be guarded through the British Resident.

49. All the members of the firm acquiesced in the directions contained in the letter of the Resident, and from thenceforward all communication between them ceased.

89. On the 8th July, 1823, by a letter of that date, the Resident informed Messrs. William Palmer and Co. that the allowances heretofore received by Mr. William Palmer in his own name, and the names of his children, and those received by Mr. Hastings Palmer, had been discontinued and revoked, the same not having been sanctioned by the Honourable the Governor-General in Council.

90. For a period of nearly twenty-four years, during which your Memorialist had served and been connected with the Government of the Nizam, his services to that Government, to which he was originally introduced and recommended by Colonel Kirkpatrick, who was then the Resident at the Court of the Nizam, had never been disputed.

91. His own pensions, as they are considered, were granted to him for services in the field, performed under that introduction and sanction, in the time of former Ministers, and were in fact but a continuance of the salary upon the reduction of the troops which he commanded, to which his military situation entitled him in common with all who served the Nizam.

92. That these were not granted from any peculiar favour to your Memorialist, is capable of easy proof, by a reference to the offices of the Nizam's Government, where many persons' names will be found, who are placed in a similar situation, of receiving a salary, continued to them upon the reduction of troops under their command; who are in no degree suspected of possessing extraordinary, and some of them, of possessing any influence with the Nizam's Government.

93. They, in common with your Memorialist, on the reduction of the troops, lost the emoluments of their commands; but as a British officer retires on half pay, so they and your Memorialist, according to the custom of the Nizam's Government, were suffered to draw their personal salary.

94. The emoluments of your Memorialist, when in command of the troops under his orders, amounted to about 6000 rupees per mensem, exclusive of his salary (he actually drew for 30,000) and he received no more, when his troops were disbanded, or before, than any other individual would have done under similar circumstances, except that in consideration of his services he received on the disbanding his troops, a sum of money as a remuneration and compensation for the loss of his contract, which he had entered into for their supply.

95. To ascribe the grant of the salaries

of your Memorialist and his brother, to corruption, and to consider them as covers for enormous interest, is, your Memorialist submits, wholly unfounded in fact or in reason.

96. At the time your Memorialist first received his pension, after his troops were disbanded, the Government of the Nizam and the Minister, did not, nor did they till long afterwards, owe one rupee to your Memorialist, nor was your Memorialist in a situation to lend one, excepting from what he received at the moment from the Country of that Government.

97. When Mr. Hastings Palmer first received his, he was not a partner in the house. He certainly received it through the influence of your Memorialist, who had recently been employed in a temporary military command, and situation of difficulty, though subsequent to the disbanding his troops, upon which he had received no extra allowance, though his services were equally admitted and approved by the British Government, and that of the Nizam.

98. The grant of such a pension had nothing extraordinary in it. Under the Government of the Nizam, in lieu of soliciting employments (other than military), those who are anxious to provide for their relatives, solicit grants. The more favoured received Jaghires, the less, pensions, to which the same consequence is not attached; and at the time your Memorialist obtained the pension for his brother, the late firm in which Sir William Rumbold was a partner, was not established; and the house was in its infancy, when its dealings were very different from what they have since become and their transactions with the Minister extremely limited.

99. The pensions granted to your Memorialist's children were granted at a much later period, after several long and approved services, many of a military and some of a civil nature, done by your Memorialist to the Nizam, with the approbation of the British Resident, and at a period when the Minister conceived your Memorialist had recently rendered a most important service to the Nizam's Government.

100. Not only pensions of the nature of that enjoyed by your Memorialist and his family, but the purest gratuities are commonly given by the Nizam, the Government of Oude, and other native governments; many of which pensions are held by British subjects, and some by the Company's servants.

101. No intimation previous to that of Sir Charles Metcalfe had ever been made to him, that the remotest intention existed in the mind of the Minister, of discontinuing that which your Memorialist considered as his pay; and he could not

but be surprised, that his pension under these circumstances should not have met with the sanction of the Supreme Government, although your Memorialist could have previously entertained no reason to suppose that such a sanction was requisite.

104. It may not be improper here to observe, that during one part of that period, for which payments were made by Messrs. William Palmer and Co. of your Memorialist's salary, (which salary was struck out of their account,) your Memorialist was actually called into active service, as a military man, by the Nizam and the British Government.

105. In the year 1812, a mutiny broke out in a corps of the Nizam's, commanded by Major or Mr. Gordon, an officer formerly in the King of England's service.

106. Your Memorialist was employed on that occasion both in negotiating with the mutineers, who had taken up a position in hostility to the subsidiary force, under the command of Colonel Scott and General Couran, and also received the command of the Nizam's cavalry under those officers, and acted as President of a General Court Martial, with several British officers in the service of the Nizam, by whom sentences of death, in four instances, were passed and carried into execution.

107. That on this occasion, his services were not considered as merely nominal, the letter of Mr. Adam, then Secretary to the Supreme Government, inserted in the Appendix, No. 22, will sufficiently prove.

108. It was shortly after this service that your Memorialist obtained the pension bestowed by the Nizam on Mr. Hastings Palmer.

109. At a subsequent period your Memorialist received a discretionary commission from the Nizam, by the desire of the British Resident, to supersede Captain Beckett in the command of the Russell Brigade.

110. The obedience of that officer, however, to the commands of the Nizam, compelled by the production of the commission of your Memorialist, rendered it unnecessary for your Memorialist to act upon it. Had he done so, it would have placed him in command of British officers, in the service of the Honourable Company.

111. Your Memorialist's services have already been so fully detailed in a letter from the house of Messrs. William Palmer and Co. addressed to Sir Charles Metcalfe, on the 17th day of November, 1823, and forwarded to your Lordship in Council, that your Memorialist will not further go into a detail of them at present, than by referring to a copy of that letter contained in the Appendix,

No. 23, and by asserting what is incapable of contradiction, that on all occasions of a confidential or difficult nature, the Government of the Nizam have uniformly been in the habit of employing him, both in its intercourse with the British Minister and on other occasions, that he has frequently received the approbation of the British Government and Residents, and that until the year 1822, when the matters which led to the Memorial, first arose, he has never, to his knowledge, incurred the displeasure of the one or the other.

112. On the same day in which your Memorialist received the intimation above noticed, of his pensions or rather his pay, being withdrawn, and retrospectively disallowed, namely, the 25th August 1823, Messrs. William Palmer and Co. received the following letter, by which under the peculiar circumstances of the Nizam's Government, and the influence which the British Government exercises over it, and the total absence of all legal tribunals throughout the country, coupled with the interdiction of all intercourse with the Minister, the sole source and fountain of justice, your Memorialist and his partners were to all practical results, placed out of the pale of law, and in a state of the most precarious dependence on the integrity of those, upon whom they had claims to an amount of sixty lacs of rupees. The letter is as follows,—“I am commanded by the Governor-General in Council, formally to announce to you, that you are no longer to consider yourselves under the protection of the British Government, or entitled to its countenance in the remotest degree.” Messrs. William Palmer and Co.'s reply is contained in the Appendix, No. 24.

113. To revert to what is stated by Sir Charles Metcalfe, in the first letter of the 25th August, respecting the bonus upon the loan of sixty lacs of rupees, your Memorialist has to observe, that on the 8th of August, previous to the receipt of Sir Charles Metcalfe's letter of the 25th, Messrs. William Palmer and Co. received a letter from Sir Charles Metcalfe, in which it was stated that it appeared from their accounts, that at the time when they obtained the sanction of the British Government for a loan of sixty lacs of rupees to the Nizam's Government, that transaction was effected by a transfer of fifty-two lacs from their former Hyderabad account, with the addition of eight lacs bonus, as a compensation for reduction of interest on the said fifty-two lacs, from two per cent. per mensem to one and a half per cent. per mensem, and there being no appearance of any payment at that period, which could be considered as a loan of sixty lacs, or any other specific sum,

they were directed to state, whether the conclusion drawn from the accounts was correct, or to furnish any explanation of that account. This letter and the reply of Messrs. William Palmer and Co. appear in the Appendix, marked No. 25.

114. Messrs. William Palmer and Co. were at a loss to conceive how such a conclusion could have been drawn from their accounts.

115. In cash payments alone to the Minister, or to his order, Messrs. William Palmer and Co. actually paid a sum of 34,91,314—6½.

116. The remainder of the loan was made up of the following items :

A balance against the Minister on the general account of	11,99,348	6
Salaries paid by Messrs. William Palmer and Co. of which those paid to your Memorialist and his family, amounted to about 70,000 rupees	1,22,033	
Purchases made by the Minister on account of the Government, from the house of Messrs. William Palmer and Co. in their commercial dealings	1,27,935	13

117. The last three items might be considered as actual payments; the first two being for sums formerly paid by Messrs. William Palmer and Co. on their account, the last being due for goods to that amount actually furnished.

118. Two items; the one for interest on the account relating to the Berar Soucars of ...	2,20,393	10	3
The other bearing interest on the general account	1,55,700	11	½

Complete the amount of the loan, exclusive of the bonus of eight lacs referred to in the letter of Sir Charles Metcalfe of the 25th August.

119. These several items amount to 61,14,796—6½, exceeding the amount agreed on for the loan by 1,15,000. This latter sum remained to the debit of the Minister in his general miscellaneous account.

120. The circumstances under which the bonus objected to, by the Supreme Government, was granted to your Memorialist, have been already stated.

121. In addition to the claims of Messrs. William Palmer and Co., which your Memorialist has already brought to the notice of your Lordship, a balance of upwards of seven lacs of rupees, as stated in an account forwarded to the Supreme Government through Sir Charles Metcalfe, in a letter under date 5th June,

1823, is still due from Shah Yar ool Moolk.

122. Subsequent to the negotiation for the loan of sixty lacs, Messrs. William Palmer and Co. had advanced a sum of eight lacs on loan to Shah Yar ool Moolk, a native of the highest rank, and holding extensive Jaghires under the Government of the Nizam.

123. This loan was made for the purpose of improving the Jaghires held by him, and was not only made with the sanction of the Minister, but upon his express guarantee.

124. For securing the payment of the loan, assignments were made by Shah Yar ool Moolk, in the usual manner, upon the revenues of various districts in his Jaghires, and previous to the advance of the loan, the guarantee of the Minister was obtained in the terms of the agreement inserted in the Appendix, No. 26.

125. The precaution was taken not only for securing the sanction of the Minister, but to obtain his security, in case the possession of the Jaghires held by Shah Yar ool Moolk should subsequently be charged.

126. The continued default of Shah Yar ool Moolk, compelled Messrs. William Palmer and Co. to make application to the Minister, who, with the concurrence of Shah Yar ool Moolk, placed Umcen ool Moolk in the possession of a part, but not the whole of the Jaghires, of which the revenues had been assigned for the purpose of repaying Messrs. William Palmer and Co.'s demands.

127. In consideration of this arrangement, and the involved state of Shah Yar ool Moolk's finances, Messrs. William Palmer and Co. at the request of the Minister, agreed to reduce the annual payments to them, one lac of rupees, and then to extend the period wherein the loan was to have been paid.

128. This arrangement was effected about the month of August, 1822, and only one payment was made under it.

129. The discussions between Messrs. William Palmer and Co. and the Resident, which were notorious, had done them no good in the eyes of the subjects of the Nizam, and before the second payment became due, the interdiction of the Resident of any intercourse between them and the Minister had taken place.

130. Umcen ool Moolk, whose character is known even to the Supreme Government, and who makes no payment which he can by any means evade, availed himself of the helpless situation in which Messrs. William Palmer and Co. were placed by that interdiction, to refuse all further payments.

131. All applications on their part from that period became unavailing, and Messrs. William Palmer and Co. in vain endeavoured to procure payment, either

from Umeen ool Moolk, who head the Jaghires of Shah Yar ool Moolk, who had no other means of discharging them, than what had been placed at the disposal of Umeen ool Moolk.

132. On the 5th of June, 1823, Messrs. William Palmer and Co. forwarded to Sir Charles Metcalfe the accounts of Shah Yar ool Moolk, together with those of Munsoor Khan, who was indebted to them in a sum of about one lac and a half of rupees, advanced to him under similar circumstances, and a similar guarantee to that made to Shah Yar ool Moolk.

133. On the 16th of August, Messrs. William Palmer and Co. represented to Sir Charles Metcalfe the conduct of Umeen ool Moolk, and requested his interference.

134. On the 11th November, 1823, Messrs. William Palmer and Co. were informed by a letter from Sir Charles Metcalfe, that it was considered by the Supreme Government, to be open to Messrs. William Palmer and Co. to apply for redress to the tribunal of justice established at Hyderabad, and in the event of their being desirous to appeal from the decision of the court of justice to the Government of his Highness the Nizam, he was permitted, under the existing restrictions against their direct intercourse or communication with his Highness's Government, to transmit a written representation from them to the Minister, and to receive and convey to them his reply, provided that the rate of interest charged in the account on which their claim was founded, did not exceed twelve per cent. per annum.

135. With respect to the special transaction between their firm and Umeen ool Moolk, his *Lordship* did not consider it to be one which the British Government was in any way pledged to adjust.

136. The amount of the interest on the loan to Shah Yar ool Moolk (charged at the lowest rate current throughout the Nizam's dominions) and as stated in the accounts previously transmitted to the Supreme Government, was eighteen per cent. per annum, the permission therefore contained in the latter part of his letter, even if it could have been rendered serviceable, under any circumstances, to Messrs. William Palmer and Co. was, under existing circumstances, wholly unavailable, but as no tribunal of justice ever existed at Hyderabad, with competent jurisdiction over a matter of that nature, Messrs. William Palmer and Co. were in fact unable to avail themselves even of that permission to appeal; but lest some tribunal might exist, of which they were not aware, Messrs. William Palmer and Co. on the 15th November, 1823, addressed a letter to the Resident, in which they expressed their readiness

to submit their claims to that jurisdiction, which the Resident might be pleased to point out for their adjustment.

137. The Resident could point out none, for none existed, and in his reply of the 17th November, he informed Messrs. William Palmer and Co. that it did not accord with his duty to advocate their claims against Umeen ool Moolk, and from that period no prospect of their adjustment has appeared.

138. Their claims upon Munsoor Khan rested on the same foundation, and the same security, and have met with a similar fate.

139. Munsoor Khan died shortly after the period of the correspondence, and his Jaghires have been resumed by the Minister, but the interdiction of intercourse with him precludes the possibility of an appeal to his justice, in which they have great confidence.

140. The want of success attending their appeal to the Resident, respecting their claims on Umeen ool Moolk, forbids their troubling him further with any application to advocate their claims on account of the loan advanced to Munsoor Khan. The correspondence on this subject will be found in the Appendix, No. 26.

141. Messrs. William Palmer and Co. have also a claim against Mooneer ool Moolk, the Musulman Minister of the Nizam, for a balance of about eight lacs of rupees, upon an old standing account.

142. This indeed is a claim of a private nature, but the interdiction before noticed of all intercourse with the Nizam's Minister prevents any application to Mooneer ool Moolk, nor is he more likely than his brother Umeen ool Moolk, to discharge his obligations, so long as it shall be understood that his creditors are not to consider themselves entitled in the slightest respect to the protection of the British Government, in a country where no tribunal exists, by which he may be compelled to pay the demand, and where the wishes of that Government, expressed or understood, are paramount to every other consideration.

143. As a claim against a Minister of the Nizam, though of a private nature, the accounts were forwarded to Sir Charles Metcalfe, under date the 16th August, 1823, and his interference in their favour subsequently requested by Messrs. William Palmer and Co.

144. With such request the Resident stated he was only permitted to comply on condition of Messrs. William Palmer and Co. reducing the rate of interest charged to twelve per cent. per annum. Although the interest charged was on a contract of many years standing, they were willing to comply with such terms from the period of the Resident's letter

on that subject, or indeed from the last payment made by Mooneer ool Moolk, by which the prior rate of interest was recognized, rather than to lose their whole demand.

145. Such concession on their part was considered insufficient, and they were required to open their adjusted accounts, and to reduce the rate of interest from the commencement of the loan, a condition which, if complied with, would not only have charged them with a heavy loss on the interest actually paid by them to their constituents, on funds placed in their hands, from which they were enabled to make this, amongst other loans, but would have also annihilated their claim, and charged them as debtors instead of creditors.

146. If looked on as an European transaction, this may appear scarce a hardship, but in a country where the rates of interest cannot be regulated by European rules; where not only the laws of the country tolerate, but the Government countenance, and its wants compel unlimited rates of interest, your Memorialist submits it would have been hard thus to have annihilated claims admitted for years, and never resisted except under the supposed sanction of the British Government. But be it so or not, the condition of urging a claim, which, if complied with, would have annihilated it, was nugatory. The correspondence on this subject is contained in the Appendix, marked No. 27.

147. Your Memorialist considers this, as terminating the facts which he is desirous of submitting to the favourable consideration of your Lordship in Council. A voluminous correspondence, however, took place between Sir Charles Metcalfe and Messrs. William Palmer and Co., which is contained, as far as it bears upon the question, in the Appendix, marked No. 28.

148. From this statement of facts it would appear that your Memorialist and his partners have incurred the displeasure of the Supreme Government on the following points:—

1st. With respect to the loan, they were accused of making it a mere nominal one, and of having received eight lacs.

2dly. Of receiving illegal interest.

3dly. Of having deceived the British Government by the affidavit made.

4thly. Of exercising an undue influence over the Minister Rajah Chundoo Loll.

149. On these grounds, as your Memorialist is led to believe, he has been deprived by the Supreme Government of pensions earned by long and acknowledged services to the State, from which he received them, and that he and his partners have been deprived of a *just debt*, due from the Government of the

country where they lived, for payments *actually made by* the order of that Government.

150. In addition to the injury they sustained, by an unexpected and rapid repayment of an immense sum borrowed for a period of six years, for which time their arrangements were made, and of which two only had expired, they have been deprived of that bonus, for which they stipulated as the only means of securing them from actual and severe loss, in a precarious transaction, entered into with a native Prince, who had full power to contract, and who, but for the interference of the Supreme Government, is fully willing to perform his engagement.

151. They have been placed by the act of the Supreme Government, *beyond the power of obtaining legal redress*, by which they are unable to recover demands to the amount of about forty lacs, exclusive of those demands which they have against the Supreme Government, as standing in the situation of the Nizam as their debtor.

152. These, my Lord, are the immediate consequences of those measures, which the Supreme Government have adopted against your Memorialist and his partners.

153. The ultimate result, my Lord, must be a total and irretrievable ruin to them, and probably to all connected with them. To avert it, if possible, if not now too late, your Memorialist trusts he will be able to satisfy your Lordship's mind, as to the integrity which has guided the conduct of himself and his partners, as to the erroneous impressions which have been taken up against them, and to awaken in your Lordship, a due consideration for the situation in which he and his partners have been placed, and now stand.

154. In stating the facts under which he claims the indulgent consideration of your Lordship in Council, your Memorialist has stated nearly all that appears necessary on the subject of the loan.

155. Your Memorialist has shown that the loan was not nominal, but either an actual advance of the whole sum, with the exception of the bonus granted on it, or what to the Government of the Nizam was equivalent, a remission of just debts due to your Memorialist and his partners, or payments made to other creditors of the Government by order of the Minister.

156. On the subject of the retention of their own debt in lieu of payment to a similar amount, your Memorialist would submit that William Palmer and Co. are in no way culpable.

157. The discharge of their debt was one of the objects of the loan. Whether Messrs. William Palmer and Co. received from the Government of the country

their claim of fifteen or sixteen lacs upon paying the full amount of sixty lacs into the hands of the Minister, or paid to him but forty-five lacs, and cancelled the debt due to them, could make no possible difference to the Government, but did in fact operate to their advantage, inasmuch as it enabled Messrs. William Palmer and Co. to make the advance required, at so much a lower rate than they could have otherwise afforded, in the event of being compelled to raise fifteen or sixteen lacs more than what was actually required.

158. An operation of this nature would have drained the market in the first instance to a much greater extent, and thereby in the same proportion have raised the interest of money, whilst an immediate repayment of so large a sum at once, would have depressed the market in a similar degree, and have occasioned a corresponding diminution of interest.

159. Against the ruinous consequence of such a transaction in the money market, both as to the rise of interest, when they were borrowers, and the fall when they would become lenders, Messrs. William Palmer and Co. must have protected themselves by a larger rate of interest from the Government, for whom the loan was raised.

160. The whole of the consequences of such operations are necessarily taken into account on all loans, whether to individuals or to Governments; and as to the intention and undertaking of the Nizam's Government, in raising the sixty lacs loan, was, as before-mentioned, to pay off Messrs. William Palmer and Co. amongst their other creditors; that mode was adopted, which was not only the simplest and most easy of operation, but was attended with the least disadvantage to all parties.

161. On the subject of the bonus of eight lacs, your Memorialist has already stated that it originated in the necessities of the Government, which required advances before the loan could be finally arranged, the sanction of the Supreme Government obtained, and the assignments of the territories made.

162. That the object of the Minister was to avoid a permanent burthen on the country, of so large an interest as twenty-four per cent. per annum, in the event of unforeseen circumstances preventing the due repayment of the loan, at the period contemplated.

163. That your Memorialist has not stated the current interest of the country as greater than what the fact will warrant, is not only notorious, but may be fully established, from the fact, that shortly previous to the negotiations for the sixty lacs loan, endeavours had been made by the Rajah of Nagpore, *under the sanction of the British Resident,*

through his immediate agency, to raise a loan for that Government to the amount of *only six and a half* lacs of rupees, all attempts to raise the sum at Nagpore, upon *any terms*, failed, and applications were in consequence made to the native Bankers at Hyderabad. But even upon the guarantee, as it was considered, of *the Resident at Nagpore*, on the part of *the British Government*, the sum of *six and a half* lacs could be procured on no better terms than twenty-four per cent. per annum, and that on the condition of the loan being *received* and the payment *made at Hyderabad*. These terms being refused, the loan *failed at Hyderabad*, as it had done at Nagpore.

164. Your Memorialist may further observe, that the ordinary rate of discount amongst all the native Bankers at Hyderabad, of their own acceptances, generally, during your Memorialist's residence there, has been and is at the present moment, two per cent. per mensem, and that the house of William Palmer and Co. is the only one at that place which has ever discounted at so low a rate as twelve per cent., at which rate they have been accustomed to discount their own acceptances.

165. A calculation of the difference upon eighteen per cent. per annum, upon sixty lacs, and twenty-four per cent. on fifty-two lacs, will show, that even in the event of a punctual repayment, the Government of the Nizam would have been the gainer, on the plan adopted.

166. Your Memorialist, however, submits, that even had the bonus been a clear and naked bonus, without the consideration of any further benefit, and merely stipulated for in the first instance by the house of William Palmer and Co. they could not have been considered doing more than what has been sanctioned by prior transactions under Government, which can labour under no imputation of being subjected to the power of any.

167. The Supreme Government of India, even His Majesty's Government at home, have raised loans upon which bonuses have been granted.

168. That the latter have frequently, nay, commonly, raised loans whereon bonuses have been given to a much larger amount, than that which has been received upon the sixty lacs loan, by the house of William Palmer and Company.

169. Their bonus upon that loan amounts to about fifteen per cent.

170. The Supreme Government have raised money on loans where they have granted, what may be considered bonuses, to the amount of seven per cent., and where the rate of interest has not been less than the current rate.

171. His Majesty's Government have raised loans, on which they have not paid less than the current rate of interest on the nominal amount of the loan, and

have granted bonuses to the extent of seventy or eighty per cent.

172. During the wars between Great Britain and France, since the year 1792, loans have most frequently been raised by the Government of Great Britain, on terms which granted bonuses to an enormous amount to the lenders, whilst they received interest little if any short of the market price, or their actual advances, and in fact more than the legal interest payable on any other than the annuity transactions.

173. In 1813 the English three per cents. were at *fifty-seven*; the policy of the British Ministry was not to raise money on the terms nominally of the interest which the market price required to be given, but by granting a larger amount of stock to lower the nominal rate of the interest.

174. In consequence, the large loans raised in the year 1812 and 1813 were raised principally in the three per cents. at or about the rate of *fifty-seven*, by which means each proprietor became possessed of 100*l.* stock, for which he received annually *3*l.** interest for *57*l.** paid to the Government in money. The debt due from the Government to him could never be paid off, without his consent, under 100*l.* in money, and thus consenting to receive something more than three per cent. interest on the amount of the debt due to him, he receives an actual bonus of *forty-three per cent.*, he received *three-fifths* of the legal interest on his nominal debt, and a bonus of *forty-three per cent.* on his actual advance.

175. William Palmer and Co., in their loan to the Minister of the Nizam, received three-fourths of the ordinary rate of interest in that country, on the nominal debt due to them, and a bonus of *fifteen per cent.* on their actual advance.

176. To state the English loans correctly, that of 1812 was 15,650,000*l.* raised in money, whilst the debt added was 27,514,000*l.*

177. The first loan of 1813 amounted to 22,000,000*l.*; the debt added for this amount in money was 38,940,000*l.*

178. The second loan of 1813 was 21,000,000*l.*; on this amount in money the debt was increased 35,700,000*l.*

179. To state these three loans together, the amount raised and received in the two years was 58,650,000*l.*; the amount added to the debt, to be repaid to the creditors of the British Government for that advance, 102,181,000*l.*

180. Besides the amount thus added to the national debt of the country, the charges of management on the loans were considerable.

181. On the loan granted by Messrs. William Palmer and Co. no charges of management arose.

182. Your Memorialist only refers to

the above, amongst innumerable instances of similar transactions.

183. If a comparison were made on the loans of the British Government, with the loan to the Nizam in relation to the interest only, your Memorialist submits it would be equally advantageous to Messrs. William Palmer and Co.

181. On the actual amount advanced to the British Government under the loans above referred to, the lenders received an interest from *5*l.* 6*s.** to *5*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.** on the sums actually advanced, exceeding considerably the legal rate of interest in the country where they were raised. William Palmer and Co received 10,80,000*l.* on the amount of their nominal debt of sixty lacs, whilst on their actual advance of fifty-two lacs, they would have received according to the ordinary rates of interest throughout the country, and the rates of interest paid on all other accounts (whether with them or others) by the Minister, 12,18,000*l.*

185. If, my Lord, it should be said, that the loan to the Nizam was one of short duration, and to be paid off in the period of six years, whilst the loans to the British Government were raised for indefinite periods, and, in the ordinary course of calculation, could not be paid off within any but a very lengthened term, and probably not at all; and therefore, the bonus of stock granted to the English lenders was merely ideal, your Memorialist would suggest in the first place, that as the three per cents. in 1732 were at par, and in 1749 at 107*l.* money, for 100*l.* stock, there exists no real reason why similar circumstances should not again raise them to a similar height; nor can the expected advantage be treated as chimerical, or the bonus as merely nominal, when it is considered that in 1811 the three per cents. obtained at *fifty-seven* were at *sixty-six*, that they have since been at *eighty-four*, and that probably they are at the present moment little short of *ninety*. So that whether paid off or not, the contributor to the English loan has in fact actually received a bonus to the amount of about fifty per cent.

186. Nor can the circumstances of the loan to the Nizam, being for a limited period, as your Memorialist conceives, be used as an argument against the terms of that loan. If the loan were advantageous, the postponement of its repayment would increase the advantage, and be a reason why in other respects the terms of it should be less favourable to the lender.

187. That it is usually considered as an advantage that the payment of Government loans should be deferred, your Memorialist conceives to be fully established by the terms usually attached to the creation of new funds, as in the

case of the English three and half and four per cents., that they shall not be paid off till stipulated periods, and by the recognition, which the principle received from the Supreme Government, on the raising of the five per cent. loan in 1823, by the inducement held out to the subscribers, that those who subscribed first, should be the last repaid.

184. When in addition to these arguments in favour of the propriety of a bonus, thus recognised and sanctioned by precedents not to be impeached, it is considered that the inducement for the grant of the bonus to them, was as well to guard them against eventual loss from premature advances required, as to secure the Government of the Nizam from permanent burthens, which uncontrollable circumstances might otherwise impose upon them, it seems extraordinary to your Memorialist, that the conduct of the house of William Palmer and Co. in this transaction should be designated, such as it has been termed; that upon a loan thus contrasted with loans to the British Government, a loan advanced for a comparatively short period, upon a rate of interest *lower than the usual rate throughout the country*; the advances on which were forestalled at great, and what have eventually turned out, ruinous disadvantages to the lender, before the security could be transferred, or the sanction which was to confirm and give it stability obtained; that upon the mere grounds of such a transaction, your Memorialist and his partners should be accused of rapacity and extortion, and the Minister of the Nizam of having wantonly lavished the resources of the country, is to him a source of not less surprise than regret.

189. It is said that your Memorialist and his partners were guilty of a concealment of the terms upon which the loan was raised, that the bonus was studiously concealed from the Supreme Government, when their sanction to the loan was obtained.

190. Your Memorialist respectfully submits that such an idea must have arisen from error and misapprehension; he has already stated, and inserted the correspondence under which that sanction was obtained.

191. The extent to which the sanction of the Supreme Government was required and given, will appear not to have embraced their approval of the terms, or their guarantee for the repayment of the loan.

192. William Palmer and Co. never did require it, nor do they now ask it, unless, indeed, the Supreme Government have undertaken to pay the debts of the Nizam, in which case, with confidence in the justice of their claim, and the integrity of their conduct, they ask of the Supreme Government, as standing

in the place of their original debtor, to discharge a just debt, deliberately contracted, and repeatedly recognised and acknowledged.

193. In any other event, they ask but of the Supreme Government, to act conformably to their undertaking, contained in the terms of that sanction, which was not only granted by the Government of India for the time being, but which your Memorialist is informed, was confirmed by the approbation of the honourable the Court of Directors given to the loan. If that sanction had been refused, your Memorialist and his partners would instantly have suspended all further advances to his Highness the Nizam.

194. The concealment which they are accused of having practised, they submit was impossible, had they been inclined to have had recourse to it.

195. The accounts of their house are too voluminous, and pass through too many hands, being kept both in English and Guzaratee, to admit of much secrecy.

196. Those in question were not only open to the inspection of all the clerks in the house, but necessarily went through the hands of six different persons besides the partners, namely, three English clerks, two Guzaratee writers, and one Persian writer.

197. They were moreover open, at all times, to the inspection of two writers belonging to the Minister.

198. In these accounts thus openly kept, the item of eight lacs is entered to the debit of the Minister, without an attempt at concealment, according to the real truth of the transaction, "to profit and lose for reduction of interest."

212. Should there be entertained the slightest suspicion that concealment or disguise has been used in this respect, an inspection of the original books will prove such suspicion to be groundless, and your Memorialist and his partners are fully ready to suffer any such inspection to take place.

213. It is not upon any concealment, but upon the fullest examination of the conduct of your Memorialist and his partners, that they rest their claims to your Lordship's favourable consideration.

214. They do not deny—they never have desired—they have never sought to disguise, the receipt of the bonus; they justify their conduct in that respect, and respectfully but firmly maintain its propriety on those various grounds, which they have thus submitted to your Lordship.

215. That the Minister did not wantonly lavish the resources of the country in consenting to the terms upon which the loan was raised, your Memorialist conceives, is capable of easy proof.

216. It would be a presumption, of

which your Memorialist would not venture to be guilty, to offer one word respecting the Minister, which might be considered as unnecessary for the vindication of the conduct of himself and his partners; but as connected with such vindication, your Memorialist trusts, he may be permitted to say, that the objects of the loan were such as could not but be most beneficial, in their result to the Nizam's country; and that from no other source, than the house of William Palmer and Co., could the Minister have procured the loan he required on equally advantageous terms,—from no other source within the dominions of the Nizam could he have obtained it at all, and to have paid no higher interest *including* the bonus on a loan, to an extent previously unheard of at Hyderabad, than what he paid upon all his ordinary banking accounts.

217. If Messrs. William Palmer and Co. have been accused of extortion and rapacity in their conduct upon this, or any other transaction, they must be permitted humbly, but confidently, to state to your Lordship, that misapprehension alone can have given rise to the charge.

218. The avowed object of their establishment was to lower, not to raise, the ordinary rate of interest; that object they effected.

219. When your Memorialist and his partner Bunkutty Dos first commenced their connexion in business, which led to the subsequent formation of the firm of William Palmer and Co., they discounted bills as other bankers at Hyderabad were in the habit of doing, at three, four, and five per cent. per month. In many instances private individuals to other houses paid six per cent.; and your Memorialist could prove a discount of a bill or assignment of the Minister, in the hands of an individual, at the same high rate of interest.

220. From the period when the house of William Palmer and Co. was first established to the present moment, they have never lent money or discounted bills at a higher rate of interest than two per cent. per month; the natural and inevitable consequence has been, to reduce the ordinary rate of interest to that level—upon pledges, or immediate tangible, or other approved security, one and a half and a quarter, and upon their own bills, a discount of one per cent. per month, has been the interest which William Palmer and Co. have been in the habit of charging.

221. In what way, your Memorialist would respectfully ask, was it possible for him and his partners to be guilty of extortion towards the Minister? They were not placed in the situation of creditors, who having their debtor within their power, were willing to forego for a

little their claims, only upon terms such as they chose to dictate; on the contrary, the amount of the debt due from the Minister, for the payment of which they had no other security than the faith which they might repose in his sense of justice restraining him from withdrawing the assignments, which they held to cover (partially) the debt due; rather placed him in the situation of imposing his own terms upon them, lest by a refusal to make the advances he required, they might place in hazard the amount already outstanding.

222. Independently of this argument, your Memorialist would submit, that extortion cannot be practised towards a whole community. The very term necessarily implies, extorting from some, that which their necessities alone enable the party lending to extract, while others are treated with on a more favourable footing.

223. But the rule of William Palmer and Co.'s banking transactions was universal, extending to every constituent of their house, and guiding their conduct in every banking transaction with the community of Hyderabad and throughout the territories of the Nizam. The only difference existing in their loan transactions was occasioned by a variance in the security, or the scarcity or abundance of money in the market. The *highest* rate on which they ever made advances, was the *lowest* ever known in Hyderabad till their establishment; and their ordinary transactions lower than that of the other banking houses of Hyderabad.

224. It may be urged as an argument against them, that they charged the Government of the country nearly as large a rate of interest including the bonus, as they charged to private individuals.

225. It may be doubted whether the security of the latter may not be in all, or most cases, more easily available; and a private debt, with the assistance of the Minister, and the countenance of the British Government of India, would certainly be more easily recovered at Hyderabad, than that debt which is due to your Memorialist and his partners, from the Minister on behalf of the Government of the Nizam; so long as the British Government shall continue their disapprobation of its repayment, so long is your Memorialist not only without security, but without the remotest chance of obtaining it.

226. But in fact the loan required was to an extent (as before stated) previously unknown, and almost unheard of in Hyderabad, and the inability to raise on any terms, at Nagpore, upon the security even of the British Government, so small a loan as six lacs and a half, already adverted to, may afford an argument to show, that the command of money, at Native Courts throughout

India, is not great. In truth, the demand of sixty lacs was a sum calculated instantaneously to raise the value of money at Hyderabad much beyond its usual and accustomed rate.

227. Had your Memorialist and his partners calculated with correctness the effect such a drain would have had upon the market, they would never have embarked in the undertaking.

228. If the preceding observations are just, your Memorialist has scarcely occasion to refute the charge, which has been advanced against the house of William Palmer and Co., of acting in collusion with the Minister. For it would be too much to suspect collusion where no motive for it exists.

230. Your Memorialist has already stated the rate of interest current at Hyderabad, and the extent to which it runs beyond what is known in European countries. There are many causes not only why this should be the case, but why in reason, and under a due consideration of the difference between the Government of the one and the other, it necessarily must be so.

231. If the value of money, like all other articles, depends, as it must, and as it has in all countries, European and Asiatic, and in all ages, where restrictive laws upon its free use and employment do not exist, upon the abundance of it generally in the market, and the security for its payment, the amount of interest at Hyderabad must be as great as in any quarter of the globe.

232. The country is anything but rich, the lower orders being exceedingly poor, though among the higher there are many large and overgrown properties.

233. Throughout the country, and in the city of Hyderabad itself, there is yearly the greatest inconvenience sustained by the want of a sufficient circulating medium. The monied men are few in number, and the extravagance of the higher classes of society occasions a general demand for loans at a high rate of interest.

234. To these considerations, is to be added, the total insecurity with which all advances are made.

235. If the value of money depends in any measure on the facilities afforded by the laws of different countries for the enforcement of pecuniary engagements, and a comparison be made regarding such facilities, between the Governments of the Nizam, the Honourable Company, and England, your Memorialist conceives it cannot well be denied, that twelve per cent. allowed in Calcutta, compared with five per cent. as admitted in England, is far more usurious than twenty-four per cent. at Hyderabad.

236. No court of justice exists throughout the country, to which a man can ever be summoned, and all hope of re-

covery, where power and dishonesty are combined against the creditor, would be purely futile.

237. A stronger instance of the truth of this assertion cannot be given, than that when William Palmer and Co. were referred by the Supreme Government through Sir Charles Metcalfe "to the established tribunal of the country," for the recovery of a just private claim against Umeen ool Moolk, the brother of one of the Ministers, and applied to Sir Charles Metcalfe for his guidance as to the court in which they should seek redress; Sir Charles Metcalfe at once acknowledged the difficulty, and was unable to point out any court of competent jurisdiction.

238. The admission to Messrs. William Palmer and Co., by Sir Charles Metcalfe, of the peculiarity of their predicament, in a country where there is no tribunal of justice, if they should be deprived of intercourse with the Nizam's Minister, as contained in the Appendix No. 55, sufficiently establishes the fact.

239. The truth is, no such court exists, and the only legal mode of recovering debts from the nobility, against their inclination, is by constant importunity, or the interference of the Minister, who is the sole fountain of justice; and the only being who possesses any degree of power legally to enforce it.

240. The promised protection of the British Government, and the degree of favour, which your Memorialist is emboldened to say, his services to the Nizam had procured for him, from the Minister, encouraged and occasioned the establishment of the house of William Palmer and Co.

241. On the promise of that support, which is withdrawn from them, and on that favour and intercourse which is intercepted and forbidden, they ventured to risk, on a large scale, an opposition to the *Pytans*, and *Gosegys*, in whose hands all loan transactions were at that time placed; and whose cupidity and atrocity was equally notorious.

242. Collected in numerous clans, and the Pytans professing to be restrained by their religious tenets from usury, these two parties, by means of pretended sales, and immediate re-purchases, at an enormous discount, and under a thousand different evasions, exacted from the borrowers of money, interest, to an extent which is scarcely credible; in many cases to the extent of eight per cent. per month, or even more, and seldom or never less than four. The recovery of the money lent, in these various ways, was never obtained by judicial proceedings. If their debtors disregarded their demands, which were ordinarily made with sufficient importunity, the course was, for the clan to unite to seize the debtor, of whatever rank he might be,

and either keep him a prisoner in his own house, as in the case of Rajah Rao Runba, the highest subject in the Nizam's dominions, or to take him to the house of his creditor, where he was kept, till he either paid the debt, or submitted to fresh extortions; which were to be enforced, at no distant period, in a similar manner.

243. That their power kept pace with their rapacity, is well known: and an incontrovertible proof of the fact is, that in the year 1823, after a party of them, assembled for the purpose of murdering a *moolavie* who had offered them some offence, had effected their purpose, in a mosque, within the very precincts of the Minister Mooneer ool Moolk's palace, before the very face of the Minister, whose servant he was; they collected in such force, as to defy and defeat the whole strength and armed force of the city, which poured forth against them; and it was not until the Russell Brigade was brought out, that the peace of the city was restored, and the atrocities of the Pytans put an end to.

245. Your Memorialist submits, that it would surely be too much to expect the rate of interest, in a country so situated, to keep the same level as in British India; and cannot but feel, that a full knowledge of their conduct, and of the true state of the money market, and of those circumstances which are calculated to affect it throughout the territories of the Nizam, must acquit them of any conduct even approaching to extortion.

246. Extortion, he conceives, is not to be measured merely by the amount of interest paid, without a due consideration to those other circumstances which must regulate the advances; and he would ask with confidence, whether that man is the greatest extortioner, who being a first mortgagee in England, taking advantage of the necessities of his debtor, advances further money at five per cent., whilst the market on such security is only three, or he who at Hyderabad lends money at twenty-four per cent., the lowest rate of interest upon which such a loan, under any circumstances, can be obtained?

248. They are still further satisfied on this head, in the reflection, that prior to the sanction of the Government being obtained for the House in 1814, communications were made by Mr. John Palmer, of Calcutta, to two members of Council, one of whom was locally acquainted with Hyderabad, and the other by a long residence in India, fully apprised of its means and resources, and whose full approbation Messrs. William Palmer and Co. received, that the rate of interest intended to govern the ordinary transactions of the house, was two per cent. *per mensem*: they have every rea-

son to believe, that that fact was well known to all the members of the Council.

249. They are now told, however, that the taking interest beyond twelve per cent. is an illegal act in them, and that all their contracts for it are void.

258. The Supreme Government may hold and exercise a paramount influence over the Government of the Nizam; but Great Britain has not, as yet, taken upon herself to legislate for that country, or to declare what rate of interest shall constitute usury throughout his dominions. The immemorial usage and custom of the country, the sanction and participation of the Government, countenance, justify, and render lawful more than twenty-four per cent. And although the circumstance of British subjects having inadvertently, and under an error, embarked in such a transaction, may be a reason why British Courts should not enforce it, (which, if British subjects had not been concerned in it, your Memorialist submits, in case of the residence of the debtors in England, they would otherwise have done,) and why the British Resident should not lend his interference in favour of the settlement, it affords no ground, as appears to your Memorialist, why its discharge, as far as affects the bonus received in lieu of interest, should be stigmatised as a shameful and criminal misappropriation of the public funds by the Minister of the Nizam; why the Minister should be told, "that in the event of his taking upon himself to satisfy those demands from the coffers of the State, a remonstrance against such supposed misapplication of the public money should be made to the Nizam;" it affords no ground why private contracts for such interests should not be fulfilled at Hyderabad. Still less, my Lord, is it a reason why your Memorialist and his present partners, who are all natives, (the British partners having gone out and relinquished all claim upon the house,) should be prohibited from all intercourse with the Minister, the only court of justice in the country, to forward their claims to that which the usage and laws of the country sanction, and the payment of which can alone save themselves and their numerous constituents from ruin.

259. If the British Government forbids all intercourse with the Minister but through the Resident, he is surely bound to make all representations of claims not hostile to any laws of the country in which he resides; but he has refused to advance any, where more than twelve per cent. has been agreed for, with this extraordinary inconsistency; that the Supreme Government have actually paid off to William Palmer and Co. fifty-two lacs of the loan, with eighteen per cent. interest, and about twenty lacs more upon various current accounts, including

those of Aurangabad, with twenty-four per cent.

268. Your Memorialist hopes, that he may be restored to that communication with the Minister of the Nizam, which he was in the habit of enjoying before the interdiction of the British Government was passed.

269. He is not conscious of possessing that influence which he is supposed to enjoy.

270. To assert that he or any other man, or number of men, could exercise any paramount influence with the Nizam's Government, in opposition to the influence of the British Resident, could only be founded in a total forgetfulness, or ignorance, of the state of almost complete subjection to the Supreme Government, in which the Nizam is placed.

271. But did your Memorialist really possess any influence of consequence, that influence never could be, nor has the little which he has possessed, ever been exercised to the prejudice of British interests.

272. His feelings, his education, his habits, and his descent from his father, are all peculiarly English, and though not himself entitled to the privileges of a British subject (though he has been subjected by the treatment of which he now complains to all the disadvantages and disabilities attached to British subjects in this country), his conduct from the period of his first introduction to the service of the Nizam, has not been less directed to the fulfilment of his duties towards his Highness, than to the promotion of every object connected with the advancement of British interests.

273. By his means, and the power possessed through the funds of the house, the territories of the Nizam have been opened to the introduction of every species of British manufactures.

274. Your Memorialist and his partners opened an internal intercourse through the country by means of the navigation of the rivers Godavary and Worda, for a distance of four or five hundred miles, which no one had previously attempted.

275. This important advantage to the country they have fully perfected, though at a loss to themselves, at present, as first projectors, of from five to six lacs of rupees.

276. Your Memorialist is led to believe, that whatever trifling influence he and his partners may possess with the Minister, proceeds wholly from the benefit arising to the country of the Nizam, from the various transactions in which they were engaged, and the alacrity with which, in times of difficulty or distress, they placed their best means at the disposal of the Government, at a lower rate of interest than he could have procured the money required elsewhere, the punctuality with which they fulfilled all their

engagements, and the regularity which they introduced into all money transactions.

277. The anarchy and confusion which had previously prevailed amongst the troops (many of whom were officered from the King's and Company's services), arising from irregularity and delay in the receipt of their pay, so fatal to all Indian Governments, disappeared on their arrangements with the Minister being carried into effect. Your Memorialist is informed, that, subsequent to their arrangements being put an end to, the pay of the troops has again fallen into arrears, and discontents have in consequence arisen. That a body of troops, under the command of Captain Clark, a Company's officer, recently refused to march against a Zemindar, who was pillaging the country, on account of the arrears then due to them; and at the same time, many officers of the Berar troops, which had formerly been paid by Messrs. William Palmer and Co. (which, during the Maharratta war, could not have been kept up unless they had been paid and maintained by that house), were borrowing money in the Bazaar at two, three, and even four per cent. per mensem.

278. If this information be correct, it affords a satisfactory proof of the utility of the establishment of your Memorialist's house; for in no one instance was the pay of the troops suffered, by William Palmer and Co., to be in arrear, nor was any advantage taken of any officers, whose exigencies might require temporary assistance. On the contrary, to all those officers to whom Messrs. William Palmer and Co. made advances, the interest charged was merely twelve per cent. the same which Messrs. William Palmer and Co. allowed on balances in their hands; nor were they, until very lately, in the habit of making any charge for agency.

279. Your Memorialist has already stated that the benefit arising from his establishment, and his own individual services, were equally admitted by the British Residents, and the Ministers of the Nizam, until the time when Sir Charles Metcalfe was appointed Resident at the court of his Highness; nor were the present claims of the house ever disputed, though the accounts were always closely investigated by the Ministers; for on a reference being made to the Minister by Messrs. William Palmer and Co. even subsequent to the complaints which were urged against the house, he fully admitted and authenticated in detail these claims, his correspondence upon the subject was forwarded to Sir Charles Metcalfe on the 7th December 1822, whether it was forwarded by him to the Supreme Government, or not, your Memorialist has not been informed, and he has not at present any copy of that cor-

respondence; but your Memorialist is satisfied, if left unbiassed, to express his real sentiments, the Minister would still bear testimony in his favour. If there be any truth in the statement which your Memorialist has now submitted to your Lordship, or justice in the arguments which he has ventured to advance, he cannot but feel confident, that he and his partners do not merit the displeasure of the Supreme Government, and may consequently hope to receive that justice at the hands of your Lordship in Council, which will enable Messrs. William Palmer and Co. to recover their demands.

280. If the Supreme Government have entered into any engagement to pay the debts of the Nizam, your Memorialist and his partners humbly and earnestly solicit from the Supreme Government, the payment of that part of their demand which consists of the bonus on the loan of sixty lacs, and of those sums which have been paid by William Palmer and Co. on account of the pay and pensions of your Memorialist and his family.

281. If no such engagement has been entered into, your Memorialist then asks no active interference on the part of the British Government, he merely asks that the interdiction of intercourse with the Minister may be withdrawn, with an intimation to the Minister that he is left unbiassed and unfettered, by the directions or the wishes of the Supreme Government, to act towards your Memorialist and his partners as the Nizam on reference to him shall direct, and as the Minister shall think justice requires.

282. He asks at all events, that the same kindness may be extended towards Messrs. William Palmer and Co. as to all their demands.

283. He asks for this intimation, to the Minister, as absolutely necessary from the communications which have been already made to him by the British Resident: — communications which in fact amount to an interdiction of payment of the demands of Messrs. William Palmer and Co.; for it is well known,

and cannot be denied, that under the relative situations of the Nizam, and the East India Company, an intimation from the British Resident of the wishes, and still more the dread of the displeasure of the Supreme Government, must operate conclusively on the mind of the Minister.

284. Your Memorialist regrets most deeply that he has been compelled to trespass at so much length upon your Lordship's time and attention.

285. He has only been induced to do so from an anxious desire that the whole question with all its bearings, whether operating in favour of, or against your Memorialist, should be placed at one view before your Lordship, under the hope of avoiding further explanation or appeal.

286. Most humbly, but most earnestly does he solicit a patient and deliberate investigation, on the part of your Lordship, of the facts, the circumstances detailed, and of the observations submitted in this his Memorial.

287. He solicits it on his own behalf, and those of his partners, on behalf of a most numerous body of British constituents, as the only means of averting that ruin, which must inevitably ensue to them all, if the hope, which he cannot but confidently entertain, that investigation will dispel the prejudices which circumstances have raised against him and his partners, shall prove fallacious.

288. He cannot but feel, and trust, that investigation and examination will satisfy your Lordship, that their conduct has been guided by principles of honour, of liberality, and integrity, such as to entitle them to the favourable consideration of your Lordship in Council, and to at least, a removal of those obstacles which stand between them and their claims upon the Government of his Highness the Nizam, and their private debtors in their dominions.

(Signed) W. PALMER.

Calcutta, May 12, 1824.

**MEMORIAL OF THE EUROPEAN CREDITORS OF MESSRS.
W. PALMER AND CO.**

*To the Chairman, Deputy Chairman, and Directors of the East India Company.
The Humble Memorial of the several persons whose names are subscribed at the
conclusion hereof,*

SHEWETH,

That your Memorialists have respectively been employed for different periods, and in various military departments in India, that many of your Memorialists have been in the actual service of your honourable Company, in and amongst other places, have served within the territories of His Highness the Nizam.

That your Memorialists, during such services, were, in common with other British officers, anxious to invest in proper securities and at legal rates of interests, such surplus of their pay and other emoluments, as the nature of their respective services might enable them to save, as a provision for themselves and families whenever they might be compelled from ill health, or other cause, to retire from that country.

That your Memorialists, during the time of their military service in the interior of India, had frequent occasion to send money to different parts of the country, for the purchase of various necessaries, and articles for their personal use and comfort.

That your paymasters were authorized to grant bills only on particular stations, and when your Memorialists and others had occasion to make remittances to distant places, they were frequently obliged to procure bills from native bankers.

That it is the known practice of native money dealers in India, to take every advantage either of the necessities or the ignorance of business of the parties with whom they deal, and to exact exorbitant rates of interest and commission, independent of the general risk and insecurity which often attends their negotiations.

That the house of William Palmer and Co., which had been established at Hyderabad, as your Memorialists believe, from the year 1810, from their extensive connexion with the native bankers, were enabled to provide remittances on all the money markets of India, and their high character for integrity was a security for their trans-

acting business on the fairest and most liberal rates of interest.

That a house of business conducted on the principles of a European commercial establishment, and on the liberal terms which distinguished the house of Messrs. William Palmer and Co., was generally acknowledged in the country, and was more especially felt by your Memorialists to be a very great advantage and accommodation; and your Memorialists, moreover, believe, that the benefits of Messrs. William Palmer and Co.'s establishment were so universally recognized as to lead to their receiving an express sanction from the British Indian government, which sanction was, in the year 1814, also confirmed by your honourable Court, and was then considered to be without objection.

That on the faith of such a sanction, your Memorialists, in common with a great number of others in the service of His Majesty, the King of England, and your honourable Company, felt, that in consigning their property to the care of Messrs. William Palmer and Co., they incurred no greater risk than would have been incurred in any other European mercantile establishment. In addition to the security afforded to Messrs. William Palmer and Co.'s dealings, by the express sanction of your Indian government to their transactions, your Memorialists further understood, that the house had engaged in an extensive loan to the Nizam's government, with the concurrence of the British authorities, thereby giving an additional pledge, that their establishment met with the approbation of the British government to the period of that transaction. And your Memorialists found ample reason for the countenance and support thus afforded to a mercantile house, like that of Messrs. William Palmer and Co., under the circumstances of the country in which its transactions were carried on, in the generally acknowledged benefit and convenience of such an establishment in that part of the country, in the fa-

cilities it offered to commercial enterprise, and the depot which the house established for the sale of European manufactures, which was one of the most extensive in India; with these fair and honourable claims to support, and relying, as your Memorialists confidentially did, on the known respectable characters of the members of the firm, your Memorialists, on their departure from India, left their property in the hands of Messrs. William Palmer and Co. with full confidence in its security.

Your Memorialists are enabled, from general report and their own experience, to say, that the formation of the said mercantile house produced the most beneficial results in the territory of the Nizam, not only in transactions of a private nature, but, as they believe, in the pecuniary affairs of the government itself, by effecting a reduction of the rates of interest which had before fluctuated from 3 to 4, and even 6 per cent. per month, to 2 per cent. per month, by inspiring a general confidence and security in all transactions connected with that house, and by creating a general system and regularity throughout the money market at Hyderabad, which had also the effect of securing to the government of the Nizam, public faith and credit, which it did not before possess.

That the confidence and security of your Memorialists was further confirmed, by the acknowledged sanction and support given for many years to the house by the British resident, conformably to the recognition and express licence of the supreme council, and under the authority of which the house was believed to act in all their pecuniary dealings with the native government, or its subjects.

That these considerations, coupled with the experience your Memorialists always had of the punctual as well as most liberal manner in which the house conducted themselves in every transaction which your Memorialists had with them, led your Memorialists to consider this house, not only the safest deposit of their future fortunes, but as one peculiarly recognized and supported by the British Indian Government.

That in the investments made by your Memorialists, they have never received any higher rate of interest than is allowed within your honourable Company's territories, which your Memorialists offer to your honourable Court as the best pledge of their own integrity, and furnishing your

Memorialists, as they submit, with the justest claim to the protection of the government itself over their earnings and property.

That your Memorialists, during their respective residences in the Nizam's territory, and connexion with the house, have always believed that its dealings with that government, and its native subjects, have been regulated by the same liberal principles as were manifested towards your Memorialists; and that the conduct of the individual members of the house, as well as its avowed system and course of dealing, obtained it a general confidence and character of punctuality, liberality, and justice.

That some of your Memorialists received their interest paid by the house for many years, without any charge for commission or agency, which is a customary charge with European houses, which your Memorialists submit is a proof of the liberal dealings of the house.

That your Memorialists have just learnt with regret, that the legality of the pecuniary dealings of the house with the native government has been lately called in question, and, in consequence, the licence heretofore granted, been suddenly recalled, and that after the most severe struggles and losses the house has been obliged to stop payment.

That the future sanction and protection of the resident, has not only been openly disavowed without reference to, or consideration of the past transactions of the house which have taken place under the authority of their licence, a circumstance in itself sufficient to bring immediate ruin on the house, but that an absolute interdiction has been issued by the resident, prohibiting all dealings with the house by the public functionaries of the native government, and even with the persons who are the native and legal debtors of the establishment to a very large amount; and if it be true, as you Memorialists have also been informed, that the members of the house have been individually denounced as persons obnoxious to public justice, and one of them compelled to leave the country upon the lately conceived, or discovered illegality of their proceedings, it is impossible but that your Memorialists must be involved in the utter ruin of the house, although utterly unconscious of their having in the least failed in their public duties or private integrity.

That so long as this prohibition and interdiction continue, it will be utterly impossible for the members of the house, or any persons entrusted with the management of their affairs, to collect the just and legal debts of the house from the native debtors, or in any manner to avail themselves of the unquestionable assets of the firm, and which are in effect the funds of your Memorialists and others entrusted to the house, as your honourable Court cannot but be aware of the overwhelming influence which the British Government and its resident possess over that of the Nizam, and of the readiness with which its subjects will take occasion to elude altogether the payment of their claims, and by mixing political with personal interests, to embarrass them by an equally ruinous delay.

That your Memorialists have just received the report of a general meeting of the creditors of the house of Messrs. William Palmer and Co., held in Hyderabad, in June last, which report is drawn by a committee consisting of officers of high rank, and some of them in your honourable Company's service, and of other persons of distinguished character and known honor and integrity, who, as creditors of the house, and in common with your Memorialists, are deeply interested in ascertaining the real defaults of the house, the extent and character of their alleged illegal dealings, and the state of their accounts. That by such report it appeared that the house owed the sum of 51,24,133 8 0 rupees to various persons, and that there was owing to the house the several sums of "50,16,097 14 $\frac{1}{2}$ rupees on bonds and acknowledgments," and also the sum of "8,92,101 2 0 rupees on running account," besides the other but very insufficient assets of the house in goods and property; and that after a minute investigation into the transactions of the house, the trustees appointed on the part of the creditors declared as follows, that "the debts and transactions of the house appeared to be equally good, and exactly of the same description as they have always been since the house was established; but in consequence of the intercourse with the minister having been interdicted by the supreme government, the prospect of realizing debts, however just, had become a matter of considerable difficulty. One item of the debts is a sum of nearly 23 lacs of rupees, acknowledged in writing by Rajah Chundoo Loll, and regarding which the

resident at Hyderabad wrote to the late firm to the following effect:—"That in the event of the minister taking upon himself to satisfy the demands from the coffers of the state, a remonstrance against such misapplication of the public money should be made to His Highness the Nizam." This exposition is made with a view to explain the circumstance of so large an exhibited balance in favour of the house not being immediately realizable. A sum also of nine lacs of rupees, due by the Mohammedan minister, cannot be demanded, owing to the above-mentioned interdiction; an interdiction equally extending to the trustees, as may be seen by the resident's letter to them, under date 1st May, 1824. The knowledge that the support of the supreme government has been withdrawn from the late firm is of itself a sufficiently obvious reason why natives generally will endeavour to elude the payment of their debts."

That the same report further declares, "that in consequence of reports being in circulation prejudicial to the character of the members of the late firm, the trustees feel it but justice to Messrs. Palmer to state the candid and unreserved manner in which they have come forward, in affording every assistance and information in their power towards adjusting the affairs of their late establishment; and the said committee take that opportunity of stating their opinion that the creditors may place the strictest confidence in the honor and integrity of those individuals."

That your Memorialists, notwithstanding the present painful and anxious suspense which has thus been cast over the affairs of that establishment, cannot help entirely concurring in these sentiments towards the individuals composing the late firm, and of expressing their firm belief, that when the whole of their transactions come to be looked into, and the existing laws relative thereto impartially discussed, they will fully justify your Memorialists in this opinion, and the firm but respectful expression of it: your Memorialists confidentially believing that the measures which have been adopted to effect the suppression of the house can only have been caused by most erroneous representations of the conduct and dealings of the members of the firm of William Palmer and Co.

That some of your Memorialists can

aver from their own knowledge, that soon after the closing of the arrangement for the payment of the troops at Aurangabad, through the house of Messrs. William Palmer and Co., many officers in your honourable Company's service were obliged to pay upwards of three per cent. per month for occasional loans of money borrowed for their immediate necessities, and that it was difficult to procure advances even upon those terms.

And as a proof of the great, and indeed incalculable advantages derived from the establishment of Messrs. William Palmer and Co., and from their liberal mode of dealing, your Memorialists have heard that since the suspension of that house the rates of interest have again increased to their former amount of three per cent. per month, and even higher.

That your Memorialists abstain from making any observations upon the supposed or alleged illegality of the proceedings of the house of William Palmer and Co., of which your Memorialists have no knowledge; but if any illegality rests upon the supposed high rate of interest payable in the country of the Nizam, your Memorialists hope they may be allowed to bear testimony to the fact they have before stated, that Messrs. William Palmer and Co., by their liberal mode of dealing reduced the previous high rate of interest, first from 3, 4, and 5 per cent. per mensem to 2 per cent. per mensem; and afterwards, as your Memorialists have been informed, to one and a half per cent. per mensem, or 18 per cent. per annum, by the effect of their loan to the Nizams' government.

And though your Memorialists, from their profession, are not much acquainted with the laws which regulate the government of British India, yet they have heard that by some of the Bengal regulations made as late as 1801, which regulations your Memorialists believe are part of the laws of the country, and which were passed for regulating the rates of interest in provinces ceded to your honourable Company's government, it is declared, that for all debts due before 1801, the civil courts of judicature were not to decree higher or lower rates of interest than 2 rupees and 8 annas per month, on all sums under 100 sicca rupees, that is, 30 per cent. per annum, or 2 per cent. per month, on all sums above 100 sicca rupees, which is 24 per cent. per annum, to which your Memorialists advert, to shew that even British courts

of judicature were directed to allow and admit 24 and 30 per cent. on debts accrued in provinces before they became part of the British territories, and they long subsequently to the passing of the British Act of Parliament which restricts the rate of interest to 12 per cent. in your honourable Company's settlement.

That your Memorialists have heard that an alleged or presumed bonus received by the house has also been the ground of disapprobation. But whether this bonus was for an expected or actual loss which the house might then have since positively sustained, your Memorialists cannot venture to say; yet your Memorialists humbly beg to refer your honourable Court to the loans made at various times by the British government, which have at all times allowed a very considerable bonus to the subscribers, and, in some instances, as large as 70 or 80 per cent., in addition to an interest of more than 54 per cent. on the sum paid.

Your Memorialists beg also to refer to various other loans now in the market, which are sanctioned and supported by individuals of great respectability in the city of London.

The Mexican loan your Memorialists believe came out at 58½, for which sum the subscriber received a bond for 100% with 5 per cent. interest on the sum paid, thus giving nearly 10 per cent. on the actual advance to the subscriber, with a bonus of upwards of 70% per cent. on the repayment of the loan.

The Buenos Ayres loan came out at 85½ per cent., for which also a bond for 100% was given to the subscriber with 6½ per cent. interest, which returns to the subscriber nearly 8½ per cent. on the sum advanced, with a bonus of about 17½ per cent.

The Columbian loan of 1824 is also another instance of the same kind.

Your Memorialists do not urge this argument as a defence of the members of the house, their justification must be left to themselves; but your Memorialists advert to it to shew that such a benefit beyond the sum advanced appears to be the acknowledged principle of loans; and that, had your Memorialists heard of such a bonus being intended, they should not have considered it a circumstance likely to endanger the safety of their property.

Your Memorialists, therefore, under the circumstances they have stated, cannot but feel the highest degree of alarm for the safety of the property which they have thus confided to the

house, and which constitutes part of their present and future provision for themselves and families, and which, in fact, constitutes the formation of those very debts which the house has been prohibited from recovering; a prohibition which your Memorialists conceive, in effect, places the house and all its constituents without the pale of law, and excludes them from all justice, even in the assertion of their own legal rights, it being utterly hopeless to depend upon or expect any justice from either the native government or its subjects, towards an establishment from which its own government has not merely withdrawn its protection, but has expressly prohibited all others from having any intercourse with. Your Memorialists can only look up to the known character of your honourable Court, and the sympathy of its members, towards faithful and tried servants who have innocently become connected with those whom they believed to have been equally tried and equally honourable, and who will, but for the interference of your honourable Court, be utterly ruined; and whose ruin will occasion considerable loss to your Memorialists.

Your Memorialists, therefore, earnestly, but respectfully, entreat your

honourable Court to direct such measures to be taken as may enable the house, or those who have become the trustees of its effects for the interest of its creditors, to enforce its just debts and obligations, to lend the influence of your honourable Company's government, to enforce the payment of all debts admitted to be due to the house; which interference your Memorialists conceive is now rendered absolutely necessary, from the circumstance of the British resident having intimated to the native and legal debtors of the house, that they could not be compelled to pay their debts; thus, at the same time, vindicating the justice of your honourable government, and protecting the rights and property of those who have so long proved themselves amongst your honourable Company's most faithful servants and subjects.

Your Memorialists urge this, not only on their own behalf, but on that of a great portion of the officers of the Madras army, whom your Memorialists believe to be similarly circumstanced.

(Signed) The signatures include a great number of creditors resident in England, whose names are, for obvious reasons, not published here.

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE BOMBAY GOVERNMENT AND MR. FAIR.

IN explanation of the circumstances that have led to my compulsory removal from this country, and which, in the absence of authentic information on the subject, are so liable to be both misunderstood and misrepresented, I have thought it expedient to strike off a few copies of the correspondence that has passed between the several officers of Government and myself on the occasion, for distribution amongst my private friends, which I now submit to their perusal without observation or comment.

C. J. FAIR.

Bombay, 6th Sept. 1821.

GENERAL DEPARTMENT.

To the Editor of the Bombay Gazette.

SIR—The hon. the Governor in Council having been informed by the hon. the Judges of the Supreme Court that the publication contained in your news-

paper of Wednesday, the 28th ult., which professes to be a report of what had passed in Court, is in fact a gross misrepresentation of the proceedings, I am directed to recal your attention to the letter from this department of the 27th March last, and to express the surprise of the Governor in Council at the little regard which you appear to have paid to the warning which it conveyed.

The Governor in Council does not think it necessary to adopt any further measures on this occasion; but he directs me to apprise you, that in the event of his again receiving information of any publication in your paper tending to lower the dignity of the Supreme Court, either by misrepresenting its proceedings, or by reflecting on its conduct, he will consider you to have forfeited all claim to the protection of the Government, and will be obliged to direct the immediate recal of your license to remain in India. I have the

honour to be, Sir, your most obedient servant,
J. FARISH, Sec. to Govt.
Bombay Castle, Aug. 9, 1824.

To JAMES FARISH, Esq. Secretary to Government.

SIR—I have had the honour to receive your letter of the 9th instant, acquainting me, as Editor of the *Bombay Gazette*, that the hon. the Governor in Council, having been informed by the hon. the Judges of the Supreme Court, that the publication contained in my newspaper of Wednesday, the 28th ult., which professes to be a report of what had passed in Court, is in fact a gross misrepresentation of the proceedings, you are directed to recal my attention to the letter from the General Department of the 27th March last, and to express the surprise of the Governor in Council, at the little regard which I appear to have paid to the warning which it conveyed. In the second paragraph I am informed that the Governor in Council does not think it necessary to adopt any further measures on this occasion, but that he directs you to apprise me that, in the event of his again receiving information of any publication in my paper tending to lower the dignity of the Supreme Court, either by misrepresenting its proceedings, or by reflecting on its conduct, he will consider me to have forfeited all claim to the protection of the Government, and will be obliged to direct the immediate recal of my license to remain in India.

It is necessarily a matter of deep concern to me, to find that a complaint of so serious a nature as that contained in your letter, now before me, should have been made to Government against the paper under my management, by any person whatever, and more particularly by the hon. the Judges of the Supreme Court: for I am at a loss to put any other interpretation on the words in which the present accusation has been conveyed (gross misrepresentation) than that of a wilful perversion of truth for some improper purpose; and my regret on this occasion is materially increased by the belief that the hon. the Governor in Council must have adopted the impression of my having been guilty of the offence, with which I have been charged, before he could have instructed you to convey to me the reproof and admonition contained in your letter now under reply. I feel it therefore my duty not only distinctly to disclaim all intentional misrepresentation in the *Gazette* of the 28th ult.,

but also respectfully to express my belief that the proceedings of the Supreme Court, noticed in that paper, are as faithfully reported as they could possibly be by any one, except a skilful short-hand writer, and that they are, in all essential points, substantially correct.

As the report in question has reference to proceedings on two separate matters discussed on different days, and the complaint, as it at present stands, does not specify in which particular instance I am alleged to have offended, I am entirely at a loss how to meet the accusation preferred against me, except by the general declaration that I have deemed it incumbent on me to make in the preceding paragraph of this address; and the further assurance of its having been my constant endeavour, since I first attempted to report such matters of interest as arose in the King's Court of Judicature, to obtain the most correct information in my power on all occasions: but I have no doubt I shall be able to produce the most satisfactory testimony, from several gentlemen, who were in Court, on each occasion, in corroboration of the statements in both cases, if the hon. the Governor in Council should think further explanation necessary, and will do me the favour to make me acquainted with the points on which it will be desirable for me to exculpate myself with the Honourable Board.

In the meantime, I trust I shall be excused for stating, that even if it were possible for me to forget the duty I owe to Government and the public, as the conductor of a newspaper in this country, personal interest would of itself be a powerful incentive to accuracy, in all matters that appear in the columns of the *Gazette*; and that I feel satisfaction in knowing, that, although I have been accused of a departure from that course, in the instance before Government, my views and wishes, in respect to the reporting of cases that occur in the Supreme Court of this Presidency, are entirely in unison with those of the hon. the Chief Justice, who has expressed himself in a note to me of the 15th July 1823, of which I took leave to enclose a copy, as most anxious "that all proceedings of the Court should be published" here.

But as I can hardly hope, even with the most scrupulous attention to my editorial duties, to convey the sentiments of the Bench or the arguments of Counsel, to the public, in the very words in which they are delivered by

the parties, and as any deviation from perfect accuracy may, as in the present case, be considered a misrepresentation, and subject me to the heavy penalty announced in the second paragraph of your letter, I feel that I have no alternative but to abstain from publishing any of the proceedings in the Supreme Court from this date, however injurious such a measure may prove to the interests committed to my care, and however much at variance with the wishes of the Court itself. I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient servant,

C. J. FAIR.

Gazette Office, Aug. 12, 1824.

To C. J. FAIR, Esq.

SIR—I have the pleasure of sending you the notes of my charge to the grand jury. I fear you will be able to collect but little from them, but if I can find time I will sketch out an outline of my charge this morning, and send it to you. I am most anxious that all the proceedings of the Court should be published. I am, Sir, yours very truly,

EDWARD WEST.

Tuesday, July 15, 1824.

G. D.—To C. J. FAIR, Esq. Editor of the Bombay Gazette.

SIR—The Governor in Council has observed with surprise the publication in the last number of the Gazette of a Report calculated to lower the character of the Honourable the Supreme Court. In addition to the disrespectful insinuations apparent on a mere perusal of that article; he is informed by the Court, that it contains many misrepresentations of the proceedings, by the omission of some passages, and the insertion of others, tending altogether to give a very false impression of the spirit in which those proceedings were conducted.

2. If this article was prepared subsequently to the receipt by you of my letter of the 9th instant, the publication of it must be considered as an open defiance of the Government, and will leave the Governor in Council no choice but immediately to enforce the penalty announced in that letter, by cancelling your license to remain in India. Considering, however, the period at which the letter in question was despatched, the Governor in Council is disposed to believe that you may have received it so late as to render your proceeding with the publication an act of inadvertency rather than of contumacy. But even in the most indulgent view, the Governor in Council cannot

consider your conduct in the publication of the report in question as otherwise than highly censurable, after the repeated warnings which you have before received; and although he is not disposed to proceed at once to the full extent which the case might justify, he can only exercise this forbearance on condition of an immediate and public acknowledgment of the mis-statements mentioned in the beginning of this letter, and an ample apology for having given them publicity.

3. The acknowledgment and apology must be full and explicit, and must be transmitted to the Secretary's Office within three days, to the end that if adopted it may appear in the next Gazette. I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

J. FARISH, Sec. to Gov.
Bombay Castle, Aug. 13, 1824.

JAMES FARISH, Esq. Secretary to Government.

SIR—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 13th instant, and, trusting that the letter I have already transmitted to you, under the date the 12th instant, will have satisfied the Honourable the Governor in Council on most of the points adverted to in your communication of the 13th instant, in which I find I have had the misfortune to incur the displeasure and censure of the Honourable the Governor in Council, I have only to add that the same observations which I have submitted on the first publication of the proceedings in the Supreme Court, which appear in the Gazette of the 28th ult., are equally and strictly applicable to the report of the proceedings published in the Gazette of Wednesday last, 11th instant.

Under these circumstances, I should have refrained from any further intrusion on the time and attention of Government, but for the call made upon me in your present letter for "an immediate and public acknowledgment of the 'mis-statement' therein noticed (viz. the proceedings of the Supreme Court contained in my last paper), and an ample apology for having given them publicity."

In reply to this call, I beg leave with the utmost respect to state, that I am prepared to substantiate, by the evidence of a number of respectable and credible persons, who were present on that occasion, that my report of the proceedings of the 11th August was as fair and correct as it possibly could be, where every word spoken was not

taken down, and that far from that report giving an unfavourable (which I infer to be the meaning you attach to false, in your last letter) impression of the spirit in which the proceedings were conducted, the statement was decidedly favourable to the general character of the Court; and should I fail to establish these points in evidence to the satisfaction of the Honourable Board, there is no apology, however humble, which I am not prepared to make and publish in the paper under my charge.

As, however, the Honourable the Governor in Council may not deem it necessary or expedient to enter on such an inquiry at the present time, I trust that he will be satisfied with the expression of my sincere regret at having published any thing that has given rise to complaint from the Supreme Court, and cause for the displeasure of the Honourable the Governor in Council, and of my determination, as already in part intimated in my former letter, to avoid the possibility of a recurrence of the like in future, by abstaining altogether from publishing any account of the proceedings in the Supreme Court of this Presidency. I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient servant,

J. C. FAIR.

Bombay Gazette Office,
Aug. 16, 1824.

G. D.—To C. J. FAIR, Esq. Editor of the Bombay Gazette.

SIR—I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 12th of August, in reply to mine of the 9th, conveying the decision of the honourable the Governor in Council regarding the publication contained in the Gazette of the 28th ult.

2d. The Governor in Council directs me to inform you, that he considers the statement of the Court as conclusive on the subject of its own proceedings, and cannot admit the production of any testimony on a point which he regard, as fully established.

3d. That admitting you to have been free from the intention of misrepresenting the Court, you cannot be excused, after the warning you had received, for having presented, even through want of care, a distorted view of its proceedings.

4th. The Governor in Council does not consider measures taken to prevent erroneous statements, as at all inconsistent with the publication of full and fair reports of the proceedings of the Supreme Court. But he is of opinion,

that the suspension of those reports proposed in your last paragraph is necessary at the present moment, and should continue until the question now before the Government is set at rest. I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient servant,

J. FAIRISH, Sec. to Gov.
Bombay Castle, Aug. 16, 1824.

G. D.—To C. J. FAIR, Esq. Editor of the Bombay Gazette.

SIR—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated the 16th instant, in reply to mine of the 13th, calling upon you to make an immediate, and public acknowledgment of the mis-statements in your report of proceedings in Court, and an ample apology for having published them.

2. You will have been informed by my letter of the 16th instant, that the Governor in Council considers the declaration of the Supreme Court as final on the subject of its own proceedings, and can allow no statement supported by that authority to be called in question; the Governor in Council regards the fact of the mis-statement as fully established, and he thinks it indispensable that it should be publicly corrected. The discontinuance of the reports, although it might prevent the recurrence of the evil complained of, would have no effect in removing the impression already diffused. I am therefore directed to repeat, that unless a full and satisfactory apology be made for the publication, the Governor in Council will be under the necessity of directing you to quit India without delay.

3. Although the general nature of the mis-statements complained of has already been communicated to you, yet to leave no ground for pleading ignorance of the particular passages misrepresented, the Governor in Council has directed the following to be communicated.

It never was asserted, as is reported in the *Gazette*, that "there was no doubt that it was the daily practice for the Attorney-General, at the direction of the Court, to file informations for these kind of offences."

The statement of Mr. Shaw's case, which was brought forward in illustration of the opinion given from the bench, that a contempt, such as the Court ought to notice, might be committed within the precincts, although out of his immediate view, is represented in the *Gazette* as if it were solely

introduced for the purpose of censuring Mr. Shaw, and the whole of the reasoning founded on it is omitted.

The repeated declarations of the Court that there was no intention to treat Mr. Shaw with harshness are omitted, and the whole of the latter part of the proceedings, in which he was shown particular indulgence, is suppressed. The result of these omissions, together with other passages imperfectly reported, is to produce a false impression as to the temper and feelings of the Court, and this effect is still more directly attempted by an allusion to the personal demeanour of the judge on the bench: such an allusion, which in all circumstances would have been disrespectful, and which was entirely unnecessary in reporting the case before the Court, could only have been introduced for the purpose of lowering the character of the Court, and is considered by the Governor in Council to be peculiarly reprehensible.

4. The precise mis-statements which have attracted notice having now been pointed out, the Governor in Council hopes that you will be ready to make every reparation in your power for them, and will relieve Government from the disagreeable necessity of proceeding further against you. I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obed. ser

J. FARISH, Sec. to Gov.

Bombay Castle, 19, Aug. 1821.

G. D.—To C. J. FAIR, Esq. Editor of the Bombay Gazette.

SIR—No reply having, up to the present moment, reached me to the letter I was directed to address you on the 19th inst. I have now to express to you the expectation of the hon. the Governor in Council, that the apology therein required will be handed up in sufficient time to allow of its being submitted for the consideration of Government, and if approved, returned, to be published in the Gazette of Wednesday, 25th inst. I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient servant,

J. FARISH, Sec. to Gov.

Bombay Castle, 3 P. M. 21, Aug. 1821.

(COPY).—To JAMES FARISH, Esq. Secretary to Government.

Bombay Gazette Office, Aug. 23, 1824.

SIR—I have had the honour to receive your letters of the 16th, 19th, and 21st instant, the last indicative of surprise at the non-receipt of a reply to the one of the 19th, and communicating to me the expectation of the hon. the Governor in Council, that the apo-

logy, which has been required of me, will be handed up in sufficient time to allow of its being submitted for the consideration of government, and, if approved, returned, to be published in the Gazette of Wednesday, the 25th instant.

I beg that you will have the goodness to assure the hon. Board, that my silence is not to be attributed to a disregard of the call you had been instructed to make on me, or to any disrespect to Government; and I cannot but indulge the hope that the hon. Board will give me credit for the sincerity of this declaration, when it recollects that your letter of the 19th instant had not been more than eight and forty hours in my possession when that of the 21st was delivered to me; and that I had in the interim to deliberate and determine on a matter deeply affecting my prospects in life, and on which it was of the utmost importance to my future welfare that I should come to a right decision.

I can safely and with perfect truth assert, that I entered on the consideration of this, to me, momentous question, with an earnest and anxious desire to meet the wishes of Government, to the utmost of my power; and I trust that the hon. the Governor in Council will, in reference to the difficult situation in which I have been placed by his recent commands, excuse the detail which I find it necessary to enter into at this time, in explanation of the causes which prevent my compliance with his wishes to their full extent.

The hon. the Governor in Council, having been pleased to intimate to me in the second paragraph of your letter, of the 16th, that he considers the statement of the Supreme Court to be conclusive on the subject of its own proceedings, and that he cannot admit the production of any testimony on a point which he considers as fully established, and to repeat this intimation in your letter of the 19th, with the further declaration, that he can allow no statement supported by the authority of that Court to be called in question, it is in vain for me to offer any thing to the notice of Government, in explanation of the alleged mis-statement in my paper of the 11th instant; or, indeed, to advert in any manner whatever to the proceedings therein detailed. But I must, in justice to myself, take leave respectfully to state, that on undertaking to publish the proceedings of the Court—a task of no ordinary difficulty in this country—I was influenced

by a desire to render my paper interesting and useful to the Public; and a belief that so long as I felt, in my own conscience, that my reports were substantially correct, and that I could offer satisfactory proof of their being so, I could never incur the censure of Government, or render myself liable to punishment by any legal tribunal. I now learn for the first time, that I have been mistaken in these suppositions, and that the declaration of the Supreme Court is considered conclusive by the hon. the Governor in Council, in all matters connected with its own proceedings; thereby precluding any hope of exculpation or justification on the part of those who may, like myself, have the misfortune to experience its displeasure.

Had I been aware at an earlier period that such was the opinion of Government, I certainly never would have exposed myself to the risk, which, it appears, I have unconsciously incurred for some time past; and I confidently appeal to the justice and liberality of the hon. Board, in support of my hope, that it will not give retrospective operation to a decision which it was not in my power to have anticipated, and for which, consequently, I have been altogether unprepared.

It is far from my desire to seem to offer resistance to the authority of Government on any occasion: my habits and inclinations forbid such a course;—and in the present instance it is more particularly my interest to conform to its wishes; but feeling that my situation at this moment is one of peculiar difficulty, and conscientiously believing that my report of the proceedings of the 6th instant does not deserve the character which the Court has attributed to it, and confirmed in this opinion by the testimony of many of the most respectable persons in the settlement, who were present as well as myself on that occasion, I really feel myself at a loss how to draft an apology, which I could hope to be satisfactory to the hon. Board.

But if the hon. the Governor in Council will do me the favour to allow of one being transmitted to me, in such terms as he may think adapted to the circumstances of the case, saving my conscience, it shall have the most attentive consideration on my part, and shall be published without delay; if it prove, as I trust it will do, of such a nature as I can give to the world consistently with my character as a gentleman and a man of veracity.

In the meantime, as I have ascertained that some conversation took place in the Court between the Bench and Bar, subsequently to Mr. Irwin's moving that Mr. Shaw's recognizances might be estreated, and that Mr. Shaw's being allowed to answer may, perhaps, be the indulgence to which allusion is made in your letter of the 19th inst., I do myself the honour to enclose a statement of that conversation, taken down at the moment, and I shall be happy to give it a place in my next paper, with an expression of regret for its omission in that of the 11th instant, if its insertion in Wednesday's paper meets the approbation of the hon. Board. I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient servant,

C. J. FAIR.

Mr. Irwin moved that the recognizances be estreated.

It was granted, and the motion paper handed to the officer by Mr. Irwin.

Mr. Advocate-General stated, that perhaps he was in condition to show cause in the first instance, and he would be entitled to do so. But he would only take the liberty of saying, that Mr. Shaw had never any intention of declining to answer the interrogatories: he only wished to have the opportunity of appealing to the Court first, to know whether they were legal and such as he was bound to answer, and he acted in that respect by advice of counsel. He had now heard the order of Court, to which he of course deferred, and he was ready to answer immediately.

Mr. Justice Chambers: I think, as it appears that Mr. Shaw acted by advice of counsel, he is not, perhaps, to be considered as contumacious, and I think he may be allowed to answer.

Mr. Irwin asked if costs should be paid, and suggested that perhaps the Court would hold that the King could not receive costs.—Mr. Justice Chambers said, No. I believe it is a rule that the King neither pays nor receives costs.

G. D.—To J. C. FAIR, Esq. Editor of the Bombay Gazette.

SIR,—I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 23d instant.

2d—The Governor in Council cannot perceive, in the substance of this letter, any trace of the moderation which is conspicuous in the language.

3d—The expectation that you would be allowed to dispute the authority of the Court on a point of fact relating to its own proceedings, and to refute its

statement by the counter statements of some gentlemen among the by-standers, appears to the Governor in Council so unreasonable and so inconsistent with the dignity of a Court of Justice, that he cannot believe you to have seriously entertained it; he therefore regards the declaration, that you would never have undertaken to furnish reports, if you had not expected to be allowed that mode of justification, as rather a fresh mark of disrespect to the Court, than a ground for overlooking that formerly complained of.

4th.—The Governor in Council cannot discover in your replying to his desire that you would send a draft of an apology for his consideration, by requesting that he would propose one for your's, any sign of that anxiety to meet the wishes of Government, which is professed in another part of your letter. The Governor in Council observes, that you have in this letter acknowledged a considerable omission, that on another point your accuracy in taking down the proceedings is opposed to the direct assertion of the speaker, who was a Judge on the bench; and that the publication of your opinion as to the feelings of the Judge, even if it had been correct, was obviously neither requisite nor respectful. He is therefore at a loss to conceive on what ground you can refuse to acknowledge that your report was inaccurate, and to express your regret that it was calculated to produce an impression unfavourable to the spirit and temper of the Court, and an appearance of disrespect on your part to that Tribunal.

5th.—The Governor in Council expects that whatever apology you make may be so explicit, as effectually to remove the impression above alluded to; and he directs me to inform you, that unless such an apology is immediately transmitted to me, he will proceed, without further notice, to remove you from this country.—I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient servant,

J. FARISH, Sec. to Gov.

Bombay Castle, Aug. 24, 1824.

JAMES FARISH, Esq. Secretary to Government.

Bombay Gazette Office, Aug. 25, 1824.

SIR—I am honoured with your letter of yesterday's date, in reply to mine of the 23d inst., and having been so unfortunate as to add to the displeasure of Government, in every endeavour I have hitherto made to explain the difficulty of my situation, and remove the disapprobation of the hon. Board, I

shall abstain from doing more on this occasion than enclosing an apology to the effect you require, in the 4th and 5th paragraphs of your letter, now under reply: and which I am ready to publish either in an appendix to my paper of this date, or an extra Gazette, if the hon. Board should so desire it, I regret extremely that it was not in my power to transmit this document so immediately as appeared to be expected by your present communication, and can only assure you, as I have done in a former instance, that the delay has not arisen from disrespect to the hon. the Governor in Council, or disregard of his commands.—I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient servant,

J. C. FAIR.

Copy of proposed Apology.

In publishing a continuation of the Report of the Proceedings of the hon. the Supreme Court of Judicature on the 6th instant, which have been already noticed in the Gazette of the 11th inst. the Editor begs to state, for the information of his readers, that the conversation which this continuation details, took place, after he supposed the proceedings to be closed, in so low a tone of voice as to escape his notice at the time, and that it was not brought to his knowledge till a very recent period. The Editor avails himself also of this opportunity to add, that he has been informed from high authority that his report was in other respects inaccurate, and calculated not only to produce an impression unfavourable to the spirit and temper of the Court, but an appearance of disrespect on his part to the tribunal; he feels it therefore incumbent upon him publicly to disclaim any such intention, and to express his deep regret, that an impression of the nature he has mentioned should have been created, by the statement published in his paper of the 11th, which it was his duty and his desire to make as correct as possible.

G. D.—To C. J. FAIR, Esq. Editor of the Bombay Gazette.

SIR—I am directed by the hon. the Governor in Council to communicate to you that your letter of the 25th inst., and its enclosure, has been laid before him in Council, and I have received his directions to inform you, that the apology offered by you is entirely unsatisfactory.

2d—I am directed by the hon. the Governor in Council to represent to you that the inaccuracies and disre-

spect complained of are stated in the enclosure of your letter, as information received from a high authority; but that every admission of the truth of the information is avoided with marked care, and that the only effect of the apology, if published with the sanction of Government, would be to confirm the impression produced by the former publication, and to establish the right of Editors to reflect on the personal conduct of Judges, without exposing themselves to the imputation of disrespect to the Court.

I have it, therefore, in command from the honourable the Governor in Council, to declare and notify to you, that you have, in the judgment of the Governor of this Presidency, forfeited your claim to the countenance and protection of the Government of the Presidency of Bombay; and I am by the same authority directed to declare and notify to you, that, by order of the said Government of Bombay, of the date of this day, the permission to remain in India, which was communicated to you in Mr. Secretary Henderson's letter of the 9th of January 1823, is withdrawn; and also that by the same order any certificate or license heretofore obtained by you, or which may already have been granted you, or under which you may have, before the date of such order, claimed to reside and be in the East Indies, is declared to be void, from the 30th of this present month of August, which order I do accordingly hereby declare and notify to you; and I have it also in command from the honourable the Governor in Council to declare and notify to you, that from and after the said 30th of this month, you will, if residing and being in India, be deemed and taken to be a person residing and being in the East Indies without license or authority for that purpose, and that you will be proceeded against according to law.

I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient servant,

J. FARISH, Sec. to Gov.
Bombay Castle, Aug. 28, 1824.

JAMES FARISH, Esq. Secretary to
Government.

Bombay, Aug. 29, 1824.

SIR,—I was honoured last evening with your letter of that date (28th inst.) advising me, in reply to mine of the 25th, that the honourable the Governor in Council has been pleased to declare my license to reside in the East Indies to be void from to-morrow, the 30th of this present month of Au-

gust, and that from and after the said day, I shall, if residing and being in India, be deemed and taken to be a person residing and being in the East Indies without license or authority for that purpose, and that I shall be proceeded against according to law.

To this decision of Government I have of course no alternative but to submit myself without reserve; but it is of so much importance to me to know whether I am expected to embark for England, by the first opportunity that offers, or if a reasonable period will be allowed me to settle my affairs in this country, that I trust I shall stand excused for requesting you will have the goodness to obtain for me the necessary information on these points; in order that I may not, by a longer residence in India than the honourable Board may think expedient, seem to infringe the orders you have been directed to transmit to me on this occasion. I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient servant,

C. J. FAIR.

G. D.—To C. J. FAIR, Esq. Editor of
the Bombay Gazette.

SIR,—Having this day received the commands of the honourable the Governor in Council of Bombay to afford my legal assistance in carrying into effect their resolution of yesterday, to send you to the United Kingdom on board the Honourable Company's ship London, except on condition of your giving sufficient security before the 31st instant, that you will embark and proceed to Great Britain on or before the 30th of November next; I beg leave to know, with as little delay as practicable, whether you are willing to sign and execute a security-bond with a condition of the tenor aforesaid, and whether you are willing to give securities (and who they are) to meet the proposition of remaining till the 30th of November.

2d. Under a full consideration of the circumstances of the case, I do not think I can propose a lower penalty than twenty thousand rupees for yourself, and ten thousand rupees for two good and sufficient securities (who must be inhabitants of Bombay) that you will, in the event of your acceding to the offer of Government, quit India on or before the 30th of next November.

3d. It has already been officially notified to you, by Mr. Secretary Farish's letter of yesterday's date, that in the event of your refusing to give the security now required, you will be sent

on board the honourable Company's ship the London, Captain Sotheby; I therefore need not again urge the necessity of an immediate answer to this letter.—I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient servant,

W. A. MORGAN, Com. Sol.

Bombay, 29th Aug. 1824.

P. S. I am further directed to inform you, that the condition of the security-bond is to be, that you are to leave India whenever required by Government so to do, *on or before* the 30th of November next.

W. A. MORGAN.

Bombay, Aug. 31, 1824.

To J. C. FAIR, Esq. Editor of the
Bombay Gazette.

SIR,—I have the honour to enclose you a copy of a letter from Mr. Secretary Farish to my address, and to request your immediate answer as to the subject matter therein contained.

I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient servant,

J. R. SNOW,

Sen. Magis. of Police.

Bombay Office of Police, 30th Aug. 1824.

G. D.—To J. R. SNOW, Esq. Senior
Magistrate of Police.

SIR,—I am directed by the hon. the Governor in Council to transmit to you the accompanying extract from the proceedings of Government dated the 28th instant, in conformity with which Mr. C. J. Fair, the editor of the *Bombay Gazette*, is to be sent to the United Kingdom, on board the hon. Company's ship London (Captain Sotheby commanding), which ship will sail on or about the 3d of September next, under the provisions of the Act 53 Geo. 3, c. 255, s. 104, should he reside and be in the East Indies after the 30th of the present month (Aug.)

2d. I convey the commands of the Hon. the Governor in Council that you give effect to the resolution of Government now communicated to you, acting in all respects according to the advice of the hon. Company's law officer.

3d. You will, however, let Mr. Fair know that he will be permitted to remain at Bombay for the space of three months, from the 31st of this month, viz. until the 30th day of November next ensuing, if he chooses to give security that he will embark and proceed to the United Kingdom, at the end of that time; and the Hon. Company's Solicitor has been directed to have bonds ready for signature, with such penalty as he may deem sufficient,

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to be executed by Mr. Fair, if he should prefer that course.

4th. Notwithstanding your having given this intimation to Mr. Fair and his having assented to that course, the measures for sending him on board the hon. Company's ship London are not to be suspended by you, and you will be pleased to inform him, that unless the Company's Solicitor reports that he (Mr. Fair) has executed such a bond as the hon. Company's Solicitor considers in all respects binding and sufficient for the purpose, he, Mr. Fair, is still to be sent to the United Kingdom by the London.—I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient servant,

(Signed) J. FARISH, Sec. to Gov.
(True Copy) J. R. SNOW, Sen. Magis.
of Police.

Bombay Castle, 28th Aug. 1824.

W. A. MORGAN, Esq. Hon. Company's
Solicitor.

SIR,—I have to acknowledge the receipt, under yesterday's date, of your letter of the 29th, advising me of the instructions you had received from the hon. the Governor in Council respecting the carrying into effect of their resolutions of the 28th for my transmission after the 30th instant to the United Kingdom, and proposing to me certain conditions, on complying with which this resolution will be suspended for a time, and permission given me to remain in India until the 30th November next, subject, however, according to the postscript of your letter, to the contingency of being obliged to quit this country *on or before* that period, if required to do so by Government.

For the fulfilment of this engagement you require security in the penalty of twenty thousand rupees for myself, and ten thousand rupees for two good and sufficient securities, who must be inhabitants of Bombay.

It is now my duty to state that the security you have thought it right to require of me is of such a nature and amount, that I feel it not only impossible to comply with it in my own person, but equally so in respect to the few friends I have at this place, and that I must in consequence prepare myself for the only other alternative left me, that of embarking to the United Kingdom in any ship, in which the Government may be authorised to order me to proceed to that quarter.

As it has always been far from my desire to seem to offer any opposition

or evasion to the orders of Government, I trust that it will not require me to hold myself in readiness for embarkation, without giving me twelve hours' notice, and that, in the mean time, my word of honour to appear after such notice has been served upon me, will be received as sufficient security for my appearance.—I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient servant,
C. J. FAIR.

J. R. SNOW, Esq. Sen. Magis. of Police.
Bombay, Aug 31, 1824.

SIR,—I have been honoured with your letter of yesterday's date, handing me a copy of one from Mr. Secretary Farish to your address of the 28th of the month, and I take the earliest opportunity of advising you that I have been obliged to inform the hon. Company's Solicitor that it is quite out of my power to furnish security to the extent and of the nature he requires, and that I am consequently prepared to embark in any ship to the United Kingdom, on which the Government may be authorised to order me to proceed to that quarter.

As the execution of this latter part of the honourable Board's commands appears to rest with you, it may be advisable for me to state, that I hope you will consider my word of honour to attend you for the embarkation at any time you may direct, after my receiving twelve hours' notice of your wishes, as a sufficient security for my appearance when required.—I have the honour to be Sir, your most obedient servant,
C. J. FAIR.

To C. J. FAIR, Esq.

SIR,—I am duly honoured with your communication of yesterday's date, and rest perfectly satisfied with the assurances you have given me. I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient servant,

J. R. SNOW, Sen. Magis. of Police.
Bombay Office of Police,
Sept. 1, 1824.

G. D.—To J. C. FAIR, Esq. Editor of the Bombay Gazette.

SIR,—In reply to your letter of yesterday's date, I am directed to inform you that the Senior Magistrate of Police has received orders to send you to England on board the honourable Company's ship London, which will sail on or about the 3d instant; but that if, before the sailing of that ship, you give full and sufficient security to embark, whenever you are required to do so,

you will not be ordered to leave India for three months, or until the 30th November next, unless you give new ground of offence in the interim. I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient servant,

J. FARISH, Sec. to Gov.
Bombay Castle, Aug. 30, 1824.

JAMES FARISH, Esq. Secretary to Government.

Bombay, Sept. 2, 1824.

SIR,—I had yesterday the honour to receive your letter of the 30th ult., in reply to mine of the 29th, informing me of the directions which had been issued to the Senior Magistrate of Police, for my embarkation on board the honourable Company's ship London, but that if, before the sailing of that ship, I give full and sufficient security to embark whenever I am required to do so, I shall not be ordered to leave India for three months, or until the 30th November next, unless I give new ground of offence in the meantime. The honourable the Governor in Council will doubtless have been informed that I had, previously to the receipt of the letter now under acknowledgment, been called on, in one from the honourable Company's Solicitor of the 29th ult. to enter into securities, which I found it impossible to comply with, and that I had in consequence expressed my readiness to surrender myself to the Senior Magistrate of Police whenever required.

I have since been made acquainted with the orders that have been issued for my transmission to the United Kingdom, on board the honourable Company's ship London, as a charter-party passenger, and having failed in my endeavours to obtain a cabin and accommodation at the commander's table, at my own expense, I find myself reduced to the necessity of proceeding on a long, circuitous and uncertain voyage, limited to ship's provisions and accommodation only, and subject, of course, to all the privations of a common soldier or sailor, for a period of ten or twelve months at the least, contrary, I apprehend, to the real intention of the Legislature, unless the Honourable Board will so far modify the terms of security formerly required of me, as to accept my personal bond, binding myself to proceed to England in such other ship as the Government may consider itself authorised to send me.

I take the liberty to repeat, what I have already stated to the honourable

Company's Solicitor, that I have never intended either to oppose or evade the orders of Government on this occasion, and I trust, therefore, that the proposal which the circumstances I have mentioned have rendered it necessary for me to make at this time, will be deemed satisfactory to the hon. Board. I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient servant,
C. J. FAIR.

Captain J. B. SOTHEY, Commanding the hon. Company's ship London.

SIR,—Understanding that orders have been issued to the Senior Magistrate of Police, Mr. Snow, and yourself, for my reception on board the honourable Company's ship London, as a charter-party passenger to the United Kingdom, and concluding that I shall in consequence be limited to ship allowance and accommodation, I shall esteem myself obliged by your informing me, if you can make arrangements for receiving me at your table, and accommodating me with a cabin during the period I may be retained on board the ship under your command, for which I am ready to make such remuneration as you may think just and proper. I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,
C. J. FAIR.

Bombay, Sept. 1, 1821. 5 P. M.

To C. J. FAIR, Esq.

SIR,—In answer to your letter of yesterday's date, I beg to state to you, I cannot conveniently offer you a cabin, or the accommodation at my table which you request. I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

Sept. 2, 1824. J. B. SOTHEY.

To C. J. FAIR, Esq.

SIR,—May I request the favour of you to attend at my office to-morrow (Saturday), at 11 o'clock, to embark in the honourable Company's ship London, agreeable to your promise. Should your coming to my office not be perfectly agreeable, I shall be most happy to meet you at any other place you may wish. I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,
J. R. SNOW, Sen. Magis. of Police.
Bombay Police Office, Sept. 3.

G. D.—To C. J. FAIR, Esq.

SIR,—Under the circumstances represented by you, I am directed to inform you that Captain Sothey has been directed to accommodate you on the footing of a subaltern officer, and to allow you a cabin 7. 6. by 6. 6. abaft the main-mast, and to be admitted at

the captain's table. I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,
J. FARISH, Sec. to Gov.
Bombay Castle, Sept. 3, 1824.

G. D.—To C. J. FAIR, Esq. Editor of the Bombay Gazette.

SIR,—Captain Sothey having represented the absolute impossibility of allotting you a cabin until the troops on board the London are disembarked at Calcutta, that part of the arrangement, communicated to you in my letter of yesterday's date, will not have effect until that period, and in the mean time you will have accommodation in the steerage. I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient servant,

J. FARISH, Sec. to Gov.

Bombay Castle, 4th Sept. 1824.

JAMES FARISH, Esq. Secretary to Government.

Bombay, 4th Sept. 1824.

SIR,—I was honoured last evening with your letter of yesterday's date, advising me, that Captain Sothey had been directed to accommodate me with a cabin, on the footing of a subaltern officer, and to be admitted to the Captain's table, and I am this moment in receipt of your further letter of this date, informing me that Captain Sothey having represented the absolute impossibility of allowing me a cabin until the troops on board the London are disembarked at Calcutta, that part of the arrangement will not have effect until that period, and that I shall in the mean time have accommodation in the steerage.

Situated as I am at this moment, I must, of course, comply with any directions that government may think fit to issue respecting me, but I must at the same time take leave respectfully to observe, that I cannot but feel that the alteration just made known to me will materially diminish the comforts I had hoped to experience under your letter of yesterday, and that it is in itself a measure, for which I was but little prepared at this late period. I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient servant,

C. J. FAIR.

G. D.—To C. J. FAIR, Esq.

SIR,—I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of yesterday's date, and to inform you that arrangements have been made, in consequence

of which, Captain Sotheby has been ordered to allow you a cabin. I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient servant,

J. FARISH, Sec. to Gov.
Bombay Castle, 5th Sept. 1824.

J. R. SNOW, Esq., Senior Magistrate of Police.

H. C. Ship London, 6th Sept. 1824.

SIR,—I request that you will do me the favour to cause the accompanying letter to be sent to Mr. Secretary Farish, on your return to the shore. Permit me at the same time to request your acceptance of my thanks for the considerate manner in which you have executed the unpleasant duty with which you have been charged in respect to my person. I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,

C. J. FAIR.

JAMES FARISH, Esq., Secretary to Government.

SIR,—Following the orders of Government, and the warrants of the hon. the Governor, of the 1st instant, to the Senior Magistrate of Police, and Commander of the H. C. Ship London, I

am now a prisoner on board that ship, and although I have considered it desirable on every account, not to offer any sort of resistance to the authority of Government, or to raise any question of law at this place, which might disturb the peace of society, I should be wanting in justice to myself, if I were not thus to avow my belief, that the whole of the proceedings against me on this unfortunate occasion, are illegal, and more particularly my transmission to the United Kingdom in a ship not bound direct to that quarter.

I desire, therefore, to enter my protest against those proceedings before I leave this harbour, lest silence should be construed into an acquiescence in their propriety, and operate to my prejudice hereafter, in the endeavours which it will be my duty to make, to obtain redress from the proper authorities in England, for the injuries which I consider myself to have suffered, and to be still suffering from the acts in question. I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient servant,

J. C. FAIR.
H. C. S. London, Bombay Harbour,
September 6th, 1824.

THE ORIENTAL HERALD.

No. 16.—APRIL 1825.—VOL. 5.

SPEEDY COMMUNICATION WITH INDIA—CANALS ACROSS THE ISTHMUS OF SUZ.

A Bill is now passing through the House of Commons, for the incorporation of a Company, whose purpose is to make a passage for ships from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, through the narrow country which connects North with South America. The immense advantage arising from such an undertaking, must be apparent to every one who looks at a map of the world. * * * There only wants now a canal through the Isthmus of Suez, and then the two great desiderata for which all geographers have sighed, would be accomplished, and little of circuitous navigation left in the world.—EXAMINER, March 13, 1825.

THE readers of our earliest Numbers will remember, that about twelve months ago, March 1814, we devoted an article to the subject of uniting the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, and after a full development of all the details that could be given in illustration, concluded with venturing to predict that this important undertaking would, ere long, receive that serious consideration to which it is so justly entitled. We are gratified at seeing that the expectation was well-founded, and to learn that it is thus already fulfilled. From the consideration of this subject, the mind is naturally impelled towards an inquiry into the practicability of a similar union between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean; the Isthmus of Suez and that of Darien being constantly associated, in our recollection, from their similarity in size and position, and the impediment which each offers to a more speedy communication between distant quarters of the globe. In the very first Number of *The Oriental Herald*, we drew the public attention to the difficulties of steam navigation by that route to India, a project which was then seriously entertained, but which has since been judiciously abandoned. The same objections do not apply, however, to the hope of shortening the route of navigation for sailing vessels, such as are now in use, between Great Britain and her Indian empire; but more especially for vessels of a smaller kind, which would then maintain a speedy and uninterrupted intercourse between all the European, Asiatic, and African ports of the Mediterranean, and those of Arabia and Abyssinia in the Red Sea.

At the present moment, when capital is so superabundant as to be seeking channels of profitable employment in every country under the sun, we shall perhaps render an acceptable service to merchants and capitalists, as well as to our literary and geographical readers, and, above all, to the cause of humanity,—the best interests of which are most effectually promoted by undertakings that unite hostile nations in the bonds of reciprocal interest,—by devoting a portion of our work to the consideration of

the subject proposed. The period for such a discussion is favourable, from another circumstance also, and one of even still greater importance than the abundance of unemployed capital, namely, the present state and condition of Egypt, and the enlarged views and enterprising character of its present celebrated ruler. We learn, by advices received from Alexandria, during the past month, that the commerce of Egypt was rising to a degree of splendour which astonished all the European residents in that country; and the government of the Pasha is said to have been spoken of with the same respect as that of the most enlightened in Europe. A number of intelligent Europeans were already in the service of this prince; the government monopolies were giving way to free-trade; an insurance company had been established, an institution never before known under a Mohammedan government; a public journal was on the point of being established; and every other indication of the spirit and feeling of the country manifested a thirst after improvement, and a zeal among all classes in the pursuit of great undertakings, which has never been witnessed there since the days of the Caliphs.

The independence of Egypt, which most persons acquainted with its present state, regard as not very remote, may perhaps be thought still wanting to secure the success of any great project undertaken for its benefit: but, although there is always a greater degree of insecurity under despotic than under free governments, yet even this insecurity is often effectually counteracted by the powerful claims of self-interest, which, in such a case as we are supposing, would compel even the despot to promote the stability of relations that could never be interrupted without greater injury to himself than to others. We proceed, however, to the immediate object of our inquiry:—

In tracing the history of the communication by water, which formerly existed between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea, it is curious to observe the discrepancies that occur with respect to it in the testimonies afforded by the Greek and Roman writers. That a canal did once exist from the Nile to the Red Sea, sufficient to establish such a communication, is evident, not only from the express words of Arabian authors, but also from the vestiges of it which yet remain; but at what era it commenced, and under whose auspices it was finally completed, is still open to considerable doubt. Herodotus, the earliest author who notices it, asserts that this canal, known at a later period by the denomination of *Fossa Regum*, was first contemplated by Pharaoh Necos; that it was begun by him, and that one hundred thousand Egyptians perished during the progress of the work; that he desisted from it on being warned by an oracle, that all his labour would turn to the advantage of a barbarian; and that it was afterwards undertaken by Darius, who completed it. He expressly states that it commenced at Bubaste on the Pelusiatic branch of the Nile, and that it terminated in the Red Sea; and describes the length of it as extending to a navigation of four days, and its breadth as sufficient to admit two triremes abreast.

A testimony so explicit, from an intelligent observer who visited Egypt very shortly after the period assigned by him for the completion of the canal, and whose description almost implies that he was an eye witness of its operation, would appear entitled to the most implicit confidence, were it not that we find Aristotle, who passed over the same spot only a century later, completely contradicting it. This writer declares that the

Pharaohs and Darius, who had promised themselves great advantages from the completion of the canal, had at length given over the work, after having ascertained that the Red Sea was higher than the soil of Egypt, which would, consequently, have been overflowed and destroyed had the canal been opened as proposed. Diodorus agrees with Aristotle in his account of the cessation of the enterprise, and in the reasons assigned for it; and then proceeds to state, that Ptolemy Philadelphus had not been deterred by the former failures, but had again undertaken the works, and had succeeded, by means of a new canal, furnished with sluices, to be opened and shut as occasion required. With this statement, that of Strabo coincides, who adds, that in his time the merchants of Alexandria found an issue from the Nile to the Red Sea, to penetrate into India; but, varying from all the other authorities, he places the junction of the canal with the Nile at Phaccusa, nearly thirty miles lower down the river than Bubaste.

According to Pliny, with whom concludes the list of Roman writers who notice this navigation, it was open from the Nile only as far as the Bitter Lakes; and he assigns for its stoppage at this point, the same reason that was previously given by Aristotle; adding to it another, that if the waters of the Red Sea were poured into the Nile, those of the latter, of which alone the Egyptians drink, would be spoiled. He then proceeds to describe the routes of commerce across the Isthmus, three in number, which were pursued by caravans; and would thus appear to conclude the question as to the state of the canal at that time, did he not afterwards mention the river of Ptolemy, which passes to Arsinoë (Suez), which could scarcely have been any other than that portion of the artificial communication immediately adjoining the Red Sea.

To reconcile these differences, it has been suggested by Major Rennell, in his excellent and valuable work, 'The Geographical System of Herodotus examined and explained,' that the canal formed by Darius had become early choked up, from a want of attention to the backwater, at its opening into the Red Sea; and that it might thus either have been forgotten, or that Ptolemy, on re-opening it, might have wished to discredit the belief of the fact, from a desire of having attributed to himself the whole glory resulting from the undertaking. If such, however, were his ambition, the same cause probably operated to render his own canal of equally short duration, since we may collect from Plutarch that this also was not open in the time of Cleopatra, her vessels having been drawn across the Isthmus, a distance of thirty-six miles, probably from the Bitter Lakes to Suez.

At a subsequent period another work was undertaken by Adrian, which has also been regarded as having reference to the same object,—that of commerce. The Trajanus Amnis, as it was denominated by that Emperor, in honour of his predecessor and adoptive father, may, however, have been rather intended, in common with numerous other canals which intersect the soil of Egypt, for the purposes of irrigation, since it is mentioned by Ptolemy the geographer, who lived at the time of its formation, but who does not even allude to any navigable canal. It extended from Cairo as far as the Bitter Lakes, and must in its course have fallen into the line of the older canal, near the site of the modern Belbeis. Major Rennell conjectured that this communication, from a higher part of the Nile, had become necessary to keep open the canal, as

the small fall obtained from the older point of conjunction rendered it liable to be continually obstructed. In this point, however, from the absence of actual surveys at the time at which he wrote, he was completely in error; observations having since proved that no fall could exist in the absence of the inundation, the level of the Nile, even so high up as Cairo, being, in its low state, fourteen feet below the high-water mark at Suez; consequently, all conjectures founded on such a supposition must be incorrect.

Up to this time, therefore, it will have been seen, that we are far from possessing any proof of the existence of a navigable canal so positive as to preclude the possibility of doubt. During the periods in which Egypt was possessed in succession by the most powerful monarchs of the earth, the Persian, the Macedonian, and the Roman, the enterprise was either not completed, or remained open only during a very brief space. In the year 622, however, it appears from the historical details given in El-Maqrzy, and in El-Makyn, that the navigation was actually opened by the Arabians. Under the reign of the Caliph Omar, Amrou, his general, re-opened a canal of older date in the neighbourhood of Cairo, conducted it to join the Amnis Trajanus, between Hank and Belbeis, cleared this as far as its junction with the Fossa Regum; and having thus re-established a communication with the Bitter Lakes, completed the junction of the seas by forming a canal from these lakes into the Red Sea. The canal thus opened, remained navigable for upwards of a century; and although, during this period, it had doubtless suffered much damage, owing to the inattention and unsettled habits of the people to whose care it was intrusted, vessels still continued to pass through it, until it was at length closed on the sea side by order of the Caliph Giafar el Mansour, with the view of cutting off the supplies from a rebel at Mecca, who was aiming at becoming independent.

Since this period upwards of a thousand years have elapsed without any attempt at the restoration of this important communication with the East; and their course has witnessed the progress of the destruction which has overwhelmed it. Among the various causes which have contributed to its ruin, perhaps the most injurious has been the shifting nature of the sands through which a considerable portion of it passed; nor have the inundations of the Nile contributed less to its subversion in those parts which were exposed to their annual influence. From the basin of the Bitter Lakes, evaporation has been equally active in withdrawing the water which formerly covered it, and this portion of it is now, consequently, incapable of navigation; while, at the opposite extremity, that adjoining the Nile, nearly the same effect has been produced by the filling up of the Pelusiac branch, from which the canal originated.

But though the work of destruction has been thus active during many succeeding centuries, there yet remain throughout nearly the whole course of the canal traces sufficient to mark its general direction, which have been repeatedly adverted to by travellers who have casually visited its different parts. To no one, however, of these intelligent individuals did it ever occur to enter into a detailed investigation of the facts which yet remained as authenticating evidences of the testimonies of ancient writers with respect to it; nor, indeed, was such a task at any time within their power, until the invasion of Egypt, at the close of the last century, by the French army. To secure the command of the shortest

and most expeditious channel of communication between Europe and the East, formed, in fact, a leading object of that expedition; and no sooner had its active and enterprising leader established himself sufficiently in Egypt, than his powerful mind seized upon the opportunity which presented itself for instituting an extensive inquiry, with a view to the re-opening of the canal. In the commencement of the labours of the engineers and scientific men, to whom the investigation was committed, he personally shared; and when compelled to quit them, in pursuance of his military duties, he made every arrangement for the safe continuance of their researches. To these we are indebted, not only for a detailed account of the course pursued by the ancient canal, of the various soils which it traversed, of the means by which it may be restored, and of the expense to be anticipated in re-opening it, but also for an examination of the sources connected with the country itself, whence considerable funds might be derived, as well as of the profits which might be expected to result from it. On all these points our information may, therefore, be regarded as at least approaching nearly to the truth, inasmuch as the report was prepared by some of the most able engineers, at the express order and under the eyes of Napoleon, whose deep and declared interest in the undertaking must have induced them to take every possible means of assuring the correctness of their calculations.

According to their admeasurement, the whole length of the navigation from the Nile to the Red Sea, extended to about thirty-three French leagues; and commencing from the Pelusiatic branch, which flowed into the Mediterranean, near the modern Tineh, may be regarded as composed of four principal parts. The first of these, about five leagues in length, is situated between the opening from the Nile near Bubaste, and the commencement of the Ras el Wady. Its direction is towards the east, and the soil through which it passes being alluvial, is consequently extremely fit for working, and well adapted to preserve the form to which it may be excavated. This portion is annually covered by the Nile, and considerable remains of the old canal are still occasionally cleared to retain the waters after the inundation has ceased, for the purposes of irrigation.

The second portion of the canal comprised the whole length of the Wady, in a direction prolonged also towards the east. This valley, which probably formed, at some remote period, one of the numerous channels through which the Nile discharged itself, is, in extent, about fifteen leagues; and through its course may be perceived traces of the canal, amounting in the whole to about thirteen leagues. In several places these are of considerable depth, and may readily be restored, as they are filled only by the deposits of the Nile, which render its bottom so fruitful that it is cultivated even by the Arabs. Towards the eastern extremity of the Wady, the sand-hills of the desert begin to appear, and particularly on its southern side. That these were partially present even at the periods at which the canal was proceeded in, is evident, from its being turned in this part towards the north, out of its usual direction. Since that time they have, however, much increased; and those parts of the canal which are not now to be traced in this portion, have been overwhelmed by these shifting masses, which would present a formidable difficulty in keeping open a channel. This may, however, be effected, by a proper introduction of rushes and other plants adapted to fix moveable sands, the bene-

ficial effects of which are visible on all sandy coasts, and which have even been successfully employed, in several instances, to recover these from the sea, and render them useful.

The third portion of the navigation, about eight leagues in length, traversed the Bitter Lakes in a south-easterly direction. Their basin is, in some parts, from two to three leagues in breadth, and is at present almost entirely deprived of water. It consists principally of a loose crust, covering cavities, many of which are sufficiently deep to swallow a man, intersected by a few rills; and along the centre there exists a mere channel. The water contained in these is intensely bitter and salt, and its flavour is communicated to the surrounding soil.

The fourth and last portion of the canal passed in a direction towards the south, from the southern point of the Bitter Lakes, to the northern extremity of the Red Sea, near Suez. Its length was about five leagues, crossing an isthmus composed entirely of sands, which have succeeded in more generally and completely obliterating its traces than in the other portions. Notwithstanding, however, the successive accumulation of the shifting materials which surround them, the vestiges of its course are very evident. It appears probable, that at an early period the isthmus was less elevated than at present; and the French engineers have even conjectured that a communication may have existed between the sea and the lake at high tides, and in very heavy rains; thus forming a natural gutter, which may have given the first idea of enlarging it, by art, into a canal. If this did ever exist, it seems, however probable, that the overflow of the Delta must have ensued, unless the progress of the sea had been prevented by locks or dams at the northern extremity of the lake; and as such an occurrence never took place, it seems fair to conclude, that no communication was ever open until it was effected by art, after the necessary precautions had been previously adopted.

Such are the leading features at present existing of the canal of communication; and if to these it is added, that both the Trajanus Amnis and the canal of Kallub are still maintained in the neighbourhood of the Nile, and that they may be traced along their course, through the alluvial soil, as far as the junction of the former with the Fossa Regum at Belbeis, a general idea will be obtained of the whole of the actual remains connected with the ancient navigation.

To renew this is represented as the most desirable course to be pursued in re-opening the communication between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea, and particularly so in a commercial point of view. The flatness of the shores of the former sea, along the northern part of the Isthmus of Suez, presents an insurmountable obstacle to the formation of a settlement suited for a mercantile depot; for which Alexandria seems to be almost the only position along the coast that could be selected. To re-open the old canal would also be especially beneficial to the internal commerce of Egypt, since a communication would thus be formed between its principal stations and Suez; but the point of junction with the Nile should rather be near Atrib or Bubaste, than at Cairo; as this latter would compel vessels to ascend the river to an inconvenient height, if they were destined to Alexandria, Rosetta, or Damietta; with each of which places the communication from the former point would be easy, either by means of canals, or by the branches of the Nile.

In treating of the plan to be adopted for again rendering navigable the

ancient canal, it will be most intelligible to refer to it, as consisting of the four principal portions already adverted to, each of which will form a distinct level. The first of these is recommended to be excavated to the level of the low state of the Nile; and as it should be capable of receiving the whole of the inundation, its banks must be raised about twenty two feet, or four feet above the highest rise. As the height of the water contained in it will be variable, a lock will be required at its junction with the second level, to enable vessels to ascend or descend from it. In this range will be included such portions of the relics of the old canal as by their depth and direction may be rendered serviceable, which will produce at once a saving both of time and expense.

The bed of the second level should also correspond with the low state of the Nile, in order that it may be left dry when necessary during the annual stoppage of the navigation, for the purpose of being cleaned. Its greatest depth need not exceed eighteen feet, and its supply of water should be derived by an upper canal from Cairo, to be formed by re-opening the Trajanus Amnis. The navigation of these levels will commence only when the Nile has risen six feet, and cease when it has decreased to the same point; it will consequently be practicable for seven or eight months during the year, or from about August to March. It would be useless to attempt to prolong this time, since the navigation of the Nile itself scarcely exceeds this term. As their waters will be lower than those of the Bitter Lakes, until the Nile is fully swelled, it will be necessary to have also at their junction a lock, which must be furnished with a sluice to carry off any occasional mixture of the brackish water into the lower parts of the desert.

The vast basin of the Bitter Lakes will form the third level, which will require no excavation, as its bed is upwards of fifty feet below the waters of the Red Sea. This should at first be filled through the former levels from the inundation of the Nile, and the same means may be annually had recourse to, to remedy the successive lowerings by the lock, which will, however, be but trifling, on account of its great extent. Its waters should be maintained on a level with the low water at Suez, which will render it navigable in every part; and to guard against any obstacle which may occur to navigation from their being lower than those of the succeeding portion, which will vary with the state of the tide, a lock will be required at their junction also.

The fourth level will comprise the canal to be re-established between the lake and the Gulf of Suez. Its bed should be ten feet below the level of the low tide, and its banks must be sufficiently raised to enable it to receive, in very high tides, six or seven feet of sea-water, which will be extremely serviceable in keeping up a head-water to assist in the navigation of the Road of Suez. For this purpose it will also require to be furnished with a lock and with tide-gates.

For the profiles to be given to the different sections of the canal, no general rule can be laid down, as these must depend on the nature of the soil to be excavated; a less slope being obviously required in the alluvial districts than in those where the loose sand would be likely to slip into and impede the channel. The breadth of the canal will, therefore, vary considerably, as will also its depth in the respective levels. The length to be opened will be about twenty-five leagues; the remaining eight being occupied by the Bitter Lakes, which require only to be

furnished with an adequate supply of water to render them at once navigable.

Sufficient, however, will not yet have been effected to render this canal accessible to Europeans. To Cairo it will, indeed, be highly advantageous, as that city will thus be enabled to receive direct the goods of the East; but to reach Alexandria, and consequently, the Mediterranean, it will be afterwards necessary to clear a portion of the Pelusiatic branch of the Nile, and the canals of Fara'ounyeh, and of Alexandria, as well as to improve the navigation of the boghazzes of the Nile generally. That these works are also beneficially practicable we have the same authority for stating; but into their details it is at present unnecessary to enter. Of the whole of them, including every possible charge, and giving to the works of art, to the bridges, and to the fortifications necessary to protect them, a degree of elegance and solidity corresponding with the general importance of the enterprise, the estimated expense will amount to less than 1,200,000*l*. A considerable deduction may be made from this in consequence of the works undertaken by the present enlightened governor of Egypt, for the restoration of the canal of Alexandria, which would amount, if this were effected, to nearly 300,000*l*. The requisite number of labourers could be readily procured from Cairo and the adjoining country; and if ten thousand men were kept constantly employed, the whole of the works would be completed, and the navigation between the Mediterranean and the Red Seas open throughout, in about four years.

As, however, it is obvious, that much of the advantage to be derived from this outlay of capital will be peculiar to Egypt alone, not only in the improvement of her internal traffic, but also in the barrier which it would secure for her against the incursions of the Arabs; to compensate for these benefits, the undertakers would be justified in demanding from her government, if not a share of the expense, at least a territorial right to all such land as might be recovered by them in the progress of their labours, whether from the sands or from the waters, and particularly the whole extent of the Wady or valley. This, which includes about 10,000 acres of land capable of cultivation, of the real value of at least 25*l*. per acre, may be regarded as productive of an annual profit from the richness of the harvest, of one-tenth of this sum, or about 25,000*l*. The deserts to the north and south of this valley are also well adapted for planting certain trees, particularly firs, which, from the excessive dearness of fuel in Egypt, would speedily become very productive; and the re-establishment of the banks in rendering navigable the necessary canals in the Delta, would at once recover upwards of 100,000 acres of land, which might be immediately thrown into cultivation, as it would require no previous clearing. The fishery of the canal and of the lakes would also prove another source of advantage; that of Lake Mensaleh having returned into the treasury upwards of 2500*l*. per annum; and when to these are added the tolls on vessels passing along the canal, it will be evident that the proceeds must furnish a source of considerable profit. Some idea may be formed of the extent of the commerce between Cairo and Suez, from the fact asserted by Volney, that upwards of 20,000*l*. are annually paid to the Wadat and Ayaïdy Arabs for the escort of caravans and merchandise.

A distinct yet most important part of the subject has been hitherto un-

noticed, as being entirely unconnected with any portion of what had been attempted at an earlier period ; it is that which relates to a direct canal from Suez across the Isthmus to the Mediterranean Sea. The impossibility of forming on the flat shore of the latter a mercantile depot, has already been adverted to, as presenting an obstacle to commercial communication ; and the difficulties of its navigation are also considerable, in consequence of the numerous projecting points, and banks caused by the deposits of mud brought down by the Nile. But, notwithstanding these impediments, a canal, capable of navigation at all periods of the year, is so extremely desirable, that it is gratifying to find that the physical features of the Isthmus present every facility to such an undertaking. The most direct course would be, to open a channel from the Bitter Lakes, in a northern direction, which passing along the eastern side of Lake Menzaleh, would fall into the Mediterranean near Tineh. In this line, however, sufficient levels have not been taken to enable a decided judgment to be formed ; but in one lying parallel to it, at a short distance to the west, from Mougfur to the point of Lake Menzaleh, nature herself seems to have taken the first steps towards effecting the desired communication, by means of a long strip of low salt ground, forming a continuation of the Wady, and which has undoubtedly, at some distant period, afforded an outlet to the waters of the Nile. Along its sides the desert rises sufficiently to confine in almost every part the waters which might be let into it, and few banks would therefore require to be constructed : an ample supply of water being readily to be obtained from the Bitter Lakes, from which this channel is, in fact, separated only by an artificial mound. The expense of forming a canal in this line, practicable for merchant vessels, and which might even be rendered sufficiently deep to carry frigates, has been estimated at 103,000*l.* ; and if to this sum be added 86,000*l.* for the level, locks, &c. between Suez and the Bitter Lakes, the whole amount of expenditure, for a distinct and independent communication, would be about 200,000*l.*

In many respects such a canal would be more valuable than one connected with the Nile. Its navigation would not be interrupted during the low state of that river, and thus advantage might be always taken of the season favourable for quitting the Red Sea, which, in the medium time of the monsoons, does not sufficiently correspond with the late swellings of the Nile. It would also be free from the deposits of mud left by the inundations ; and as the reservoir from which it would be supplied would be inexhaustible, a current might be constantly kept up sufficiently strong to carry off the sand brought by the wind from the desert : its force might also be so confined by jetties at its exit into the Mediterranean, as to keep the roads constantly open and deep. Such a plan would therefore seem, on many accounts, the most desirable to be adopted : there exists, however, one grand objection in the dangers to be apprehended from the incursions of the Arab tribes who surround it. Into this question, however, and into others connected with the subject, it is impossible now to enter ; but sufficient grounds have already been adduced to prove, that this great undertaking is, in many respects, more worthy of general attention than most of those which at present agitate the public mind.

THE HOUSE OF ATREUS.

ABASHED before the Bard, the royal dame
 Of Agamemnon stood,
 But scarcely quelled her blood,
 Fierce-heated by a base flagitious flame;
 Save when he raised the strain
 What time the purple main
 Is sprinkled with the stars' uncertain light,
 Seen through the fading train of Day
 Swift sinking down the ocean way,
 Leaving the world to Ethiop-tressed Night:

But then his mighty numbers on her soul
 Fell like a rushing storm,
 And brought Atrides' form
 Back, swift-awakening passion's old control;
 Her best resolves awoke,
 And spurned the strengthening yoke
 Of guilty Eros, hoping none had known
 The conflict of her inward mind,
 Shook by the blast of every wind,
 And leaning to the wrong when left alone.

Still as the song went on, of lofty Troy
 Telling the stirring tale,
 And each propitious gale
 Invoking, to re-waft the chiefs, with joy
 And golden conquest crowned,
 And calling up around
 The sceptered shades of long-departed kings,
 To scent the steaming sacrifice,
 To feast on splendid spoil their eyes,
 And hear joy's notes burst from a thousand strings;

The beating heart of Clytemnestra rose;
 She saw her much-loved lord,
 With glittering helm and sword,
 Glorious returned, triumphant o'er his foes:
 Swift from her golden seat
 She started up to meet
 His fond embrace—Ægysthus met her eye!
 Gods! how she loathed the adulterer's form,
 And now with blameless passion warm,
 Fled from his sight with many a bitter sigh.

This roused his wrath; and when the bard divine,
 Raised by his theme, pursued
 The brightly rolling flood
 Of song, and prophesied that o'er the brine
 Atrides' lofty bark
 Its homeward course should mark,
 Crowned with heroic trophies of the field,—
 Impatient of the theme he fled,
 Deep-stung by new awakened dread,
 Or glimpses of his future fate revealed.

But vice is deaf to wisdom, and his eye
Blind to the coming cloud,
Driven by tempests loud,
Which fate gives forth across his path to fly :
Ægysthus doomed Apollo's priest
To death, nor, when his song had ceas'd,
Knew that the destinies would move along
With march as rapid and secure
As if his ears did still endure
The boding notes of that prophetic song.

Now half their course the stars had wheeled in heaven,
And heavy sleep had thrown
His spell on earth—alone
Ægysthus' breast by brooding ill was riven :
(The watchman on the tower
Had felt the mystic power,
And his light slumbering dog beside him lay ;)
Shaking his drowsy ruffians then,
Like tigers from their midnight den,
They fell upon their unsuspecting prey. •

High in Mycenæ's regal dome they found,
Seated beside his lyre
In purple bright attire,
The Bard, with fairly sculptured gods around :
Amid the founts of song,
Forgetful of his wrong,
The poet's soul was wandering light and free ;
Or else upon the Trojan strand
His winged fancy took her stand
Where the Greek tents o'erlooked the chafing sea.

Seized, bound, and threatened, to the ready bark
The Muses' son they bore ;
And from the much-loved shore
Launched out, ere yet the early rising lark
Had cooled her downy breast
Upon the wafting west,
Or shot up high to watch Aurora's car,
Brightening with its saffron wheels
The orient wave that first reveals
Her lamp, which dims so quick the morning star.

And now the cold wave foams against the prow,
Which cuts its brazen way
Along the dusky bay,
Swift as the sea-fowl scuds when tempests blow ;
Indignant on the lofty stern
The early Naiads might discern
The Bard, his mantle waving in the breeze ;
His eye upon the twilight hills
Of Argos bent, now slowly fills
With moistening tears that drop into the sea.

The House of Atreus.

But soon the hoary main with purple light
 Was sprinkled by the dawn,
 While all the stars, withdrawn,
 Far in the west encamped with routed Night.
 And zephyrs soft as sleep came out,
 And sported on the waves about,
 Wrinkling the deep; while on the galley flew,
 Till down the steepy heaven the sun,
 Did swift to Eve's embraces run,
 And up crept Cynthia's light as soft as dew.

From out the deep-hushed silver main now rose
 A little painted isle,
 Where, bright in Dian's smile,
 Green mossy slopes and woody tufts disclose
 A scene of beauty, crowned
 With nodding rocks, that frowned
 High toppling overhead; while on the shore,
 Broken by many a Naiad's cave,
 The rippling soft incessant wave
 Kissed light the smooth round pebbles, evermore.

Here moored the galley, here the minstrel lands;
 And hence at break of day
 The sailors steer away,
 While silent on the desert beach he stands.
 Nor man, nor savage beast
 The woody isle possessed,
 But climbing goats, wild birds, and timid deer;
 With these to herd, with these to roam,
 With these to feed and find a home,
 Was now his lot throughout the changing year.

But ere the second sun rolled down his light
 Beneath the western wave,
 Cloud-rending tempests rave
 O'er the wide sea, and round the mountain's height,
 Ælythus' galley borne
 With weeping crew forlorn,
 Before the driving wind now backward cast;
 Sought the minstrel's isle to gain
 To shelter life! but sought in vain:
 They perished near it in the howling blast.

The poet, touched with pity, saw them driven
 Along the mighty rock,
 Where from the tempest's shock,
 And rain, and fiercely drifting snows of heaven,
 He'd sought a cavern-shade,
 That by the Triton made,
 Or scooped by Ocean, housed him from the wind,
 There the dreary years he told,
 And tamed the goats, and formed a fold,
 And struck the warbling lyre to sooth his mind;
 And there his eyes were closed by more than mortal-kind.
 BION.

**BARRACKPORE MASSACRE—BURMESE WAR—AND PRESENT STATE
OF THE NATIVE ARMY IN BENGAL.**

THE details which have already been presented to the British public on these important topics, few and imperfect as they appear, have nevertheless, been sufficient to excite a very deep and powerful sensation throughout all classes in England, and to make many tremble with apprehension for the fate of our Eastern Empire. The full and accurate information which has been transmitted to us from the very scene of action itself, extending to the latest possible date, has placed in our possession materials which no man dared to publish in India, and which few, perhaps, would venture to give at the length they deserve even in this country. They appear to us, however, of so much importance to a right understanding of the particular state of events and feelings in that distant quarter, that we avail ourselves of the earliest opportunity to lay them before our readers :—and that we may not in the slightest degree diminish the interest which we conceive they are likely to create in English bosoms, we present them in the words of the writer himself, describing the impressions of one on the spot, in a Letter transmitted to us from India, by the latest arrival from thence, under date of November 19, 1824 :

The miserable conduct of the present rulers of India, particularly exemplified in the management of the Burmah war, if it has been justly represented to the people of England, must have already fully prepared you to hear of fresh disgrace and misfortune to the British Empire in the East. But I am sorry to say that your most gloomy forebodings will come far short of the disasters which the wretched system of measures followed have now brought upon us. In the month of May last, we reckoned it a sufficiently dismal thing to live in the apprehension of a Burmese invasion, and of Calcutta itself being sacked by any part of the enemy which might happen to take advantage of the unprotected state of our frontier, discovered to them by the melancholy affair of Ramoo. The month of November has commenced with a prospect far more extraordinary—the slaughter of our own troops in the very neighbourhood of the capital, and by order of Government; so that we have now at our own doors more than the horrors of war, in seeing our own arms turned against our native troops, on whom the British in India have hitherto depended for security and protection.

On Monday the 1st of November, Calcutta was filled with astonishment by the report of a *mutiny* among the regiments of Sepoys at Barrackpore;—by what occasioned, could not then be generally ascertained; and as the public press is compelled to be silent on such subjects, the darkness in which we were held increased the general anxiety. However, it soon began to be whispered about, that the troops destined to proceed against the Burmese refused to march on this service, until certain grievances they complained of (regarding draught cattle in particular) were listened to by Government. It was consequently expected that their claims, being brought to the notice of the supreme authority, would be inquired into, and every thing quietly settled; till, next day, a

rumour spread of the horrid catastrophe at Barrackpore. We were informed that the Commander-in-Chief had gone to the spot, and ordered the 47th Regiment Native Infantry, with part of the 26th, and also of the 62d, to be fired upon by the artillery; that they were, at the same time, surrounded by the cavalry of the body guards, and some regiments of the King's troops, who were also ordered to fall upon them; by which measures a great portion of them (amounting to several hundred men) were massacred in cold blood—blown to pieces by the artillery—or cut down by the hands of their fellow-soldiers!

I cannot express the horror felt among the inhabitants of Calcutta on the announcement of this bloody transaction; deplorable, if necessary; if unnecessary, still more lamentable for the sake of humanity and the British name;—a transaction which nothing but the most outrageous conduct on the part of the Sepoys could justify; and yet nothing was alleged against them, but that they had sought a redress of grievances, and requested certain small indulgences to be allowed them, some of them apparently reasonable, in setting out on a difficult and dangerous service. Even supposing their deserts to have warranted capital punishment, humanity shuddered at the effusion of so much blood—the blood of our own men, who had ever sustained a good character in our service, unless demanded by a necessity so overwhelming that it admitted of no other expedient. Yet it appeared they had been cut down in cold blood, defenceless and unresisting! Would not the punishment of a few, it was asked, have sufficed to strike terror into such a passive body of offenders, without introducing among them the hand of indiscriminate massacre? Nothing could explain so monstrous a transaction, but the supposition, that the evil genius of Amherst had given the finishing stroke to his administration, by turning the sword of our army against its own bosom. If this example was necessary to preserve the obedience of the native troops, how miserably precarious is the tenure of our authority! If it was not necessary, may God forgive those who have brought this stain upon the British name.

To enable you to form as correct an opinion on the subject as possible, I shall state whatever has come to my knowledge through the accounts published here, and the private reports which are best vouched for, and most generally received. But as the Government is so deeply interested in creating an impression on this subject favourable to itself, and from the measures taken to suppress such intelligence, those who know facts of a contrary complexion are prevented from making them public, I have no doubt that the efforts made to delude the people of England will be successful; since many of them have such erroneous ideas of this country, that they are ready to believe any thing told them by persons in authority, even when these are, as in this case, determined to be, as far as possible, the only historians of their own acts. To a few, at least, it will be satisfactory to know the impression made by these things on the disinterested inhabitants of Calcutta; who are near the scene of action, and are consequently enabled to judge for themselves.

After a dead silence had been preserved for some days, Government felt the necessity of giving some representation of the proceeding to the public, and a short paragraph accordingly appeared in the *official Gazette*, published by authority, extremely brief and unsatisfactory. A

day or two after a sort of demi-official account was published in the "Bengal Hurkaru," vouched for by the Deputy Judge-Advocate, as editor of that paper, who declares the former official statement to be by no means correct; and he himself, although, in some respects, very circumstantial, is obliged to slur over the most important parts of the affair, declaring that *into its causes he cannot enter*. These, however, are absolutely necessary, to enable us to form any judgment at all on the subject; and it argues ill of the part acted by Government that it seeks concealment, and issues erroneous statements, as here averred and confessed, in its own Gazette.

This affair will be found to be connected with the very appointment of such a man as Lord Amherst to be Governor-General of India, with the view, as is understood, of making him the instrument of certain niggardly measures, which a high-minded Governor could not be found to carry into effect. The stand made by Sir Edward Paget, against the sweeping retrenchments meditated in the army, has postponed the evil day; but all who have reason to apprehend that the pruning knife of retrenchment will soon reach themselves, have regarded, with secret satisfaction, the remonstrance of the Sepoy troops at Barrackpore; because it will teach their masters that they may go too far, and repent when it is too late. The military officers see their brothers of the Civil Service wallowing in wealth, while every farthing is grudged to those arms by which it is acquired and secured. It might have been anticipated, that the pinching system, which, of late years, the Government is labouring to introduce, cannot fail to disgust every order in the army.

One of the innovations is to withhold from the troops, when marching, the assistance they had formerly received from the officers of Government in procuring carriage to transport their baggage. The troops at Barrackpore, when ordered to proceed against the enemy, complained that they could not get the necessary draught cattle. How far this grievance was well founded may be estimated from a few local circumstances which I shall here state:—The Government itself had found the difficulty of obtaining a supply of bullocks to be so great, that for several weeks before this period, its agents about Calcutta had been employed in seizing upon the people's cattle by force, paying what price they thought proper to the helpless owners, who must submit to lose their property, unless by a sufficient gratuity they could bribe the agents in this work to forbearance. It need hardly be remarked, that their known rapacity would not suffer such an opportunity to pass without reaping a rich harvest; and it may justly be doubted, whether a tenth part of the money charged against the Treasury for this purpose ever reached the pockets of the unfortunate men who were spoliated; many of whom, living by the labour of their bullocks, must have been besides deprived of the means of subsistence by these being taken forcibly away from them, under circumstances in which they could not be replaced. When Government felt it necessary to adopt such extraordinary measures, can we wonder that the Sepoys, who possessed no such extraordinary powers, felt it impossible to provide themselves with draught cattle, and were unwilling to proceed on an expedition without the means of carrying along with them the baggage and cooking utensils which the rules of their religion or their habits of life have made them consider necessary to their comfort and existence? In ordinary times, and in our own Indian territories, the

magistrates have found it necessary to afford their assistance in getting the troops carriage, notwithstanding the above resolution of Government to withhold the influence of their authority for this purpose; the difficulty must evidently be much greater in a time of scarcity, when advancing against an enemy. The reality of this grievance is, besides, acknowledged in the most unequivocal manner by the Government itself, which agreed to advance 3000 rupees to each regiment to assist in procuring carriage. But this failed of inducing them to march, since they declared the money insufficient for the purpose, and tendered it back, when they were told that if that sum would not do, they must do the rest themselves, or march without carriage. The proceedings of Government in appropriating what bullocks they wanted by force, shows that something more than money was required to supply such a want. Besides their baggage, the troops were desirous of carrying with them a certain number of days' provision, apprehensive of the scarcity prevailing on our eastern frontier, and, no doubt, further alarmed in consequence of the negligence displayed by Government in supplying our troops at Rangoon, the accounts of whose sufferings, well known in Calcutta, must have reached and dispirited the troops at Barrackpore.

The dearth of provisions, the high price of bullocks, with the other hardships and discouragements which the campaign threatened, led the men to think that, to balance so many unfavourable circumstances, they should receive double batta, the allowance that used to be made to the troops when in a hostile territory. It is well known that these men enter the army with the view of saving a portion of their pay to support the connexions they have at home; their object, in general, being to marry, and to retire and spend the remainder of their days in the bosom of their families. If they are led into a country where the expense of living is high, and their slender pay is to be further reduced by extra charges for carriage, it is evident that they must leave their wives and children, and others depending on them, to starve, being unable to save any thing, as usual, for their support, unless an increase of pay be allowed in such emergencies.¹ If it be argued that the Government are not obliged to attend to these considerations, it will, I believe, be equally difficult to prove that regiments, like the 47th N. I., *not raised for general service*, are obliged, by right, to be employed in an aggression on the Burmese territories. For this is as completely beyond the ordinary limits of the Company, and of Hindoostan, the usual theatre of war, as the empire of China; and if it be maintained, that our native troops, not enlisted for foreign or general service, are bound to engage in such distant expeditions, we have practised upon them a most disgraceful imposition, which will destroy all confidence for the future in our honour and faith. When we demand of our troops extraordinary duty, not calculated upon in the compact they formed with us, should we be surprised if they expect to receive that extra allowance of double batta which long custom

¹ At this conjuncture, another circumstance, it is stated, conspired to disgust the Sepoys, viz. the illiberal conduct of Government in respect to certain articles of their equipment. Their first breach of discipline you will afterwards find, was not putting on their knapsacks. I wish the cause of this were cleared up satisfactorily, that we might know whether it was this or some other petty clipping, that made them consider a certain high individual a mere "pice-changer."

had established as the due remuneration of active service against the enemy, beyond our own territories.

A few words will satisfy you that no common consideration would have induced them to enter our service, if they had imagined that the terms of their enlistment exposed them to be led against the Burman Empire. Superstition has taught the natives of India to look upon this, in common with the other countries on our eastern frontier (in particular Assam), as the land of magic and enchantment, which is destined to prove fatal to every hostile army that crosses its boundary; where, it is believed, we have to contend with a race of conjurers, armed with much more than mortal powers. The source of this superstition is explained in Mill's 'History of British India,' vol. ii. p. 202, where, speaking of the Assamese, he says, (quoting the authority of the *Alumgeernamah*,) "Several armies from Bengal, which had been sent to conquer them, having been cut off, of some of which scarcely even tidings had ever been received, the natives of Hindoostan consider them wizards and magicians, and pronounce the name of that country in all their incantations and counter-charms. They say that every person who sets his foot there is under the influence of witchcraft, and cannot find the road to return." At the present day the Burmese are regarded in the same light by the people of India, who are too ignorant of geography and history to discriminate between them and the supposed race of magicians, if any such distinction ever existed. Consequently, our present enemies are to them clothed in all the imaginary terrors of blind superstition. This feeling has been wonderfully fostered by the melancholy affair of Ramoo, and the miserable condition of our troops at Rangoon, which are easily conceived to be strong corroborating proofs that the British, who had hitherto triumphed over every Indian Power, are now succumbing before a people wielding, as of old, the invincible weapons of enchantment. As an illustration of the notions of the Indian populace, it was currently reported, and believed among the natives of Calcutta, that when we fired upon the Burmese through the power of their magic, nothing came out of our guns but water! It might appear ridiculous to mention these vain delusions if we did not know that it is by such foolish notions the multitude is often governed, in every part of the world; and by their ebb or flow that states are overturned. The people of our own country believe that the law of England is the perfection of human reason! that our constitution is the best possible political invention! and that our Indian subjects enjoy under our rule all the happiness which can fall to the lot of man!² How happy it is for a Government, while such convenient delusions run in its favour; but how fatal, when they turn against it! You may remember that the tricks of a weak old woman almost overthrew the throne of Aurungzebe. This powerful Prince was justly afraid to expose himself to destruction, by employing merely simple force to resist this rising deluge of fanaticism; and, like an able politician, by pretending to have found a countercharm, he combated the witch with her own weapons, and saved his empire.

² It will surprise these optimists to hear that, in our Eastern territories, since the disaster of our troops at Ramoo, monthly bonfires celebrate this event as the signal of the downfall of British power. Although I cannot vouch for this myself, I have heard it from an individual whose testimony is worthy of every respect; and I have no doubt but the future historian of India will date the decline of our Eastern Empire from Lord Amherst's reign.

With such an example before them, it surely could not be difficult for the present rulers of India, enjoying all the advantages which modern science has given the military art, to inspire their troops with confidence against the power of Burmese magic.

But, from the very disastrous character which the war has more and more acquired, from the ill-concerted measures pursued on our part, and the ill success resulting, there was really too much excuse for the natives' imagining that Government was really under the influence of enchantment. How else could a people, which has hitherto been filled with astonishment at the talents of the British in the art of war, account for the want even of common capacity in our present measures? What but witchcraft could induce our rulers to declare war before we were prepared; leave our frontier unprotected, or its few defenders to perish for want of support,³ so that the capital itself was conceived to be in danger; send down an army to Rangoon at the commencement of the rainy season, to lie there uselessly for many months, in a highly sickly climate; and, above all, after placing them there, leave them to perish in great numbers for want of provisions? It is a fact that a great number of vessels, in the pay of Government, were lying idle at the moorings off Calcutta, in Rangoon River, or other places equally unprofitable, while the army was allowed to melt away miserably for want of fresh supplies! What excuse can Lord Amherst offer to those whom these measures have deprived of sons, brothers, husbands, fathers?—to the East India Company, whose army he has paralysed?—to the British nation, whose glory in the East has been tarnished? Every successive account from the seat of war shows the more clearly the pernicious consequences of the irrational plan adopted for conducting this enterprise. After four or five months spent at Rangoon in useless struggles with the enemy, chiefly reducing their stockades, operations not conducted without loss, and extremely harrassing to our troops, who suffered much from performing marches in the sun, and plunged to the middle in water, from the annual inundation.—After enduring all this, I say, for several months, the invading army is, by the last accounts, unable to advance a single step into the interior, and had only secured a mile or two of country where the camp stood. As might be expected, great sickness prevailed, and the sufferings of the invalids being aggravated by the great scarcity of provisions, which amounted almost to a famine, the mortality was dreadful, particularly in the 13th Regt. Light Infantry.⁴ While about one-

³ This was the case with Capt. Noton's detachment. This ill-fated officer was promised a reinforcement, which, if sent as stipulated, should have reached him the day before that on which he and his party were destroyed! To these false hopes of relief, which induced him to hold out till it was too late to retreat, and which were then cruelly disappointed, we must attribute the disgrace that followed.

⁴ It was very lately mentioned in the Government Gazette as a matter of much congratulation, that, from an accidental capture of bullocks, provisions began to be pretty regularly served out to the hospital. For how long previous had a starved fowl or sheep, the only fresh meat procurable, been selling at a thousand per cent. and upwards, on their price in Calcutta, and were not to be had at even these prices? Before this temporary relief, the ordinary state of things may be imagined from the following extract, which you may find in one of the latest numbers of the Calcutta *John Bull*, a paper that would not exaggerate the sufferings of our troops:—

"We understand (says that Paper, Nov. 4th), by private accounts from Rangoon, that fresh provisions continue scarce, Poultry, of all kinds, is said to be

half of the men are reported to be cut off by these united causes, the rest are so much debilitated, that of a whole regiment, consisting lately of seven to eight hundred men, not a hundred are in a state to take the field, and even, of these, hardly one could undergo, without danger, the fatigue of a day's march. This being the condition of the most efficient portion of the unfortunate army at Rangoon, so far from being able to advance in prosecution of the invasion, it is sufficiently evident, that all Sir Alex. Campbell can now do, is to defend his position, with a force thinned and debilitated by disease and famine, and dispirited by their long and unavailing sufferings.

The difficulties of our situation there were, doubtless, much aggravated by our mode of treating the Burmese. At the first landing of the invading army at Rangoon, every inducement, I am told, was held out to the natives of the country to throw themselves on our protection, by flaming proclamations, inviting them to come in and place confidence in the humanity, the honour, and magnanimity of the British, who had not come as enemies to the people, but to chastise their unjust and oppressive Government! A line of conduct corresponding with these professions might have been attended with the happiest effects; since that part of the people lately subjected to the Burmese power might have been expected to revolt as soon as possible, and place themselves under any other authority from which they experienced better treatment. But, strange to say, notwithstanding the pledges held forth, and the obvious policy of conciliation, the people were exposed to the most barbarous treatment when they happened to fall into our hands. When men are found carrying arms against the invaders of their country (especially when, as in this case, serving under a despotic government, their conduct is compulsory, not voluntary,) they are entitled to expect mercy from a civilized enemy. Yet it is well known, that it is a rule with the British army to give no quarter to those miserable wretches, multitudes of whom are, from day to day, thrown at our mercy, and deliberately massacred, when they have no power of resistance. For when the stockades, in which their chiefs place them, are reduced (and how can they stand before British science and bravery?) the garrisons of half-armed savages found within, then perfectly helpless, and without means of escape, are given over to indiscriminate slaughter; what is called a "killing party" of our troops being left behind to finish the butchery at leisure, should the rest of the corps be required, in the meantime, for other service. A gentleman, alluding

out of the question; but if, by chance, a stray fowl appears, from seven to nine rupees is the purchase-money. A very poor sheep, from six to twelve pounds weight, fetches from twenty-five to thirty-two rupees. A little fish is occasionally caught.

Again, the state of our troops, so early as the 1st of July, is described in the following extract of a letter, dated from the Camp, near Rangoon, published in the *Scotsman* in the East, of Sept. 4th:—

"Our mode of living, since I last wrote to you, has undergone a mournful change. The fowls have entirely disappeared; and as to bullocks, they are only supplied, at distant intervals, to the sick. Not a morsel of fresh meat has graced our table for a month; while the salt junk, which usurps its place, is of so bad a quality, as to distress the olfactories of the dulkest nose in the mess; and were it not for abundance of excellent pine apples, which a few philanthropic Burmese regularly bring to our market, I greatly fear that the red puddle of our veins would soon acquire the livid hue of the scorbutic. There have been 2000 men in hospital for two months past!"

to one of these scenes, wrote, that the bayonet did dreadful execution; the very reflection on which, afterwards, made him shudder. It is impossible to think of it without blushing for the honour of the British arms.

This horrid practice seems to have infused a spirit of callosity, which is hardly credible even with some of those merely accompanying the army. An anecdote is told of a person in charge of one of the transports employed to convey the troops, that soon after the fall of Rangoon, wishing to try a new rifle, he laid it over a rest, and deliberately took aim at an old Burmese man, a villager, who came out of one of the huts on the other side of the river, where no fighting had taken place, and who appears to have been simply drawn by curiosity to gaze on the fleet riding at anchor in the river; nay, it is possible, he may have been noticed by the very proclamation inviting the inhabitants to come in, and was just admiring British greatness and humanity, at the moment he was coolly shot in a manner worthy of savages, and left to linger and die like a dog upon the banks of the river; his countrymen fleeing, to save their own lives, after such a cruel example. I need not add, that the person who did this was execrated, but he was not punished; nor is it the only instance of similar cruelty which has reached our ears, and has passed with impunity.

Can we be surprised to learn, that the inhabitants of the country did not come and throw themselves upon the protection of the British, when these were driven to cling to their rulers as the only means of escape from invaders who seemed to wage against them a war of extermination? One means remained of exasperating the Burmese still further against us—to mingle their resentment with the gall of religious enthusiasm. This has been accomplished by demolishing their temples, a work which has been industriously performed by the British army; not, of course, without the order and sanction of the General. What more could he have devised to combine against him every human being in the country, to withhold from him so much as a dead dog to keep his troops from starving? I was totally at a loss to discover a reasonable motive for this flagrant sacrifice of the public cause, till I heard of the valuable collections of images, precious stones, &c., sent round, report states, to Bengal, for whose behoof I dare not surmise (although I have heard), but time, I hope, will explain.

* It is important to compare the conduct of our leaders with that of the Burmese. While our army was thus doing every thing to exasperate the population of Rangoon, the Burmese forces at Ramoo did every thing to conciliate the inhabitants; paying for the provisions and necessities they wanted from the people, and releasing our Sepoys who fell into their hands. Consequently, while our army was starving, their camp was plentifully supplied with provisions by the country people, and not only for immediate consumption, an immense store of rice being collected for future use. Which of the two belligerent powers are the barbarians? Which adopt the most rational measures for overthrowing their enemies? Smollet has some excellent remarks on this subject, *History of England*, Vol. IV. p. 283, 284.

“War is so dreadful in itself, and so severe in its consequences, that the exercise of generosity and compassion, by which its horrors are mitigated, ought ever to be applauded, encouraged, and imitated. We ought also to use our best endeavours to deserve this treatment at the hands of a civilized enemy. Let us be humane in our turn to those whom the fate of war has subjected to our power: let us, in prosecuting our military operations, maintain the most rigid discipline among the troops, and religiously abstain from all acts of violence and

You may easily conceive the melancholy impression the accounts of these things made on the inhabitants of Bengal, so deeply interested in the fate of the army of Rangoon, composed of so many who are dear to us, and to whom we look as the defenders of our honour and possessions. So many things conspiring to give the war a disastrous character, the natives seem to have been fully confirmed in their ideas of magical power fighting against us; and is it possible that the Native troops should escape the contagion of popular delusion? This taught them that the moment they set a foot on the Burmese territories they were victims devoted to certain destruction. We, having such experience of the native character, ought to regard such a feeling with indulgence, and endeavour to remove it by kind and soothing treatment. We ought not only to have redressed the actual grievances of the Sepoys, (which the best judges allow did exist,) but good policy required of us to stimulate them to this extraordinary service by such assurances and encouragements as would have allayed all their apprehensions. Expecting to experience the same hardships as the army of Rangoon from want, they petitioned, it is said, to be supplied with rations of flour and ghee, or to have double batta to enable them to provide themselves against scarcity.* Even if they were not legally entitled to double batta, (which I am satisfied they were, according to the fair and conscientious construction of their terms of service,) the sanction of ancient practice, and the reason of the thing, in entering upon such an arduous (and, in their eyes, perilous) duty, rendered it politic, and therefore proper to hold forth this inducement. It might have been granted not as a right, but as a *gratuity* from the Government, (to prevent it from becoming a precedent,) and this small additional expenditure would have been attended with the happiest effects in the present emergency. For, after all, what was the mighty sum? only about a rupee and a half a month beyond what is actually allowed!

Besides, the Bengal Sepoys might naturally imagine that they should not be worse off than the Madras and other troops, who were only performing the same sort of service. Volunteers raised by Commodore Hayes, from the very dregs of the population of Calcutta—fellows of low caste—who never heard a gun fired, and would run in dozens at the sight of a Burmah, are to be better paid, forsooth, than our veteran

oppression. Thus, a laudable emulation will undoubtedly ensue, and the powers at war vie with each other in humanity and politeness. In other respects, the commander of an invading armament will always find his account in being well with the common people of the country in which the descent is made. By civil treatment and reasonable gratifications, they will be encouraged to bring into the camp regular supplies of provision and refreshment; they will mingle with the soldiers, and even form friendships among them: serve as guides, messengers, and interpreters; let out their cattle for hire and draught-horses; work in their own persons as day-labourers: discover proper fords, bridges, roads, passes, and defiles; and, if artfully managed, communicate many useful hints of intelligence. If great care and circumspection be not exerted in maintaining discipline, and bridling the licentious disposition of the soldiers, such invasions will be productive of nothing but miscarriage and disgrace."

* Flour (not rice) being the usual food of the men of the upper provinces, it was surely improper to hold out to them the prospect of being fed upon rice, unless in cases of absolute necessity, to which they would have yielded as a matter of course. But since, even the European troops, in hospital, were allowed to perish in hundreds for want of proper food, the Sepoys could not expect Government would be more careful of them.

troops, whose birth and former services guarantee conduct becoming soldiers. These men have the mortification of seeing themselves worse treated than this rabble of raw recruits, who are proceeding, under the auspices of the Commodore. Very poor expectations are formed of his expensive squadron; and the sums that have been lavished upon it, to no purpose it is feared, would have been much better employed in rendering our regular forces more efficient.

To return to the Regiments at Barrackpore, the prospect of great scarcity and dearth of provisions being aggravated by the want of carriage, which rendered it impossible for them to carry along with them their cooking-pots and other baggage, they were thus driven, it appears, to make a representation of their grievances before proceeding on this (in their eyes, *dreadful*) service; and this proving ineffectual, a determination was formed, that *until their complaints were listened to, they would positively not march*. This is the essence of the crime committed by the Sepoys, for which it was decreed they should be shot! The circumstances which followed, and will probably be artfully pleaded in aggravation of their conduct, were contingent results, as you will see, of the measures Government adopted.

With regard to this resolution of the Sepoys, it is to be observed, in the first place, that Government ought not to have allowed matters to come to this extremity; since the general discontent prevailing must have been for some time known to the officers, (and I am informed was known at least a fortnight before,) both from the actual complaints made to them, and the frequent consultations among the soldiers in large meetings, which are stated to have taken place. This being the case, either the grounds of dissatisfaction ought to have been removed in time, by all reasonable redress and indulgence, in order to overcome their apprehensions or reluctance. Or, if it was determined not to conciliate and encourage them, means ought to have been employed to check the spirit of complaint, before it rose to such height. Secondly, when by inattention matters had been unwisely brought to this extremity, still they might have been smoothed by judicious management, according to the opinion of old and experienced British officers, who from an intimate knowledge of the Sepoy character, agree that they require to be coaxed and (in many little things) humoured like children. Their peculiar notions and prejudices do, (among others the native opinion of the Burmese;) in fact, appear to us childish; and it is more magnanimous on our parts so to regard them; since they must be, with sensible men, a ground of compassion rather than a justification of cruelty.

The mode of proceeding eventually adopted by Government, falls now to be explained, and, in doing this, I shall have an eye to the account published by the Deputy Judge Advocate, who has undertaken to be the apologist of Government in this affair. Nor is this his first essay in adulation, as you may have observed, from his vying a short time ago with John Bull (the prince of Oriental flatterers), quarrelling with him about the proper mode of defending the propriety and wisdom of the conduct of Government in the Burmese war. His account is drawn up, as he avows, to make an impression on the people of England; and as he has been allowed to publish his version of this affair, while no other editor dare touch upon it, Government is evidently so weak as to imagine that the British public will be swayed by the specious representations of one of

their own Military servants, whose needy circumstances (arising from his having lately to pay a large sum of money as damages in a crim. con. prosecution) rendered it eligible to him to receive a salary, as editor of a daily paper, in addition to that of Deputy Judge Advocate; though it would be impossible for him to do his duty honestly and fearlessly, in his editorial capacity, without risking the loss of his place and emoluments in his judicial character; a consideration which must deprive his testimony of all claim to weight or consideration.

The 26th, 47th, and 62d Regiments of Native troops, at Barrackpore, had been under marching orders for some weeks previous; but Monday, the 1st of November, was finally fixed for the 47th to proceed upon its route towards the eastern frontier. Discontent being well known to prevail among the Sepoys of these regiments, the experiment of making the 47th advance first, was, perhaps, made in the hope that, from its good character, it would set an example of obedience to the rest. On Sunday, the day before it was to have marched, a parade was directed in marching order, that the commanding officer might inspect the knapsacks, accoutrements, &c., and see that they were fit for service. On going to the parade it was officially reported to Lieutenant-Colonel Cartwright, that a great number of his men had positively refused to put on their knapsacks.

The lieutenant-colonel having gone along the companies, and expressed his high displeasure at their conduct, in about two hours after (says the account) a *good number* of the men had got their knapsacks on; implying that still many had not. The colonel then threw them into a square, and harangued them for a considerable time on the impropriety of their conduct; however, it appears, he was not able to convince them that their grievances did not require redress, as, at the conclusion of his harangue, they declared they would not march. A parade was again ordered for the following morning, Colonel Cartwright still hoping, it is said, that when the time for moving arrived, the troops would proceed quietly without urging their complaints further. Yet since one of these was their inability to procure draft cattle to transport their baggage, it might rather have been expected that this, on the arrival of the time for marching, would be an insuperable obstacle to their compliance. It has been stated that the sum offered at least by Government, to remove this acknowledged difficulty, had been tendered back as being inadequate.

General Dalzell had intimated his intention of being present at the parade ordered for Monday morning. When the hour arrived only between three and four hundred men were found assembled on the ground, (including commissioned and non-commissioned Native officers;) the body of the regiment adhering to the resolution before intimated, of not marching without a redress of grievances. On seeing this, the General rode up to the rest of the men and reproached them, it is said, in very bitter terms for their conduct; employing, according to report, expressions of abuse considered insufferably galling and degrading by natives of India; to which Sepoys, in particular, are not accustomed from their officers; and this so irritated some of the men, that they walked him off the parade at the point of bayonet, but without showing any inclination to injure a hair of his head. This incident, with every other part of their conduct, concurs with what is understood to have been the reso-

lution of the Sepoys—in thus seeking a redress of grievances)—to abstain from any violence, particularly towards their European officers; but simply to refuse to march until their complaints were listened to by Government. It is stated that the main body of the regiment, which had refused to turn out on parade, made the part which had done so return to the lines, with the exception of the Native commissioned and non-commissioned officers, who were sent to Colonel Cartwright's house (says the Deputy Judge Advocate) "as a place of safety." By this expression it is plainly insinuated that they were in danger of their lives from the private men, and it is elsewhere stated, that there was no evidence of any one of them concurring with, or being at all concerned in the refractory proceedings of the Sepoys; yet we shall find that Government afterwards punished these very officers for conduct of which it is confessed they were not only innocent, but endangered their lives to prevent! Such manifest and glaring inconsistencies render the account of this affair, published by Government and its creatures, totally unworthy of credit, unless in so far as supported by other concurring testimony. Here it is to be remarked, before proceeding farther, that, on the foregoing circumstances, Government came to the decision, that the 47th Regiment should be sacrificed, unless it implicitly obeyed, without showing further reluctance, the order to march. From different individuals I have ascertained, that this resolution is known to have been taken on the day before it was carried into execution; consequently it can be justified or defended only on what has preceded, and not on any thing that follows this period.

Leaving the 47th in the meantime, I shall now notice the conduct of the other Native troops, on the evening of Monday, the same day of which I have been speaking. About eight or nine o'clock, a body of the 62d Regiment, amounting, as estimated, to the number of one hundred and fifty, went to the quarter guard, and taking the colours, removed them to the distance of a hundred yards. Two of their officers (Captain Ashe and Ensign Boyd) hastened to the spot, and the former expostulated with the men on their extraordinary conduct, and reminded them of their former good name. We are not informed of the precise nature of the language he employed towards the Sepoys; whether it was soothing and conciliatory, tending to make them more patient under their grievances, or, on the contrary, dictated by the lively emotions of displeasure he probably felt at this sudden breach of discipline, and of course reproachful and irritating. In forming a judgment on this point, we must be guided by a consideration of the circumstances of the case and the result. One Sepoy advised him to retire or his life would be endangered. Captain Ashe (says the Deputy Judge Advocate) "declared his resolution not to leave the colours." This indicates very plainly that he assumed the attitude of violence rather than of persuasion, and, if so, it was neither the wisest nor safest course. The circumstance which followed seems likewise to show that the advice of the Sepoy, above mentioned, was just, and, therefore, probably given with a sincere desire to save the life of his officer, who (he might naturally apprehend) would be apt, if he continued long, to provoke some of the more violent to do him an injury. This was evidently very liable to happen, from any sudden ebullition of passion or intemperance in either party; even in a single individual of the disorderly groupe; and we are accord-

ingly told that one of the Sepoys then struck this officer twice, and, it is said, sought for a bayonet wherewith to assail him. But the man, guilty of this, was instantly laid hold of by his comrades, who protested that they would not suffer their officer to be touched; and entreated Captain Ashe to go away, saying, "they were mad, and knew not what they were about." This strongly corroborates the remark before made, that the discontented Sepoys had vowed to hold the persons of their officers sacred, and, in fact, to abstain from all violence—unless in so far as their remaining *passive*, and refusing to march until their grievances were listened to, was a violent remedy for their complaints. Notwithstanding this, it is not at all surprising that, in a large disorganised mass of some hundreds, an individual should be found desperate enough to make such a threat; but the conduct of the rest, in checking this single ruffian, evinces the more unequivocally that, as a body, they were actuated by a totally different spirit.

Having thus constrained these officers to leave them, they proceeded with the colours, and joined the 47th. In the meantime, the commanding officer, Major Roope, and the other officers of the 62d, had been exerting themselves to preserve order among the rest of the corps, according to the statement of the Deputy Judge Advocate; who thus insinuates, that they were with difficulty restrained from all joining the malcontents. About the same time, a party of the Sepoys of the 26th Regiment, about twenty or thirty in number, carried off one of their colours, and likewise joined the 47th, notwithstanding all the exertions of Lieutenant Colonel D'Aguilar to prevent them.

In the meantime, Government had been active in making such preparations as it thought necessary in this emergency. The King's 47th Regiment of European troops, which had set forward to act against the Burmese, and proceeded some distance up the river, but not so far as to be beyond reach, was hastily recalled, and reached Barrackpore on Monday night, where things were in the state above described. The European Troops that could be spared from Fort William (where the Royals were), the Body Guard Cavalry troop from Calcutta, and the Artillery from Dum Dum, were also concentrated at Barrackpore.

There were, consequently, assembled here, on Tuesday morning, two European Regiments, the Royals and 47th, besides the Artillery from Dum Dum; three Native Regiments, the 16th, 61st, and 68th, (according to the sketch in my hands), with the Body Guard,—for the purpose of coercing one Regiment, the 47th, Native troops, and the two or three Companies from the 26th and 62d; which last two, being partly implicated and partly neutral, I leave out of the computation. Without being able to enter minutely into the numbers of each corps, it appears a fair conjecture, that the number of the refractory Sepoys was about one-sixth of the number of the troops who were brought against them.

The Commander in Chief having also arrived on the spot, "day-light," says the account, "alone was waited for, to put into execution those prompt and vigorous measures upon which his Excellency had already determined." The wished-for morning soon came that ushered in the memorable 2d of November—a day destined to be so fatally distinguished. And here let us pause for a moment on the brink of that gulph into which we are informed they were resolved to plunge; for although the deed is already written in the records of the past (which even

the gods cannot recal), the mind, in pursuing the retrospect, is fain to linger on the possibility of escaping the dismal catastrophe of men being massacred in cold blood. „Would to God that the apologist of the Government had been able to assign some more satisfactory excuse for so horrid a proceeding! We are informed, that up to this period, the 47th Regiment, as a body, continued (with the exception of refusing to march, or put themselves in marching order) obedient and respectful to its officers, saluting them, as usual, when they passed, and attending to their orders. The removal of the colours, by some men of the other Regiments (26th and 62d), was confessedly a partial proceeding, by comparatively a small number. The grand question, therefore, is, whether, even if it was determined to refuse all redress or indulgence, the punishment of a few of the most refractory, might not have brought the rest to entire order and submission. This remedy was adopted, with the completest success, by Sir Hector Munro, in 1784, when placed in circumstances infinitely more hazardous, with his troops mutinous in the face of a hostile force, and actually passing over in a body to the enemy. It is thus detailed by Mill (*History of India*, vol. 3. p. 311.)

In the month of May, Major, afterwards Sir Hector Munro, arrived from Bombay with a body of troops, partly King's and partly Company's; and hastened with them to Patna, to take the command of the army. He found the troops, Europeans as well as Sepoys, extremely mutinous, deserting to the enemy, threatening to carry off their officers, demanding higher pay, and a large donation, promised, as they affirmed, by the Nabob. The Major resolved to subdue this spirit by the severest measures. He had hardly arrived when a whole battalion of Sepoys, with their arms and accoutrements, went off to join the enemy. He immediately detached a body of troops on whom he thought he could depend, to pursue and bring them back. They overtook them in the night, when asleep, and made them prisoners. The Major, ready to receive them, with the troops under arms, ordered their officers to select fifty, whom they deemed the most depraved and mischievous, and of this fifty to select again twenty-four of the worst. He then ordered a field court-martial, composed of their own black officers, to be immediately held; and addressed the Court, impressing them with a sense of the destruction which impended over an army in which crimes like these were not effectually repressed. The prisoners were found guilty of mutiny and desertion, and sentenced to suffer death in any manner which the commander should direct. He ordered four of them to be immediately tied to the guns, and blown away; when four grenadiers presented themselves, and begged, as they had always had the post of honour, that they should first be allowed to suffer. After the death of these four men, the European officers of the battalions of Sepoys, who were then in the field, came to inform the Major that the Sepoys would not suffer the execution of any more. He ordered the artillery officers to load the field-pieces with grape; and drew up the Europeans with the guns in their intervals. He then desired the officers to return to the heads of their battalions; after which he commanded the battalions to ground their arms, and assured them if a man attempted to move that he would give orders to fire. Sixteen more of the twenty-four men were then blown away; the remaining four were sent to another place of cantonment and executed in the same manner. Nothing is more singular, than that the same men, to whom it is endeavoured to raise to the highest pitch the contempt of death, and who may be depended upon for meeting it, without hesitation, at the hand of the enemy, should yet tremble, and be subdued, when threatened with it by their own officers.

When the sacrifice of twenty-four men was sufficient to suppress a mutiny of that very criminal description, could it be necessary to have

† It appears by Munro's evidence (*First Report, Committee, 1772*) that such a promise was made to them, and through Major Adams.

recourse to the indiscriminate massacre of hundreds to curb mere murmurings about pay, unaccompanied by any such act of treachery? This is the great question to be solved—Was it requisite to have recourse to a general slaughter?

However this may be, the fact is, we are told, that Government had determined on strong measures. But before these could be carried into execution, it was necessary, it appears, that the dissatisfaction of the Sepoys should be made to assume a form of disobedience more tangible or technically criminal. Having surrounded them with the other Native and European troops already mentioned, the Adjutant General and Quarter Master General of the army, with the officer commanding the 47th Regiment, were sent to order them to lay down their arms, and to threaten them with immediate punishment in case of refusal. The poor deluded beings, relying on the mercy of the British Government, hesitated, we are told, pleading their oath not to yield, unless the grievances they complained of were redressed. The order to lay down their arms consequently threw them into a dilemma, as must have been anticipated: and the men, not knowing what would be the consequences of this act, hesitated between the dictates of passive obedience and their sense of wrong. But their subsequent conduct shows that this hesitation and non-compliance of the Sepoys was quite disconnected from any idea of resistance or using their arms offensively. Since, when fired upon, although they had muskets in their hands, ready loaded we are told, it does not appear that even one of them fired in retaliation. It is reported, that they were asked (whether at this conjuncture or previously I am unable to say) if they wished to make any communication to the Governor-General. They replied, that they had nothing whatever to say to that *pice-changer** (Bunya); but they earnestly wished to make a representation to the "*Burra General*" (that is, the Commander-in-Chief). They were thereupon told that he would not listen to them while they continued in arms. According to report, ten minutes were allowed them to lay down their arms, which was certainly little enough time for the order to reach every individual of a mass of one thousand or twelve hundred men; but, according to the printed reports, which do not speak of even one minute's delay, the moment their refusal was intimated to the Commander-in-Chief, he ordered them to be cut down. Before such a desperate step was taken, I would rather that he had addressed them as the famous Roman General did the rebellious legions of Capua:—"Whatever you do, I am resolved to behave as becomes me: if I draw my sword it shall not be till you have drawn yours. If blood must be shed, you shall begin the slaughter." This, however, was addressed to traitors, who, after the basest conduct, were perfidiously marching, in hostile array, against their country, which was happily saved by this mixture of firmness and humanity. Are these Pagan virtues extinct among Britons and Christians, that we should, without hesitation or reluctance, commence the work of slaughter, without the excuse that our victims had shed, or even wished to shed, a single drop of blood? That

* *Pysa*, in Hindoostanee, is the term used for money generally: and *pice* or *pysa*, for the smallest description of copper coin, equal to a farthing. The term must have been used in allusion to the contemptible parsimony of certain measures, of which he was supposed to be the author.

you may be the better able to form an opinion of the whole transaction, I shall give as particular a detail as I am able of the sequel, resuming the account from the morning of this day (Nov. 2d.).

The accompanying sketch will give an idea of the manner in which the troops at Barrackpore were disposed. The Sepoys are cantoned on the left of the road leading to Calcutta, on the other side of which, under cover of the trees skirting it, the artillery brought from Dum Dum the previous night were *secretly* placed, out of the view of the refractory Sepoys. These being drawn out as represented, in front of their lines of huts, to the open space between the above road and that leading to Pultah Ghaut; the Royals (European regiment) were placed on their right, and the King's 47th and Body Guard (cavalry) drawn out on their left, where the Commander-in-Chief and his staff had taken up a position. These dispositions being made, in order to commence operations; as we are told, as soon as daybreak would allow, an order was sent to the refractory Sepoys to ground arms; with which they either hesitated, delayed, or refused to comply, as already mentioned; requesting, we are informed, to be allowed to make a representation to the *Burra General*, which was not permitted, unless preceded by entire submission. Their refusal being thereupon reported to the Commander-in-Chief, a signal, that had been preconcerted, was instantly given by the firing of two guns (the gallopers of the body guard); and the artillery placed in *ambuscade* opened upon the body of Sepoys, now devoted to destruction. While these played upon them from the rear across the road, and consequently through the line of huts containing their females and children, part of which were blown to pieces, the unhappy men, immediately throwing away their arms, accoutrements and uniforms, hastened to disperse in whatever way they could; but the Body Guard cavalry being at the same time ordered to advance at a quick pace, their retreat in that direction was cut off; and if they tried to escape on the opposite side, they were intercepted by the Royals, who were ordered to fall upon them from the right. Thus broken and scattered, unarmed and half naked, (having thrown off their clothes or uniforms, in the hope of escaping undistinguished among the peasants and villagers) they were furiously pursued by the English troops, even into the native huts, where they fled for shelter or concealment, and shot or put to the bayonet in this helpless state, wherever found, without mercy! So great was the sanguinary fury that possessed the pursuers, according to the most authentic accounts, that many other Natives, who were not Sepoys at all, fell in the general carnage, which overspread the country for miles round! Between thirty and forty innocent persons, villagers and others, who happened to be in the neighbourhood, including women and children, killed and maimed, added to the horrors of the bloody scene!

To what extent the carnage was carried may be conceived from the expression used in the before-mentioned apology of the Deputy Judge Advocate. He says (*vide Hurharu*), that "the Royals continued *snapping* all the morning;" leaving us to guess, from this ambiguous hint, how long the slaughter continued, having merely informed us before, that the business commenced as soon as the dawn of day would permit. The best accounts agree that part of the troops were not returned before one o'clock P. M.: implying a continuance of the pursuit and slaughter for several successive hours; and, as it extended, we are told, on one side as far

as Pultah Ghaut, a part of the fugitives being also drowned in attempting to escape by crossing the river; the number who fell on the spot, or died of their wounds in the surrounding country, must have been great.⁹

The apologist of Government, however, has the hardihood to say (see Deputy Judge Advocate's account), that even if treble the number had been slain, he would consider it neither lamentable nor excessive; confessing, at the same time, that he speaks of the amount of lives lost by perfect guess; so that for any thing he knows it may have been nearly a thousand. He also, you observe, employs the sporting phrase, "*sniping*," to describe this melancholy transaction; and he is no doubt the best judge of the language most acceptable to his superiors, of which he has obtained substantial proofs; having, in fact, become a great favorite with the Commander-in-Chief.¹⁰ But others have seen this disgraceful flippancy on such an occasion with extreme disgust. The public, of course, can only regard it as an intimation of the supreme indifference Government feels about shedding the blood of its own troops, or its Native subjects. Its apologist seems even to make this a subject of boasting, and to feel disappointment that many more were not killed—a disappointment in which few will sympathize. He indeed gives out, that the number did not exceed one hundred; but he takes care to qualify the assertion by saying; it is "a perfect guess." This looks too much like an evasion, since his situation enabled him to state the facts with precision; and he must have been aware, when he wrote this, that the general estimate of the public rated the killed at five or six hundred. The Government has observed a similar caution in the official statement, not venturing to tell the world the number of its victims.

The General Order of the 4th of November announces, that the 47th Native Regiment has been annihilated entirely, and blotted out of the army, No. 47 being struck out of the army list; and that a new regiment, to be numbered the 69th, is to be immediately raised in its stead; to which the European officers of the late 47th are to be transferred. By this Order, Government attempts to throw the blame of what has occurred on the Native officers; not that it pretends to possess any actual evidence against them, but on the presumption that, from their intimate connexion with the Sepoys, their own countrymen, they must have been implicated in their schemes. The Native officers are accordingly disgraced and peremptorily dismissed the service; this punishment being inflicted upon these men without any form of trial, evidently because they are the countrymen of the real offenders! The English soldiers employed at Barrackpore might assign the same reason for shooting the harmless villagers; since these had black faces like the Sepoys. Accordingly, soon after the transaction, a highly respectable Native informed me, that on seeing the troops returning from the Barrackpore slaughter, he thought it necessary to withdraw out of their sight, lest they should consider the colour of his skin a sufficient warrant for putting him to death. I have already noticed the intimation given by the Deputy Judge Advocate, that the Native officers were considered to be in danger from the Sepoys, so far from

⁹ An extract of a Letter from Bengal, written about the time, and published in the Cape Gazette, rates the killed at 440.

¹⁰ It is but fair to notice that he possesses other merits, having, like the editor of your London John Bull, written and published doggerel verses, abusing Mr. Hume, Mr. Brougham, and other advocates of public improvement.

being in collusion with them; and the very different circumstances in which the officers and men are placed, in regard to pay, does not warrant a belief that the former participated at all in the complaints of the latter. Yet these men, against whom it was confessed no particle of evidence existed, and who had such strong circumstances in their favour, having remained steady amid the general discontents of their countrymen, are punished even without a trial!

In justification of this, I suppose, the Government intends the *ex post facto* law, which it proceeds to make in the same General Orders, that the Native officers throughout the army shall in future be held responsible for any similar conduct on the part of the men under them; and the Governor-General observes, that "Even on the rumour of any discontent in a corps, it is their particular duty to communicate it instantly to their European officers." Now I am certainly informed that, on this occasion, the discontent existing was known to the European officers, or part of them, at least ten days before, and as the Government does not accuse the Native officers of concealment, it is but fair to presume, that in this they did their duty; consequently, the blame attempted to be shifted upon them recoils upon those who did not take the necessary measures to remove in time the causes of discontent; for, unless that be done, how is it possible that the Native officers can answer for their men being satisfied? The Government reserves to itself the power of maltreating the men, and at the same time requires of the Native officers, on pain of punishment, to keep them contented! After going so far headlong, a Court of Inquiry is appointed to investigate the business, the result of which is not yet known.

On the day after the transaction, a Court Martial being assembled at Barrackpore, 40 Sepoys of the 47th Regiment, were arraigned before it, on the charge of having, on the morning of Tuesday the 2nd of November 1824, and two days immediately preceding, refused to march from Barrackpore in conformity with the orders given them, "until certain illegal and insubordinate demands should be first conceded to them." The Court found them guilty of the charge, and sentenced them all to suffer death, which sentence was confirmed by the Commander-in-Chief, who ordered six of them to be hanged, and the rest of the forty to hard labour on the roads for fourteen years. At another Court Martial on the 5th, about 20 men of the 62d Regiment, were arraigned on a similar charge, and for removing their colours to join the 47th, four of whom were hanged, and the rest condemned to work in irons on the roads for fourteen years; and, in like manner, one Sepoy of the 26th Regiment, was hanged, and two condemned to the roads for the same term. On the same day 42 men more of the 47th Regiment, on the same charge as the former, were sentenced to death, of which twenty-one men were condemned to the roads for sixteen years; ten for a term of five years, and one for one year. A Sepoy of the 62d was condemned to the roads for one year, for having removed the colours of the Regiment to the 47th, and refused to march. At a Court Martial assembled on the 9th of November, another Sepoy of the 47th was convicted of having "excited and joined in the mutiny, and having commanded the body of the mutineers on the morning of the 1st and 2d of November," &c. He was in consequence sentenced to be hung in chains. The Government has not yet published any more of the details of this shocking business, which,

however, did not end here. A non-commissioned Native officer of the 47th was arraigned on a similar charge, and a number of men were to be gibbeted somewhere about Barrackpore—the place selected, near Lord Amherst's rural retreat—as a warning to those who behold this dismal memorial of his reign.

The first apparent consequence of these sanguinary proceedings, is the great desertion going on among the Native troops, showing that our service is no longer worth engaging in, or that they have lost confidence in our justice and humanity. Whatever be the cause, those who forsake our standard in the winter of our fortune will soon swell the ranks of the enemy, and carry thither the only sort of knowledge we in our wisdom have thought it safe to diffuse widely among the Natives of India, viz., the art of military discipline—the most formidable of all, whether in the hands of civilized men, or barbarians. This new spirit of desertion seems to have diffused itself among our troops in different parts of the country, as fast as the news had spread of the Barrackpore massacre. When the report of it reached one station, the troops quartered there are said to have set off at once, carrying with them their arms and accoutrements. The last we hear of them is, that they were marching in a body towards the Upper Provinces, and supporting themselves by plunder on the road. Orders have been given for recruiting; but experienced Bengal officers think this will be extremely difficult in the present state of the public mind, and while this system continues—that to prevent desertion is impossible. With a view to remedy the latter evil, which in the present conjuncture is truly alarming, Government has issued an Order to its servants in all parts of the country, offering rewards to all who will assist in apprehending deserters. But in such a country as India, this is a feeble check; and little is to be expected of troops kept together by fear, rather than affection; led into the field by force, not attachment to our cause.

The other Native troops at Barrackpore, under marching orders, have marched; but it remains to be seen how they will deport themselves when beyond the reach of British bayonets; when they begin to experience those hardships, the prospect of which made their fellow-soldiers stand to be slaughtered rather than advance; when they are in the front of a bold and politic enemy, whom our ill success already has taught them to dread in the field; and who are well enough acquainted with our position in India to see the advantage of holding out every temptation for our troops to desert a standard to which they have been attracted by mere interest and temporary convenience, to which they are attached by no national feelings—far less by the tie of religion.

We hear that at Cuttack, also, the same spirit showed itself—the troops having refused to embark on the expedition; but how this affair was managed will, we hope, be more clearly explained to the people at home than it has been to us. The Government Gazette states, that Shiekh Dullah (formerly a noted chieftain), and one calling himself the brother of the Ex-Peshwa Bajee Rao, (taking advantage, no doubt, of the aspect of our affairs,) had commenced operations on the Nerbudda; but they have been vigorously attacked; the chieftains themselves, however, have eluded our grasp. It would appear as if even the petty Zemindars were encouraged to lift up the head of rebellion, in the hope that our attention and troops will be too much distracted and

divided, or our hands too full with the Burmese war to be able to spare any force to keep them in check. The last accounts from Madras state that a troop of horse, under the command of Captain Black, have been entirely cut off by a petty chieftain, near Darwar, who had assumed an attitude of resistance; and, it is added, that Mr. Thackeray, the Chief Commissioner and Collector of that part of the country, with three military officers, have unfortunately lost their lives. Such a daring act could arise from no common cause. Reports of the same alarming nature daily reach us from other parts of India. The squadron of the 5th Cavalry at Bareilly, which was under orders to march on the 5th, has been ordered (says the India Gazette) to stand fast, in consequence of some intelligence from Moradabad, to which it cannot more particularly refer. According to private accounts also, Runjeet Singh is meditating some hostile project; but we cannot expect to penetrate the profound policy of that chieftain until we see its effects. He is too able and prudent a leader to involve himself rashly in a war, which must probably end in the destruction of one of the parties, and that perhaps himself.

We hear that despatches will be immediately sent to Ceylon, the Isle of France, and Cape of Good Hope, representing the necessity of sending to the Continent of India all the troops that can be spared from these Colonies. But, in particular, we expect a large reinforcement from Europe, when these accounts reach England: and may they arrive in time to save us from the consequences of our own folly, which has plunged us into this fearful labyrinth. If Colonization had been permitted, how great the advantages it would have given the Government in such an emergency! With a large British population growing up around it, bound together by national feelings and faith and interest, and a common sense of danger—although every black mercenary were to turn his back and join the hostile ranks of his countrymen—we alone, with British swords in British hands, could then set the united powers of India at defiance. This is the only solid basis on which our power can be placed, to give it a chance of permanency; but this is abandoned, to gratify the short-sighted and narrow views of a selfish Monopoly, which would rather make a total sacrifice of this splendid acquisition, than suffer Englishmen in general to participate in its advantages. However, England is so much accustomed to see her general interests sacrificed to the convenience of a few, that now she will hardly deign to complain; it has been so almost from the commencement of the East India Company; and it will probably end as it began.

P. S.—The Government Gazette, of the 11th, contained a report of the King and Queen of Ava having been both put to death, and other particulars of a complete revolution in the Government of the Burman Empire. According to the last accounts, however, this appears to be a mere hoax; and it has unfortunately not gained credit long enough, I fear, to enable its authors to get rid of their India stock. In Calcutta, at least, it has not lived more than a few days; but in London it may have taken more effect.

Distant from the scene of action, you cannot feel, as we do here, the force of such expressions as the following, which I have often heard uttered with a sigh: "If a Free Press had existed, things would never have come to this pass." Some correspondent of the Calcutta Journal

would have informed Lord Amherst, that there was such a thing, in a tropical climate, as the rainy monsoon, during which it was useless to send an army to be sacrificed at Rangoon. Some one would have made known, through the public papers, the concentration of Burmese troops on our frontier before they cut off our force at Ramoo; since this information might have been given through the public press, without the risk of a reprimand from superior authority,—the ungrateful return made to a Civil servant in the eastern part of Bengal, for his zeal in giving such information when he felt his district to be in danger. If the press had not been shackled, some one acquainted with the state of the Barrackpore troops, would have given a hint of the discontent growing up among them, that its causes might have been seasonably removed; although he could not give such information through an official channel, or was unwilling to appear as an accuser or complainer, and encounter the insolence with which we see such representations are met. Freedom of publication would also have relieved the public mind, and the Government itself, from the alarming verbal reports continually floating about in Calcutta, (such as of a fleet of Burmese war-boats being in the Sunderbunds—the destruction of our troops at Rangoon, &c.) reports which, as things now stand, cannot be soon checked in any public manner, since the press is discredited,—its silence being attributed to fear; its representations to the influence of Government. The Government itself has shown that it deeply feels this evil, having bitterly complained of it in its own Gazette, and expressed the highest indignation against one of these “alarms,” which it stated to have been traced at last to a common sirkar,—so paltry are the causes which are sufficient to discompose the serenity of despotic power!

STANZAS.—WRITTEN IN INDIA.

THE ranks of the hostile are crowded,
The slavish may crouch in their fear;
But the brow of the free is unclouded—
His day of proud triumph is near!
The mild may be goaded to madness,
The wise, and the good, and the brave,
May witness with shame and with sadness
The arts of the base to enslave—
But, oh! there are spirits of glory and might,
Shall guard the bright banners of Freedom and Right!

Though many are servilely bowing;
The coward, the courtier, and slave,
Yet still there are hearts that are glowing,
And hands that are ready to save.
Away then, the sland'rer's reviling,—
Fair England, the Queen of the Sea!
With pride and emotion is smiling
On the glorious cause of the free.
And exultingly cries, with approving delight,
“Stand firm, my loved children, for Freedom and Right!”

CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES OF THE POETRY OF THE PRESENT AGE.

It is difficult to seize the distinguishing traits of our present poetry, and more difficult still to persuade the reader that it is a subject upon which any thing new can be said. It is of little use, however, to be discouraged by difficulty, and much good may arise from coming to a proper understanding on this topic. Many writers have already endeavoured, it must be confessed, to give rise in the minds of men to correct notions concerning poetry in general, as well as of that particular kind which at present prevails amongst us; but they were, it would seem, too refined to be taken with simple truth, and appear to have been chiefly anxious to erect new or plausible theories. Such a disposition of mind is unfavourable to severe and genuine inquiry. The man who is guided by it, seeks only to dazzle and amuse; plays off, like a juggler, a succession of dexterous contortions of thinking, and blunts, puzzles, and confounds the judgment, by directing it against those unsearchable problems which must always defy the efforts of human sagacity.

But it does not follow, because certain portions of our intellectual patrimony appear irretrievably barren, that we are to act over upon them the fable of the Danaïdes, while any thing that may reward the labourer remains to be cultivated. We may still, therefore, promote inquiries, having for their aim the clearing up of difficulties in our canons of poetry, although it be now considered as nearly certain that poetry itself is incapable of definition. Its elements, and principles, indeed, seem like the air, which, while it rushes by in wintry storms and tempests, disturbing heaven and earth with its irresistible power, is not more visible to the eye, than when creeping silently over the fields in summer. But, whatever be the abstract nature of poetry, its forms are very various; so that what appears to one age the weakest and least desirable, has been observed to constitute the delight and the standard even of perfection, of another generation. In these changes, however, it only resembles all sublunary things. The tide of human affairs is never at a stay, and all that float upon it are necessarily borne along through whatever channels it may happen to flow. We cannot shape, we can only observe, the course of our destiny. Whatever is the object of human industry, or the product of human invention, is linked by invisible relations to a general form of intellect, which is commonly denominated *the spirit of the age*; this form, if it could be correctly delineated, would offer a kind of key to particular invention; for most men are nothing more than shoots and branches from the great trunk of the times.

Poetry, however divine in its nature, is very subject to earthly influences, and with amazing fidelity reflects the temper of the age. When the general mind is keen and earnest, poetry is energetic, passionate, simple; because the public then look for powerful emotion, but will not be moved by false splendour and conceit. In succeeding ages, refinement takes the place of force and simplicity in its pictures, which savour more of art than nature, because society itself has become more artificial in its wants and pleasures; and the poet feels it impossible to resist the spell

of manners and general associations. Passing on farther still in the course of civilization, we find the poet and his contemporaries dwindled into pigmies, exchanging civilities with each other, and looking back with wonder on the noble, but coarse forms of past generations. If any superior minds remain, they are impelled towards irony and satire by the frivolous pursuits of their contemporaries, and throw down contempt, like a gauntlet, to be taken up by whoever dares.

Let others determine in which of these three stations we are at present. We hasten to our subject.—It would appear, then, that the nature of the poetry prevailing at any particular period, is determined by the light in which it is held by the public; that is, it is sublime and grave, or airy, light, and witty, as instruction, emotion, or amusement, is looked for. It is natural enough that youthful poets, in all ages, should strike first upon the amorous chords of their lyre, and chaunt the praises of their mistresses, real or imaginary. But these early efforts are only the *primitiæ*, the sacred salt and barley, strewed upon the altar before the offering up of the *hecatomb*. Age purifies and ennobles their strains, when they are the production of that enthusiasm; which is the *heaven* that raises the mind to the degree of fermentation in which it produces poetry. Many begin with grave and weighty subjects; and these may be supposed to have skimmed off the froth of their minds in secret, out of reverence for the public, and to have made known no more of their labours, than might do honour to their reader's judgment and their own. But this is not common. The greater number rate their productions too highly to suffer caution or modesty to polish or lessen them. All is marble that comes from their quarries; and if they take the trouble to dig it out, it is hard if the public will not afford a moment to admire. They profess no learning, and never read; so that the reader may be sure all he sees is original, and spun, like a spider's web, from the individual bowels of the author. It is their creed, that learning acts upon the poet's mind, like frost upon the waters, and binds up and composes the surface of it, preventing that swell, *nisus*, and perturbation, which show so beautifully beneath the sunbeams of fancy. But they seem never to reflect that this can happen only when the mind chooses a wrong route, when it trudges through the dusty, beaten road of every-day notions, dry realities, or subtleties, that produce nothing, refusing to turn aside to the wilds and waters that refresh and gladden the eye and heart.

Poetry is much more strongly connected with learning and contemplation than can be readily believed, and is enriched almost equally by both: the former digging, as it were, a channel for the stream of the imagination, and the latter directing and purifying its waters. It is the want of these that has chiefly contributed to deprive the poetry of our contemporaries of life and energy. Their imaginations, resembling that of Spenser, rather than Homer's or Shakespeare's, evaporate most commonly in prolonged descriptions, reflections, and pretty thoughts and conceits. They have many reasons for preferring this style; for an expression used many centuries ago, to paint a Sicilian or Arcadian landscape, when transported into these northern regions, has every appearance of being new, especially as it is likely to imply circumstances and peculiarities of scenery which the reader wonders he himself has never observed in this country. He may well wonder, not having, like the poet, the faculty of seeing through the eyes of Virgil or Theocritus. And as

to reflections, it is well known how easy it has grown of late to manufacture them of the most sparkling quality: the whole process consisting in translating into verse, a page or two of Addison or Voltaire, Jeremy Taylor or Gibbon, as the case may be. With things of this kind, neatly dove-tailed together, and presenting a polished showy surface to the reader, our poets contrive to hide, as with a screen, the poverty of their imagination; being conscious of an utter incapacity to lay open the well-furnished apartments of the human heart, in which every passion and every desire wears its own livery, and goes directly to those things which nature designed to be its proper and ultimate object.

Rant and bombast may be very often, however, mistaken for energy, and minuteness for accuracy; for it requires at least a habit of observing what is natural, to be able, when it comes before us, to know that a thing is so. It is not every body that acquires this habit, or knows that in judging of works of art there is nothing of such paramount importance. The lamentable consequences of the want of it may be daily contemplated in the majority of our critical works, where the patient reader has whims served up for principles, and cutting censure for judgment. In selecting works for examination, a critic is usually guided by one of two motives: a desire to show his own superiority to the author under notice, or an aversion to the principles which he is known to entertain. If it appear, upon proper search, that to make out any appearance of superiority on the part of the critic, or to controvert the principles contained in the book, is equally hopeless, there remains still a third way of disparaging the work,—that of professing not to understand it; which, as critics are understood to possess such superlative keenness of intellect, is equal to saying it is absolute nonsense. Generally speaking, however, there is much more truth than they imagine in their profession of ignorance; for it would be difficult to name any subject, in the whole circle of arts and literature, which any one could, for a moment, suspect a professed critic of understanding thoroughly. Like the French barber, they would be actually offended at being supposed to possess more knowledge “than their *bettors*,” meaning by *bettors*, persons who possess no knowledge at all.

But no severity of criticism can be too great, and no contempt too unbounded, for such authors as endeavour to introduce mysticism, and unnatural incidents and imagery into poetry, as nothing can be more different from invention than miraculous or supernatural events, which happen without any adequate cause, and for no rational end. The poet who sets himself above nature may afterwards do as he pleases; his fancy can know no law, for there is none in the regions of impossibility; he has free scope to yoke contradictions together, and to drive them to any market he can find open, only taking it along with him, that taste will discard him and his productions. The same censure applies to those who endeavour to create new, or to introduce barbarous mythologies, such as never can obtain belief, or have been credited only by the most stupidly ignorant of mankind. The fables of Greece and Rome passed through the fire of civilization, and were worn into proportion and beauty by the touch of a thousand poets. The censers of genius and fancy, burning long after those of superstition had been extinguished by reason, threw a brightness and a perfume upon them, and kept up that kind of mitigated belief (the poverty of language denies us a more exact

term) which consistent and harmonious fiction, even while it is known to be fiction, will always readily obtain. No one now believes in the existence of Jupiter and Apollo; but all persons of correct taste and lively fancy, believe that, had they ever been, their deeds and manners would have corresponded exactly to what is related of them by Homer.

In the *Ancient Mariner* and *Christabelle*, a supernatural machinery is employed, which every one knows to be absurd: spells, and transfigurations without any apparent cause, being now banished to the nursery, or confined in the world to the minds of such as ought never to have quitted it. Distorting the pagan mythology is nearly or quite, as injudicious: yet is this done with so much vigour and success by many of our contemporaries, that it is very certain Virgil and Ovid, if they could rise from the dead, would not be able to recognize the features of such of their old divinities as have, in the lapse of time, fallen into the hands of our modern poets. Look, for example, at Diana in Mr. Keats' *Endymion*: the pure, celestial, freezing beauty of the Goddess of Woods and Mountains, which threw so irresistible a charm about the bright nights and cool fountains of antiquity, has no longer that inexpressible awe, subduing the fancy and chastening desire, which was wont to be inspired by her keen arrows and rattling quiver. She has degenerated into a voluptuous fairy, and moves throughout the poem in so dense a cloud of incongruous images and similes, that, like the real Cynthia, on a showery night, we merely catch glimpses of her through the shifting vapour. Immortality is out of the question for such inventions. They only disturb and weary the mind of a reader, without satisfying either the judgment or the fancy.

No poetry can last long which does not either raise or compose the mind, inspire a temporary feeling of sublimity, and hurry it through vicissitudes, and dangers, and sufferings, and escapes; or else draw it aside from the bustle of life, to the contemplation of delicious scenes of tranquillity, gilded by hope, and enlivened by mild enjoyment. In the first instance, the stream of action and events keeps up perpetual expectation, which, like a swift billow, increases as it approaches the goal, and then subsides in satisfaction and knowledge. In the second, delight is induced by the serenity of the picture. Horace is the great master of this sweet species of verse, who, whether he talks of the retiring usurer, or invites his friend to drain with him a goblet of Falernian, has the same insinuating air of ease and quiet, the same power of making the world look bright, and its inhabitants in good temper to enjoy it. In this lies the secret of his immortality. There is in the imagination a species of careless magnanimity, which requires to be reconciled to little things. This good understanding is wrought out completely by a happy poet, such as Horace was; and a man enjoys more than ever his garden, his shady tree, or fire-side, and the neighbouring hill, or streaming rivulet, when he finds them crowned with beautiful epithets, and linked with sweet associations by the muse.

We have very little of this sort of poetry in our language: our bards, good and bad, are too gloomy and sentimental to dwell with any lengthened satisfaction on the dear remembered spots that surround their home, and make an English landscape beautiful. But neither Shakespeare nor Milton was of this mind. The antique woods, green knolls, and crystal summer streams, that pass in their poems before the reader's

fancy, are all English, and suggest themselves in a cognizable dress, as often as we choose to think of them. The scenes of our contemporary poets, on the other hand, are cold, savage, and uninviting,—such as even imagination is not apt to leave the impression of her footsteps on; or else glitter with a heaped, ostentatious splendour, that looks like magician's work, which the performer bids you observe quickly, or it will slip from before your eyes and fade for ever. If you will believe our versifiers, there is not a spot to which they think it convenient to conduct their hero or heroine, for the enjoyment of the fresh air, but nature decks it out instantly, in finery so superlative, that she seems to have had her orders before-hand. There are winds, and mountains, and rivers, and plains, and sunshine, and showers, all at once; so, by picking and choosing, the happy character they take under their protection cannot fail to be pleased, if not more than commonly fastidious.

In Sir Walter Scott, the reader's fancy is exposed to the north wind in very uncomfortable situations, and is frequently in danger of being frozen to death; Mr. Crabbe has a choice exhibition of workhouses and fetid dunghills, which make the reader hold his nose; Barry Cornwall attacks him with skyey influences; Shelly electrifies with chasms, boiling abysses, fearful seas, toppling crags, inextricable labyrinths; Moore has dews, and gems, and sweet-smelling nosegays piled up at the entrance of his parterre, and he looks sharp, too, that the wind does not ruffle a leaf of them; Coleridge has owls and mastiff-bitches, and seas of worms, and stench, and horror; Wordsworth paces before the reader through a pretty sheep-track on Helvellyn, or plies his dreamy boat over the lakes; Southey gives him a peep into heaven and hell; and Byron hurries or drags the imagination through every various scene in turn.

It implies a kind of weakness to be inveterately attached to a "hobby-horse," to have a certain track of thinking in the mind, into which our ideas always run when they are put in motion. But a man *must* have his preferences, and if his character possesses any vigour, he will show them in his works. The enthusiasm of the poets naturally invests the objects of their attachment, whatever they may be, with singular loveliness and perfection, and never suffers them to doubt that their readers may not share in their admiration; which gives an air of decision and energy to their thoughts and expressions. In a late very celebrated writer there were many indications of an anxiety to avoid the imputation of enthusiasm; he appeared to think lightly of the current of noble feeling which hurried him frequently into sublimity; he wished to exhibit grinning wit in the grasp of terror: but whatever certain critics may pretend, those endeavours broke the unity of his character, and transformed a Polyphemus into a fire-eating mountebank. Whoever, in general, is ashamed of the enthusiasm he seems to possess, has in reality no such ingredient in his character, and is conscious of it. His shame is an anticipation of exposure. A man of this feeble stamp has no sympathy with the *great* of any kind, no admiration for it, farther than is consequent on wonder and surprise, and is incapable, from the constitution of his nature, of original and independent thoughts. The opinions entertained by such a person, of great authors or great men, arise entirely from comparison, and not from any clear perception of positive worth: he reckons that *this* writer is greater than *that*; but if only *one great man* came within the circle of his observation, he might for him go to the grave unap-

preciated. It requires genius to estimate genius. A solitary example of it, overlooking like a tower the whole extended plain of the age, could only be observed truly from the distance of another generation. The crowds crawling about its base would comprehend neither its worth nor magnitude. This is the real reason why men of mediocre views and talents often charm the mass of their contemporaries more powerfully than genius; every body, without raising their eyes, may look in the faces of the former; but the latter, if it would be known and admired, must imitate Gulliver at Lilliput, who took up a troop of the little people upon the palm of his hand to show them the proportions of his countenance. This was done by Rousseau in his 'Confessions.'

It is possible that Homer intended his Cyclop, Polypheme, as an emblem of Greatness; making him one-eyed, to express the singleness of its views, and tremendous to the rest of mortals, to show how much the union of vast power and little goodness is to be dreaded.

It is a certain mark of littleness to be obliged to use vast means for the compassing of a little end; but this is the category of all prolix and verbose poets. Their ideas are straggling and wilful, like sheep with an inexperienced shepherd, which run and scamper here and there, raising as much dust as if an army were passing; whereas the man whose flock is well disciplined has only to touch his pipe, and they follow him in the exactest order. Great writers, whether in verse or prose, are always close, brief, strait-forward, scorning to hide the burning splendour of their sentiments in a cloud of words. It costs them no effort to be sublime,—they have only to put themselves upon paper. But men of middling talents, whose minds do not turn habitually upon sublime conceptions, and who only wish to be great *pro tempore*, experience, no doubt, a vast deal of difficulty in raising themselves above their ordinary level. We see this in their works, which look like extensive pieces of arabesque, wrought out with infinite pains, of materials gathered with infinite patience; but as mere magnitude is not greatness, they are neither sublime nor striking.

It cannot be denied, however, that the spirit of industry apparent in the majority of our poets is highly laudable; and humane and compassionate people will lament that the result has proved hitherto so disproportioned to the pains; but criticism, which is neither humane nor compassionate, yet in this instance guided by sound judgment, suggests, that were the bards to fling their unlucky lyres at the head of Apollo, and betake themselves to the service of Mammon, or any of his kindred divinities, they might render essential service to the commonwealth. Who can doubt that the same indefatigable hand that has produced fifteen or twenty quartos of poetry, which, to say the best of it, is unreadable, might, had it been under the guidance of a judicious head, have added many golden grains to the heaps in our granaries, or furled good old English canvasses on the banks of Newfoundland. We wonder that persons so fully acquainted with antiquity as our legislators must be, have never yet thought of imitating the experiment of Orpheus, by selecting some of the most approved and loyal of our contemporary bards, for the taming and humanizing of the various wild and savage nations of the earth. The trial would not be expensive. A poet is completely accoutred when he has his harp, which has been substituted for the heathenish lyre, in his hand: he could live

on his own numbers till his return, unless he be more gross and terrestrial than the mere heroes of poetry : for

When through deserts vast,
And regions desolate they passed,
Unless they grazed, there's not one word
Of their provisions on record.

Nor was this peculiarity confined to the ancient personages of verse, for we find in a poem of the newest pattern, a lady who lives on dew and the perfumes of certain flowers, which might be had in the most uncultivated regions. Being once landed on the scenes of their distant missions, they would have nothing more to do than just touch their instruments in a divine strain, and chant a stave or two of their own Odes; we will answer for it, there is not a cannibal in the Andamans or New Zealand that would not become more tractable, in a quarter of an hour, than any of those Thracian trees or lions who danced about the forests to the lyre of Orpheus.

Having given this hint to the legislature, we proceed. The majority of our present poets appear to think very lightly of that sort of invention which is employed in forming the frame or plan of a work; it is enough, according to their notion, if a series of sentiments and images be put together. To the question, "Why are they thus associated?" they have nothing to reply, but that it was their pleasure so to couple them. The ideas and images, for their part, see no reason in the world why they should have any connexion with each other; but having, whether they would or not, been put in juxta-position, by the force of rhyme and the powerful spell of ink and paper, they stand sullenly in their prison, like Eastern genii beneath the wand of a magician, looking forward with well-founded hope to the day when the purifying flames shall break the influence of the talisman. That day cannot be far distant, and the sooner it arrives the better.

In reality there is nothing so rare or so truly great as the capacity to invent a complete, sublime, and instructive fiction. Nothing meriting this character ever failed of fame, although very many works having few pretensions to it have from other causes gained a portion of celebrity. It is the habit of many critics to feign contempt for what is called the *fable* of a poem, pretending that it is never spoken of by any but a pedant. But these critics may feign what they please; the true cause of their pretended disdain is a secret consciousness of inability to invent, and a consequent disposition to undervalue invention. Delicate sentiments and splendid imagery, and all the ornaments of poetry, are within the competence of thousands; but there have not, since the invention of letters, been twenty men possessing the faculty of which we are speaking. Let these critics count; they will find we have spoken greatly within compass. It is this contempt of the fable, serving as an admirable excuse for not even attempting to construct one, that has multiplied so rapidly the quantity of rhyme amongst us within the last twenty years, strengthening into a maxim an opinion long entertained clandestinely in the world of letters, *that whatever is not prose is poetry*. Some few of the learned still entertain doubts upon this point, and endeavour to persuade themselves that they see some faint indications of the dawn of a more rational era; but the clouds that hang in that quarter, hiding the future destinies of taste,

are too thick, we must own, for us to see what is coming up next, only that in general we may be sure it will be something unlike what now prevails.

The reader who is curious to try our notions may take the most approved Epic of the day : let him in the first place endeavour to discover the design of the poet ; and when he has done so, if that be actually possible, let him next examine how much of the poem can be said to tend to the completion of that design, and whether the point aimed at was not a shifting star, that still went before the author which ever way he chose to bend his footsteps. If he does not find the latter to be the case, and, therefore, that every thing which could be written belonged equally to the artist's design, we renounce all skill in augury. Numerous readers do actually make this discovery, and draw very judicious conclusions from it too, as the increasing quarterly catalogue of *New Poems* will amply demonstrate. Horace predicted of the most finished works, that all would

*Hope to write as well,
And not without much pains be undeceived.*

We are better off in these days ; for any person of the slightest industry may be sure that he cannot write worse than many who have gained what is called celebrity before his eyes.

“ If you want to understand a subject,” said some one, “ write about it :” he did not say, *publish what you write*. But the saying has, it seems, got abroad, and the latter sentence been understood to be included in the former. Nay, it has been extended to verse, as if some Oracle had commanded the whole human race to rhyme under pain of perdition. The consequences are awful : poems shower down from Parnassus, like Polar hail, and their size and weight keep all moderate and sober people at home until the storm shall be somewhat abated, for it is confidently foreseen that it cannot last. Those who venture out, if their heads are not very strongly fortified, are sure to have their skulls flattened by the blow of some tremendous quarto, which gives them a bias towards nonsense as long as they live. There is no being safe but by keeping close out of the way. Observing this, mankind have procured sundry hardy adventurers, to whom necessity gives courage, and under the name of *Critics* have sent them forth to discover if any thing valuable ever comes down amongst the rest. The institution of this order of men arose, therefore, from very laudable motives, and various honest persons, in certain predicaments, have been seen to wear its *cowl* ; but their skulls receive so many blows as they scud along in the tempest, that they at length become furious through mere pain ; and, like a dog to whose tail a certain culinary utensil has been tied, while he is hunted and pursued by his own species and all the boys of the neighbourhood,—they make no distinction between friend and foe, but snarl at and bite every hand alike.

A directly contrary disposition prevails amongst our bards themselves, who abound with the milk of human kindness, and are as prone as turtle doves to the tenderest of all passions. It is, however, a pity that poetry, among its numerous powers, which, according to good authority, could cause rivers to flow back upon their sources, and draw the moon from the sky, should yet be deficient in one essential requisite of sorcery,—the capacity to cause its professors to be beloved. But Polyphemus never howled more piteously to the winds of Sicily, for the neglect of the

fair Galatea, of pastoral memory, than our own British poetical swains when smitten by Love and Disappointment,—two deities who make it a point to visit these luckless men at the same time. Their fate is the more especially to be lamented by all compassionate people, as their passions are always as pure as diamonds of the first water, and as constant as night and day. This is quite inexplicable, unless a poet has dwindled into

Vox, et præterea nihil,

which would go a good way towards explaining the mystery. But some have thought that the fair sex reckon very lightly of a passion that evaporates in verse, particularly as they observe the inveterate propensity of the Muses for polygamy, seeing that the amorous lay runs round from Chloe to Lesbia, to Julia, to Phillis, &c. until a very numerous harem is placed before the fancy. Is it to be wondered at, in these Christian climes, that the ladies take offence at this? That they can see no constancy in change? That, after this, they allow them to chant their ditties to the winds, or any thing else more compassionate? It has been shrewdly suspected that these gentlemen never make love, except in print: but, if we take them at their word, it will follow that they possess much fewer lights, and much less assistance from the Muse, than their Erotic rivals of antiquity. It is true we find it recorded that in the course of many centuries *one Daphne* was found to reject the God of Verse himself; and Sappho found both herself and her lyre neglected by Phaon; but it is equally certain that the Parnassian race was not generally unfortunate in that way, if we are at all to credit the testimony of Anacreon, of Catullus, and Horace. These bards speak of their mistresses as if, like fairies, they danced round them in rings, darting about the arrows of love from a thousand eyes at once. "How many kisses," says Lesbia, "will suffice thee, Catullus?" And in his reply, his imagination knows no bounds, reckoning up, as a lesser number, the grains of sand, lying in the Libyan desert,—

Oraculum Jovis inter æstuosi,
Et Battæ veteris sacrum sepulchrum;
Aut quam sidera multa, cum tacet nox,
Furtivos hominum vident amores.

The most passionate attachment of modern times, also, was built on literature and theology,—a much less powerful instrument than verse; nor could even the rod of the pedagogue, in the hands of Abelard, break or weaken the talisman of passion.

Our contemporary rhymers, on the contrary, are as sad and disconsolate, as if they had been immured for a whole year in the cave of Trophonius. One exclaims,—

But, ah! this weary heart hath run
So many times the round of pain;
Not e'en for thee, thou lovely one!
Would I endure such pangs again.

Another,—

She whom I loved has fled;
And now with the lost dead
I rank her: and the heart that loved her so,
(But could not bear her pride,)
In its own cell hath died,
And turned to dust, but this she shall not know!

No, certainly, we would not let her know it, if we were the poet; nor, if we were ambitious of the reputation of sanity, would we let the world know it either. Nevertheless, this same bard with heart "turned to dust," goes on saying the same thing in innumerable "Songs" and "Stanzas," and puts us strongly in mind of Florian's Stella who always sung when she was in trouble.

After taking the case of these unfortunate persons into the most mature consideration, it appears to us that they ought to visit the shores of the Mediterranean; taking Cadiz especially in their voyage, a city where—

Dames abound,
Skilled in the ogle of a roguish eye,
Yet ever well inclined to heal the wound;
None through their cold disdain are doomed to die,
As moonstruck bards complain, by Love's sad archery.

We fear it would sadden the reader too much if we were to transplant any more of this "moping melancholy" into our essay; and further, as it is said to be a commodity which lies very heavy just now on the hands of the manufacturers, it might not be considered just to prejudice his mind against it by samples. To prevent future bards from planting Parnassus with weeping willows, in the hope of making their fortune, is all our aim: for it has long been our rooted conviction that such as do not take warning in time, will in the end have to sit under the shade of their own shrubberies, and weep the error of their ways.

There are, indeed, various symptoms in the public mind of a dawning disrelish of these fooleries. It is beginning to be recollected that a man without a mistress may be a poet, laudably supplying the place of that antiquated necessary, with a wife. The muse of Milton had held Hymen's torch in her hand, without losing any of her power of inspiration; and his passionate recollection of his "late espoused saint," excels in force and beauty all the sonnets that ever were written to the Julias and Lesbias of our unmarried rhymers.

To recapitulate:—Poetry is nothing more than the language of enthusiasm, adorned with versification and melody. But this enthusiasm must be real, must be a constant habit of the soul, and shed, like an ever-burning lamp, its quickening rays on all the objects and combinations that come within the grasp of fancy. In a poet, this enthusiasm is the first thing to be looked for; it is "the one thing needful," which, if he possesses, all other things may be added by application. In what consists the difference between a poet, and, for instance, a critic? In this:—the former has ever an eye to production, combination, arrangement; to being even with nature and society, by filling up the gaps which they appear to have left; to enjoyment, to delight: the latter views a thing in one category only; he carries his eye over art and nature discretively; he looks at the spots, not at the leopard; at the leaves, the branches, the stem, not at the tree. You might make any thing of the former; you can make nothing of the latter,—but a critic.

If the spread of knowledge be attended with any great inconveniences, the multiplication of critics is the greatest: the brood has increased so rapidly in this island of late, that it is now doubtful whether there be not as many *Dennises* as parish-clerks amongst us; nay, whether there be any large family without its household Dionysius or Quintilian. But

it must be confessed that the rules of judging have relaxed and widened with the spread of their professors; so that what may be pronounced the genuine article, in one coterie, is often known to be considered no better than contraband goods by their next door neighbours. Nay, the very same persons blow hot and cold alternately, as the admiring or critic propensity happens to "rule the roast." This, has sundry good effects; for admiration and ill-nature being two of the largest sluices by which the mind empties its overflowing humours, they have been conveniently placed by Providence at either end of it, in order to take off the current, whether it be under the influence of fair or "cloud-compelling" winds: so that in no case is there any danger of an improper depth. We experience daily the blessing of this contrivance of Nature; for there is nothing so bad but some will be found to praise it; and nothing so good but spleen and envy are gratified by seeing it abused.

LINES ON THE RUINS OF KALPEE, IN THE
EAST INDIES.¹

YE mouldering Fanés, and melancholy Tombs !
Sun-blighted Wilds, where parched Famine reigns !
An exiled wanderer marks your mournful glooms,
And heaves the fond sigh for his native plains !
But vain the wish—and seldom cherished here,—
Hope flies the drear and soul-degrading clime,
While listless Apathy and dull Despair
Chill fervid Patriotism's glow sublime.
Alas ! though Nature wither in the scene,
Must every finer impulse too decay ?
Forbid it, Heaven ! Though drear my path hath been,
Still let my bosom bow to Feeling's sway,
And ne'er forget the resting spot of green,
Where Love and Friendship cheered life's dawning day !

D. L. R.

¹ Kalpee is a large and populous town, in the province of Agra, situated on the S. W. bank of the Jumna. The neighbourhood of this place is remarkably barren and desolate, and is rendered still more melancholy in appearance by the innumerable tombs and ruins that are visible in every direction. The travelling distance from Calcutta to Kalpee is 700 miles.

**LITERARY AND POLITICAL SERVICES OF DISTINGUISHED
OFFICERS IN INDIA.**

HAVING recently adverted, in a notice of the second volume of the 'East India Military Calendar,' to the peculiar and striking qualifications which confer on the officers connected with the Indian Army so prominent and favourable a distinction, it becomes unnecessary to enter into any preliminary observations in recalling the attention to the first volume of that valuable publication. The brief and cursory manner in which this was originally referred to in an early number of the *Oriental Herald*, adapted as it was to convey only a general idea of the importance of the Work and of the manner of its execution, could by no means prove so satisfactory as a more extended notice from which the reader might be enabled to collect facts sufficient to qualify him for forming, in some measure, his own judgment on the subject. The attempt to supply this deficiency may appear rather tardy, considering the period of time which has elapsed since its publication, and almost unnecessary, when the Work is probably well known to most of our Eastern readers; but there exists in England a numerous class to whom it may still remain a novelty, and for these the subject will not be without interest. We are indeed the more anxious to revert to it again, since, in common with the Editor, we feel that in holding forth to public notice the services of a most valuable and meritorious body, we assist in recording their claims on the gratitude of their immediate employers, and on the favour and approbation of their king and country. To contribute in however small a degree, to this desirable result is no less our inclination than our duty.

In passing rapidly in review the contents of a work of so desultory a nature, in which every sketch assumes a distinct and individual importance, it is impossible to proceed on a systematic plan, and to develop its details in a connected series. To notice some of its more striking features alone, will therefore be the object of the present article, varying as much as possible the nature of the illustrative narrative, with the view of exhibiting the character of the officers of the Indian Army in those numerous points of view which so justly entitle it to admiration, and referring for the military details chiefly to the Work itself.

An instance of the advantages to be derived by men of active and observing minds from Asiatic practices, even in departments in which they are generally regarded as far inferior to Europeans, is furnished towards the conclusion of the memoir of Lieutenant-Colonel George Constable. This able and experienced officer, had obtained a thorough knowledge of the nature and formation of the Asiatic brass-ordnance with iron cylinders, from having been a member of a committee for the survey of all the guns, stores, &c. which had been captured at Allypore, Delhi, Agra, &c. Their advantages over the ordnance of Europe were manifest; and he was therefore induced, during a visit to England, to institute a series of experiments on the subject, in which, after numerous difficulties, he at length succeeded. Several pattern-guns were cast in London by Lieutenant-Colonel Constable, proved, and surveyed by a committee of Artillery field-officers at Woolwich, and the thanks of the Board of Ordnance were

conveyed to him for his trouble; but it is to be regretted that the British government has not yet thought fit to avail itself of these improvements. The gun-metal is a composition of brass and iron; the cylinder as smooth as glass, and formed of metal of a distinct quality; and the vent of solid iron. Its advantages combine both strength and lightness; in the former it is equal to iron ordnance, and in the latter superior to brass. It is thus superior to the brass artillery, even in the point of view in which this is most desirable, and very far exceeds it in durability and certainty. From the fusibility of brass guns, they frequently become totally unserviceable in the field and in batteries, and the shot is fired without a certainty of direction or distance. From these radical defects, the guns cast by Lieutenant-Colonel Constable appear to be entirely free.

If, however, to the gallant officer whose merits have been alluded to in the preceding paragraph, the natives of Europe have been indebted for an improvement in the destructive arts of war, to Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Walker, those of India owe a much greater debt of gratitude, for the active and effectual measures which he adopted for the abolition of that stain of Hindoostan, INFANTICIDE. The success of his endeavours sufficiently proves, that the prejudice which leads to this dreadful and revolting practice, is vanquishable by those Europeans who really feel a sufficient interest in its suppression, to induce them personally to exert themselves for this purpose. Among the Jahrejah Rajpoots, this crime had prevailed from time immemorial, originating probably in family pride, and an unwillingness to communicate their high blood through the marriages of their daughters. From each of these chiefs, in the name of themselves and their dependents, Lieutenant-Colonel Walker obtained unequivocal and positive agreements, to abstain in future from the crime of putting to death their infant daughters. They separately and voluntarily entered into a most binding engagement, by which they not only became liable to a severe pecuniary penalty in case of the violation of their contract, but solemnly acknowledging that it was contrary to their own religion, decreed, that whoever should be guilty of a repetition of the crime, should be branded with all the infamy, disgrace, and privation of privileges involved in the loss of caste. Under the influence of these engagements, many of the Jahrejahs actually saved their children, and presented them a year afterwards to their preserver with all the feeling and affection natural to parents. The foundation of reform was thus evidently laid; but it is to be regretted, that since the departure of Lieutenant-Colonel Walker from India its success has become more limited. Mr. Elphinstone has, indeed, with laudable zeal, interested himself in the preservation of these helpless beings from the inhuman prejudices of their unnatural parents, and about one hundred appear to have been saved in the course of ten years. It is, however, disgraceful that the abolition of this inhuman custom should still be left to the feelings of individuals, and not form, as it well deserves, the subject of a legislative enactment.

Lieut.-Col. T. D. Broughton, whose '*Specimens of the Popular Poetry of the Hindoos' Country*,' and other works, have secured for him a reputation as an author, is entitled to a further notice on account of the reforms and improvements effected by him in the detachment which he commanded in 1817, and the succeeding years. Composed of the most heterogeneous materials, it required all the energies of an experienced

and active mind to prevent the jealousies which existed from breaking out, to the subversion of all discipline and peace; but the vigilance and zeal of the commander not only prevented these ebullitions, but succeeded in introducing various useful and necessary regulations. The formation of the Rifle Company, the establishment of the Regimental School, the distribution of the men into messes, and the appointment of colour-serjeants, (the first in the Company's Army, and which led to the extension of that rank throughout the Bengal portion of it,) were the result of this able officer's exertions. The organization of the Regimental Savings' Bank,—an establishment which has opened to the sober and steady soldier the means of securing a supply for the future comforts of his family, or his own old age, and to the more thoughtless a temptation to throw into another channel the rupee which was destined for the canteen or the gaming-table,—present, in particular, a most judicious institution and one which cannot fail to add much to the comforts, and to improve the morals, of the private.

The memoir of Major-General Hardwicke affords a striking illustration of a remark formerly advanced, that a military biography is entirely incapable of furnishing a just idea of the character, or even talents, of an individual. From the sketch of this officer's life, given in the present volume, the reader unacquainted with the subject of it would be led to include him among the "*sine nomine turba*" of military men, who, having performed with credit the duties of each respective station, had risen according to seniority, and without any proper characteristic, to the height which they eventually occupied. But this opinion would be totally inadequate to the deserts of Major-Gen. Hardwicke, who, to the merits of his military capacity, unites those of the naturalist, and may justly rank, in the department of zoology especially, as high as any officer who has visited our Eastern empire. To pursuits of this nature, (which have been hitherto too much neglected by those who, from the opportunities afforded them during their service, might have most essentially advanced the cause of natural science,) this indefatigable individual devoted himself during his residence in India with an ardour, of which the liberal presents and the contributions forwarded by him to the Linnæan and other learned societies furnish ample proof. He has thus secured for himself, on his retirement from active service, a full and almost endless source of gratification, and the enjoyment of those honours in the scientific world to which his previous labours had entitled him.

Of another officer, also distinguished for his literary and scientific acquirements, Major E. Moor, of the Bombay establishment, a more ample detail is furnished, and several gallant actions recorded, especially one which occurred at the battle of Gadjnoor, in 1791. Being ordered to "penetrate into the enemy's camp, if possible, and as far as possible," this gallant officer succeeded in reaching its very centre, where he received a wound in his right knee, and a musket-ball which totally destroyed his left elbow. To this effective obedience of orders, the commanding officer expressly attributed the victory which ensued, and which formed one of the most brilliant actions of the war.

On his return to England for the recovery of his health, Major Moor published a 'Narrative of the operations of Captain Little's Detachment, and of the Mahratta Army commanded by Pursoram Bhow, against Tip-poo Sultân;' and he has since appeared as the author of the 'Hindoo

Pantheon,' and of an excellent work on the subject of 'Hindoo Infanticide.' To the Army of India, his literary talents have been eminently beneficial in the compilation and arrangement of a most useful digest of the military orders and regulations relative to the discipline and expenditure of the armies under the different presidencies. These had accumulated to a mass highly inconvenient as regarded both the due comprehension and enforcement of them by the superior authorities, and the requisite knowledge of them by those whose attention and obedience were essential. These inconveniences have, however, been materially diminished by Major Moor's publication, which was printed at the expense of Government, by whom he was liberally remunerated for his performance.

The name of Major General Sir John Malcolm, a detailed Memoir of whom concludes the first volume, is one which would confer honour on any body of men with whom it might be associated. To all who are interested in the affairs of India, the literary talents of this distinguished officer must be well known, and by all such are his early liberal and statesman-like views for its improvement justly appreciated. To his various missions to the Court of Persia, may be attributed the security of our Indian possessions from the attack anticipated, through the territories of that power, from the French; a very able historical review of whose late intrigues in Persia was transmitted by Sir John Malcolm to the Bengal Government in 1808. His success in these and other employments of a similar nature, to which he devoted much attention during his residence in the East, is chiefly to be ascribed to the intimate knowledge which he had acquired of the language, manners, and opinions of the persons whom it was his object to conciliate. To complete this body of essential information, appears to have been his constant aim in the midst of the numerous and arduous duties in which he was continually engaged, and in this he has succeeded beyond almost any of his contemporaries. The 'Sketch of the Sikhs,' originally published in the Asiatic Researches, the 'Essay on the Bhills,' recently noticed among the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, and other works, strongly evince the extent and value of his inquiries on these subjects; while his 'History of Persia, from the earliest period,' and his 'Memoirs of Central India, including Mahwa and the adjoining Provinces,' must secure for their author a distinguished rank among literary men. For each of these important works, Sir John Malcolm was eminently qualified: the materials for the former having been collected by him with indefatigable assiduity during his various journies and his residence in Persia; and the latter relating to a district, the entire charge of which was committed during several years to his care. Into these unsettled provinces, inhabited by numerous distinct and turbulent races, which were then just emerging from a state of warfare, he succeeded in introducing peace and union, in curbing the power of the refractory, and in framing the wisest regulations for the encouragement of industry, and the permanence of tranquillity. His conduct in this command may indeed be held forth as an example to all future governors of Indian districts, and the imitation of which should constantly be looked forward to with the spirit of emulation. Other works of this distinguished character are also well known; but among these one only need be noticed, the 'Observations on the disturbances in the Madras Army, in 1809,'

a production breathing a spirit of free yet candid discussion, which confers on its author the highest credit; and one which will doubtless be remembered longer, and quoted oftener, than the single deviation from its tenor, which we regret to have been even once compelled to refer to; and which we have little doubt has been since a subject of regret, if not of repentance, to the distinguished individual himself.

The preceding notices, although collected chiefly from a volume essentially military in its nature, have been, for the reasons previously given, almost universally of a different description. It is, however, impossible to quit the subject without at least referring to some of those services to which the Editor's attention has been more particularly directed. Among the more prominent memoirs contained in the present volume, in addition to those which have been adverted to, the services of Lieut.-Col. Corby, of Major-Generals Sir D. Ochterlony, Sir G. Holmes, Sir H. White, of Col. P. Walker, and of Major Staunton, deserve an honourable mention, as well for the detail with which they are given, as for the gallant deeds which they commemorate. From such a galaxy of military glory, it would be difficult to select particular instances, and invidious to assign peculiar prominence where all have merited so nobly. The mere enumeration of some of the principal wars in which they fought and conquered, will suffice to recal the recollection of the numerous deeds of daring to which their bravery gave birth, and incite the reader to examine for himself the details of each gallant exploit. The wars of Comandul,—the struggle against the trying and almost overwhelming invasion of the Carnatic by Hyder Ally Cawn,—the repulses and defeat of his successor, the formidable Tippoo Saib,—the captures of Ceylon and of Java,¹—the defeat of the Mahratta Confederacy,—and finally, the harassing and difficult conquest of the territory occupied by the brave and unfortunate Nepaulese,—present a succession of more striking features than can probably be exhibited by the military history of any other country. That the East India Military Calendar embraces detailed accounts of the services of numerous officers, who were engaged in these eventful scenes, will be in itself a sufficient recommendation.

¹ The services of Lieut.-Col. W. Farquhar, of Majors Gall, Pennington, and Kabon, and of other distinguished officers who participated in the exploits of this war, which are given in the present volume, point out the necessity of correcting an inadvertency in the previous notice in this Work. It is there stated, p. 61, that to Major D'Aguilar was *chiefly* owing the progress made by the British arms in Java; great, however, as were the merits of this officer, his companions in arms are equally entitled to share in the glory of this conquest. This explanation is the more requisite, since the distinction there implied might otherwise be regarded as invidious.

TO 'MY FRIENDS':

I ask thee not to drain the bowl,
Or join the laughers on the sea;
But if old strains delight thy soul,
Thy hours will lightly fly with me.

We'll talk of lyres and Attie feasts,
And bards that stroll'd from town to town,
With strong hope in their aged breasts,
Of small reward and great renown.

Nor shall the patriots be forgot,
Whose brows the civic wreaths entwine,
Though hard mishap is oft their lot,
While tyrants robed in splendour shine.

But Justice shall be present there,
And lend her scales their deeds to weigh,
And Fame her golden wings up-rear,
To catch their names and mount away;

And these in hateful blast resound,
Shedding pale terror as they fall;
And those her trumpet bruits around,
Inspiring love and praise in all;

But chief those sages' names will pass,
As we discourse, from tongue to tongue,
Whose virtues o'er the human mass
Have mild and peaceful radiance flung.

Berkeley,¹ and More,² and he³ who sung
Athena and Ulysses' boy,
And the proud bard⁴ whose harp was strung,
'Mid pressing ills, to notes of joy.

These themes, by thicket brown, or hill,
Or quiet grove, where eye is heard
The murmur of the lapsing rill,
Or twitter sharp of merry bird,

Delight me oft;—and these, my friend,
If thou desire to share with me,
Hither thy foot-steps quickly bend,
The spring and I, will welcome thee.

¹ Bishop of Cloyne.² Sir Thomas More.³ Fenelon.⁴ Milton.

THE ARCOT FAMILY.

It may readily be supposed that we have an unbounded command of franks for Indian letters. The high favour in which we stand with the Chairman and his Deputy, as well as with every Director of the East India Company, secures to us this advantage. The members of the Arcot Family have, therefore, with a laudable economy, carried on their Indian correspondence through our hands, for the sake of avoiding postage. In return for the exemption which they thus enjoy, all their letters are sent to us under a flying seal, with a liberal permission to lay before our readers such of them, or such parts, as we in our judgment may think generally interesting, and free from indiscretion.

In order that our readers may sit down to read these letters with the same advantages that we do, a short sketch of the family history of the writers appears to be necessary. But we deem it requisite to notify, that we cannot give a personal introduction to the most intimate of our friends who may apply to us for such a favour. We foresee that not a few of those who become acquainted with the Arcot Family through their correspondence, will earnestly desire to be personally known to them—but that is impossible. Our readers must be contented with the following account of the Arcots and their connexions:—

Mr. Arcot is the younger son of the late Honourable George Arcot, a younger brother of the present Lord Stare. His father died early in life, and left his two sons and three daughters to the care of his elder brother. Two of the girls scarcely outlived their childhood; the third grew up with a fine figure and pleasing countenance, and was married to Sir Gingertail¹ Stables, a Yorkshire Baronet. The peer soon discovered,

¹ We were at some pains to discover the Baronet's real Christian name. He passes in society as Sir George Stables; but we had heard that he received at his baptism some unusual and comical appellative, in consequence of a vow made in his cups by his father, the former Sir George Stables. Sir George, about two months before his lady lay in of her first child, had brought her up to London for the best medical advice. On a soft-falling, strong-scenting day of February, the Baronet having sent off his favourite hunter the day before, started in a yellow post-chaise for Salt-Hill, to have a run with the king's stag-hounds. The pack, and every thing belonging to the king's hunt, were then in the highest order and style, his late Majesty taking great delight in the sport. It happened to be what sportsmen call a very hard day. After running without a check for nearly two hours, every body was thrown out except Sir George, on a gentleman in a brown wig and a large heavy hunting cap, and took the lead throughout the day. who rode a remarkably fine grey horse, and the latter rode at a high hedge, The two were now almost close together, when the rider, either from bad sight or over which spread the branches of an oak. The rider, either from bad sight or the size of his hunting-cap, did not observe a limb of the tree of unusual length, the end of which, as his horse cleared the hedge in excellent style, swept him from his saddle to the ground. Sir George was a young man, and a keen sportsman, but not a brutal one. He thought that the fall was a serious one, had just time to rein up his horse as he was rising at the hedge, jumped off, and offered his assistance. He of the brown wig soon collected himself, and said very quickly, "Ab, ah! Nelson, Nelson—Nelson's off. Shan't see Nelson again to-day." Then turning to Sir George, assured him that he was not hurt, and instantly added, "I must beg your name, Sir—I see that you do not know me—"

that although he was very far from childless, he was not likely to have any heir but his brother's son. Lord Stare had connected himself, soon after he travelled into Italy, with an Italian woman of exquisite beauty, whom he transplanted to this country, and by whom he had a large family. The Signora could never persuade him to marry her; but effectually hindered him from marrying any body else. His nephew and godson, Francis Arcot, was therefore educated as heir to the barony of Stare. The younger son, George, was first sent with his brother to Eton; and afterwards as a writer to Madras. George had a strong understanding, but at eighteen his feelings were very naturally still stronger. He had just time enough, before he started for India, to turn his uncle's indifference about him into positive abhorrence, by marrying the daughter of a country apothecary, practising and poisoning in the neighbourhood of Welton Castle, his Lordship's seat in Dorsetshire. Mrs. George Arcot, at sixteen, was lovely as an angel, a comparison which belongs exclusively to those who can claim no family likeness. Her mother died soon after bringing her into the world, without confessing to whom she owed the blessing of fruitfulness. For, strange to say, the lady's liege lord, the apothecary, having lived in the estate of matrimony for many years without children, was never suspected of increasing, although many knew that he diminished, the population of Great Britain.

George Arcot, shortly after, sailed with his bride for Madras, leaving his uncle, who rather inconsistently had written even a kind note to Mrs. Arcot, in the firm hope that he should never see his nephew again. Oh that we could discover a moral telescope! Lord Stare was still at that time of life when those who are born to rank, station, and riches, seldom foresee any obstacle to their wishes. The natural day circles at the same pace for all men; but the moral meridian is not reached by the spoiled children of prosperity, till long after it has been passed by the well-taught scholars of adversity. For Lord Stare, at forty-five,

in such a case as the present I had rather be obliged to your humanity than your loyalty; when the former principle is so strong, the latter can never be weak. The King, Sir, is very much obliged to you for your attention, and will be glad to see you at Windsor to-morrow." Sir George, who was perfectly well bred, immediately begged that his Majesty would do him the honour to mount his horse; and bending his knee, touched the King's hand with his lips, and assisted him into the saddle. "Sir George Stables," said the King, laughing, "you have been at my *levée* without introduction; very irregular, ha, ha, ha!" and rode off in the direction of the hounds. Sir George knew what a *levée* was, but not why it was so called, and, therefore, lost the meaning of the King's remark. The further consequences of this accident are of no importance, except only, that on that very day, after drinking long and deeply with his friends, to whom he began, for the second or third time, to recount the event of the morning, the Baronet swore, that if Lady Stables had a boy, he should be named after the horse who carried him up to the King. Most people would have thought, that George being both his own and his Majesty's name, the boy would have been so called in honour at least of the latter; but Sir George, over his bottle, maintained, that all the merit of the matter belonged to Ginger-tail, that Ginger-tail should have the credit of it, and that his boy should be named Ginger-tail. And afterwards, when the reasonableness of this argument no longer appeared, and the birth of a boy made its absurdity perpetual and inconvenient, yet, from a not taken respect for a drunken joke and his boon companions, Sir George gave the name of Ginger-tail to the godmother, the godmother gave it to the priest, and the priest to the son and heir of the house of Stables; who often at school and college gave it to the devil, with many strong expressions very irreverent to the horse, Sir George, and all parties concerned except—the King.

Hope still enchanted, smil'd, and waved her golden hair,
although many men at that age possess a foresight which is
Something like prophetic strain.

In short, the peer had never imagined that his elder nephew might die without completing his Lordship's plans. But that young gentleman, to the confusion of all these plans, was wrecked with his tutor in a felucca, on the coasting voyage from Genoa to Leghorn,

And his last sighs came bubbling up in air.

On receiving this melancholy intelligence, Lord Stare wrote to George Arcot in India, acquainting him with his brother's death, and desiring his immediate return to England. The young man, with his wife and family, obeyed the summons. He was reconciled to his uncle; but having, as we said, a strong understanding, he refused to give up the Company's Civil Service, and live as his uncle's acknowledged heir and dependant. He left, however, his eldest son, Walter, under his Lordship's care and control, when, after a two year's residence in England, he returned with his wife and younger children to Madras. There Mr. Arcot remained till he had realized a large fortune, and sat for two or three years at the Council of that Presidency. About the beginning of last November he took a final leave of his friends in India, and, in the month of February last past, set foot again on the shores of England, with a constitution unimpaired by a tropical climate, and a large experience of Indian affairs.

From Walter Arcot, Esq., at Oxford, to Robert Littlecraft, Esq.,
Civil Service, Madras, to the care of Messrs. Curry and Co.

MY DEAR ROBERT,

Christ Church, March 1, 1825.

I HAVE at length seen my family, whom I have dreamed and thought about, day by day, ever since I was eight years old. On the 15th of last month, the Duchess of Athol landed my father and mother, Francis and Emily, at Portsmouth, after a good voyage of four months from Madras. On the following day, we all met at my uncle's house in St. James's Square. I confess that for the first time in my life I understood what people mean when they complain of feeling nervous. To be introduced as a stranger to your own family, is a very solemn ceremony. My sister Emily was only six, and Frank only four years old, when my father left me eleven years ago under the charge of Lord Stare. I could not know, but I had often fancied to myself, what sort of looking beings my brother and sister were. Of my father and mother I was quite sure that I had a most distinct recollection. I remembered my father as a very large and, when I first caught the idea, as a very handsome man, whom I was afraid of all the morning, and used to plague and play with all the evening. My mother appeared in my memory as a person who used to take me out in the carriage, send me out of the room, prevent me from eating as much as I liked, and desire me to go to bed before I was sleepy; and yet with so much fondness, that I remembered her with extreme affection. My father's correspondence had strengthened my esteem and love for him, and my mother's short and kind postscripts, containing, it is true, little more than a blessing for me,

As Weller must take leave to remark on the superiority of truth over fiction. What a structure of fable might be raised on this short and hasty sketch! A professed novel-writer might scratch his head with as much perseverance as a terrier at an empty rabbit-hole, but would fail of putting together such an admirable frame of probabilities.

and a slight allusion to her own weak health, had supported in their full force the soft but lively feelings I entertained towards her.

On the day before they were to reach London, I got leave from the Dean to be absent for a week, drove Costar's red coach up to Henley, got off at the Gloster Coffee House at four, and sat down at Stare House to a solitary seven o'clock dinner. I had no appetite, in spite of the divine *affatus* of the coach-box and a boring horse for two stages, that nearly pulled my arm off. The old London housekeeper had herself officiated as cook; the butler gave me a bottle of claret from my favourite bin of 1815; all in vain; although I drank, I did not taste it. After the fable was cleared, I became so fidgetty, that having sat on every chair in the room, tried to read the *Courier* and *Harriette Wilson*, I ran out and made my way to Drury Lane, where I first discovered that it was one o'clock in the morning, and the house shut. I hurried back to bed, but could not sleep. Sometimes I dozed a little, started at the sound of a passing carriage, and thought that they were come. My last jump at such a delusion placed me upright on the floor, with my arms extended to meet the paternal embrace of Wilcox the butler, who condescended to the duties of valet, and came at ten o'clock to offer his assistance at my toilette. He was so astonished, that he spilled the hot water in the shaving jug and scalded his foot. Catching up his foot, and with a suppressed oath, the old man said, "What! Mr. Walter, walking in your sleep! You know, Sir, your room opens on the gallery; you'll tumble over into the hall, Sir; for God's sake—"

"No, no, Wilcox," and I laughed heartily, "that rickety hackney-coach, which jumbles along as if the wheels had the rheumatism, woke me out of a dream, which had just brought four smoking posters and my father and mother to the door."

"Well, Sir," said Wilcox, "take my advice and don't think about them till they come. I wonder if Miss Emily will recollect me. Your thinking will not make their horses go faster, although it may make your time go slower. Besides, Sir, Mrs. Arcot may not be well enough to come on to-day," and with that he left the room, and me, for the first time, awake to the possibility of a disappointment. Post-hour came, but no letter, which set me at ease on this head.

The morning dragged heavily along, as if the hours had exchanged their usual mode of travelling for a stage waggon. I strolled about, met several people whom I knew, went into the British Gallery, looked at the pictures without seeing them, ordered a new saddle at Peat's, and returned home at six o'clock. About an hour afterwards,³ my uncle's carriage came sweeping round the corner of York-street, and in a few minutes more I had supported my mother from the carriage-door to the library. I shall say very little about our meeting, which indeed was very silent, but endeavour to give you an account of my thoughts and feelings when I could first think and feel what was passing around me. I soon learnt that personal intercourse is absolutely necessary to the support of our affections in their full strength and freshness. I used to believe that I felt all that a son and brother could feel for the nearest and dearest relations; but I am now convinced that hearing and seeing are two senses not to be dispensed with at any time of life, and least of all in childhood, in cherishing our affections. Had I lost a member of what I may now call our family circle before we met, I am sure that my grief would not have been so acute, as it now would be; after a personal acquaintance of only four days; so great a change has been wrought in so short a time. I am almost ashamed of the former state of my heart. My love for my family was like an underground-spring, creeping slowly, silently, and unseen through the pores of the earth. Our late meeting has broken up the surface, and the springs of affection have leapt forth into life and light,

³ It must be observed, that the young gentleman calls Lord Stare his uncle, although he is, in fact, his great uncle. The intermediate link being out of the way, Lord Stare preferred being addressed by the more youthful term of relationship.

rapid and deep. How can I cease to regret the eleven years through which the imprisoned stream has laboured on so lazily!

I could not help laughing to find myself remarking the personal appearance of my family, with infinitely more interest and nicety than I ever did that of the most remarkable individual. I never stared so intensely at the King or the Duke of Wellington, as when I fixed my eyes on my father and mother, Frank and Emily. My memory had served me faithfully; my fancy had played me some tricks. My father, I believe, is very much what he was when he left me, and yet I think, which is not a bull, he must be a good deal changed. His features, if I am not mistaken, are grown stronger; his light brown hair grizzled, and quite thin and grey upon the temples; and there is a hardness in the outline of his whole figure which did not belong to the image that I had retained of him. The expression of his features is unaltered, but more marked. Time is an excellent artist; he brings out a man's character at every touch. My mother, without doubt, is sadly changed. I was greatly shocked at her appearance. There is a waxen yellowness in her skin, and a faint but fixed colour in her cheeks, which too plainly indicate her wretched state of health. She must, indeed, have been beautiful; but agitated and fatigued as she was when we first met, her looks were almost ghastly. Emily is delightful. Most absurdly I had fancied that she must be something like me, and could never conceive how my rough pliz could, by any modification, be made into the face of a pretty girl. There is not a fresher or fairer complexion than Emily's among "the blue-eyed myriads of the North," nor a nobler figure among the sunny daughters of the South. "*Incessu patuit dea*," that is, I should know her any where by her walk. As for Frank, he is a very fine lad; but I have found out already, that he has impudence enough for the bar, and I must do him the justice to add, spirit enough for any thing.

Your cousin Louisa (Emily is now writing to her) knows us all, and will fill up my sketch of the family picture. I am desirous that persons, of whom you will hear so much in my letters, should appear to your imagination in shapes somewhat resembling reality. It is unfortunate that you could not reach Madras just before, instead of just after they left it.

After passing four days in town, during which time the shortness of our personal acquaintance was quite forgotten, I returned to Oxford, and am again where the porter, at Tom-gate, first directed you, No. 4, in Peckwater,⁴ first door, up one pair of stairs, to the right. I was rather lucky in being absent from College about the time of a most facetious row, in which I should certainly have been engaged, and perhaps more prominently than any body else. The Dean had complained of the men, who usually go out with the hounds, lounging about College in their scarlet coats. By some misunderstanding it was supposed that the colour was thenceforward prohibited. Red is the livery of anger. Every follower of the hound and horn was scandalized at a supposed attack upon the gaiety of the field. Speedycut declared, that the Dean would go to chapel in beaver, before he should desert his colour or hunt in blue, green, or brown. From passing a jest, they went on to play a practical joke. A man with a putty kind of face, and with a paint-pot in his hand, was seen to come into College just after dusk, and to skulk out again as fast as he could. The next morning the doors of the Dean and Canons were discovered in the blushing uniform of the chase. The Regius Professor of Divinity thought that his professorship was at an end; the last day at hand, and the sun turned into blood; for not only were his door-posts besmeared, but the brush had passed over his windows. Great was the consternation of the Dons.⁵ The gates were closed; the Dean had the men into the hall, and said a few words which had better been unsaid. At night, therefore, the rage of the red faction blazed out,

⁴ The name of one of the quadrangles at Christ Church.

⁵ A name usually given by undergraduates to heads and fellows of colleges, tutors, professors, and persons of authority at both universities.

and expired in a bonfire of doors, shutters, deal-tables and wash-hand-stands, built upon a base about fourteen feet square. It was raised, lighted, and permitted to burn itself out without any apparent human agency; after all authority was asleep. The town supposed that the College was on fire. A cry of distress went forth from the windows of Christ Church, which looked upon Oriel and into Bear-lane. But the cause was soon explained. Nothing followed these paint-pot and pyrotechnical *faciæ*; the Caraccis who conceived the one, and the Congrèves who planned the other, being unknown. You will see by the newspapers which I send you, that a boy has been accidentally killed at Eton by a fall while fighting. He was a very nice little fellow, whom every body speaks well of and regrets. But it is to be hoped that a mere accident, however distressing, will not, in the first moments of alarm and excitement, be made a plea for putting down the most harmless way of settling boyish squabbles. The attempt would cause much mischief, and fail of attaining its end. The boys, from fighting within bounds, would remove the scene of action to some remote spot; open to the intrusion of snobs and raffs, who would aid or oppose, but certainly brutalize the sport. If, however, you could prevent the lads of Westminster and Eton from using their fists, as they must sometimes quarrel, they would take perhaps to the foreign fashion of the knife.

With the packet of newspapers I send you some books: among them are the 'Memoirs of Harriette Wilson,' and Campbell's last new poem of 'Theodric.' Who that admires Campbell, can read Theodric without sorrow? It is a melancholy proof, that the mind grows bald as well as the head. Let us hope that his fancy has only been moulting, and that she will shortly wing her way on pinions of fresh strength and brighter hues to her old heights, and soar above them. Among many other lines of the like kind, are the following, of singular simplicity:—

And with her handkerchief, and both her hands,
She hid her face and wept.

But for criticism on 'Theodric,' you will find both fun and justice in 'Blackwood's Magazine;' and in the 'Edinburgh Magazine,' a puff of faint praise, just as much as the bad lungs of the 'Edinburgh' are now equal to.

The 'Memoirs of Harriette Wilson' consist of four numbers, of a most infamous, stupid, and vulgar work. I send it to you, that you may satisfy yourself of its extreme stupidity, and hand it over to the custos of your Hookah. The writer has prostituted the English language as much as her own person. Putting aside the absurdity of the title-page, 'Memoirs of Others by Herself,' you will constantly meet with a recurrence of such phrases as, "He looked as though," &c. Her filthy and degraded mind is exposed in naked dance before the public—exhibited figuratively, as the Empress Theodora used to appear in the Theatre of Constantinople. She is now married to a man of the name of Rotchford or Rochfort. Her real maiden name was Dubouchet. She is one of a family, another branch of which are decent *bourgeois* inhabitants of Lausanne. Her mother used to get her living in London by mending silk stockings, and our heroine, it is said, was seduced by a butler who brought his master's cast-off hose to be stitched up again for display at the sideboard. The sale of this book has been large and rapid, beyond all precedent; equally to the disgrace of the public and the publisher. There is but one excuse for the purchasers. The work has some degree of that interest which belonged to the old Greek comedy. The old comedy, gross and rude as it was, excited curiosity, by holding forth on the stage real characters and real names; and so does Harriette Wilson. The only tolerable thing in the book is the introduction of the Duke of Wellington, in his ribbon and garter, as a rat-catcher. Indeed, if it be true, it was the act of a rat-catcher to pass from the presence of his King to the lap of a prostitute. Mighty as his military achievements undoubtedly have been, acute as his mind unquestionably must be, yet the Duke has a rat-catching appearance. His head is large enough for a body twice as large as

that which it stands upon; as if a great intellect had been roughly formed, and for want of being well finished and fitted together, had been put into an incompact case. Yet Harriette owns her gratitude to him, and a hundred others, whom she exposes to ridicule, degrading herself below the nauseous wretches who parade their sin and misery about the streets,—the disgrace of their own sex, and the reproach of ours; who make us weep that such things should be women.

The Chancellor, by refusing an injunction against the piracy of Don Juan, has secured an unlimited circulation for these Memoirs in every possible form; thereby applying the boundless power of his court of equity to the spread of iniquity, and bringing the aristocracy of the country into contempt with the lower orders of people.

I must finish my letter in haste. I have got a wine-party to-day; and my servant has this instant told me that I have no claret. Gentlemen Commoners, you know, *selon les regles*, must give claret; therefore I must go forth to buy or borrow without loss of time. We shall drink the health of the Chancellor of the Exchequer with four times four, and wish that the fifty per cent. which he has taken off the juice of the grape, may be added to the worth of his own life.

Yours, most sincerely,

WALTER ARCOT.

MISS ARCOT TO MISS LOUISA LITTLECRAFT.

MY DEAREST LOUISA,⁶

St. James's Square, March 3, 1825.

My introduction into England was under a fall of snow, the first I recollect to have seen in my life. The idea is exceedingly ridiculous of a great girl of seventeen, standing for an hour at the window, and staring at the flakes tumbling in lazy confusion from the dirty clouds on the dirtier streets. But it melted as it fell, and lent no disguise to the filthy blackness of Portsmouth. Nothing has struck me so much as the dirty and shabby appearance of every thing in England. The objects of nature and art are equally dismal. The dusky red houses, like unwashed copper-coloured Indians, the smoking chimneys and wintry skies, the dark fallow lands and bare fields, intersected with black and leafless hedge-rows, but, above all, the inky mud of the streets, all contrast so strongly with the dazzling whiteness of the Madras buildings, the cleanly dryness of the Esplanade and roads in and about the Presidency, and the brilliant luxuriance of Indian vegetation, that I can hardly understand why England should be so famous for its high cultivation and universal cleanliness. Certainly, March is not the gayest month of the year. We shall see how things will look in May. Every thing on shore, however, is delightful, after a long sea voyage. After the incessant noise of a ship, it is a luxury to sit alone in a room, where little is to be seen and nothing to be heard, and be *quiet*—to be rid, in short, of the creaking of cordage, cleaning of decks, the clamour of the crew and passengers, and all the horrid sounds which belong to a sea life. How charming it is to be relieved from the close stowage of an Indianman, in which you cannot leave your cabin without popping your nose against a passenger! To be able again to walk on the steady earth, and no longer reduced to the necessity of receiving civilities from men, the very sight of whom is a complaint of the eyes—Oh! the more recollection of a Welsh Lieutenant of Native Cavalry, who used to offer me his arm, when the ship would coquetishly hold her head on one side to the freshening wind, makes me shudder. Figure to yourself a man about six feet two inches tall, shoulders high and narrow, arms

⁶ We can assure our readers, that the early part of Miss Arcot's letter contains only vows of eternal friendship for Miss Littlecraft, which young ladies invariably make as sisters; and break as matrons; a most affectionate description of her brother Walter; and a report of Mrs. Arcot's health, and of Dr. Warren's opinion upon her case.

and legs long and lanky; and hung loosely on his body, like the limbs of a scaremouch. On the top of such a person, imagine a small red face, with a nose like a tomato, and a pair of eyes like a ferret's, looking forth from an uninterrupted circle of carrotty hair, equally frizzled above his brow and below his chin. His razor, like a North American settler's, only clearing a space sufficient for a free circulation of air, and laying in store of food. This exquisite Dragoon soon became a complete nuisance to me, he was so unceasingly civil. Every day, from the time we left Madras, till we reached the Cape, Mr. Jones Llewellyn Cleaver (such was his name) never failed to, ask if Miss Arcot had ever been in Wales? which was sometimes varied to "Has Miss Arcot *been up* Snowdon?" Although, from our first introduction, I had told him that I quitted England at five years old, never till he reached the Cape did he cease to plague me and every body else with his hopes that the Duchess of Athol would finish her voyage by St. David's Day, with offers of tickets for the Welsh ball, if there should be one, with his praise of Welsh pedigrees, Welsh leeks, and a society with an unutterable name. At the Cape, Lieutenant Llewellyn Cleaver was silenced for the rest of the voyage by the following incident; I tell it you, as nearly as possible, in papa's words:—

Mr. Cleaver had been descanting to a Mr. Ravenscrop, a young civilian, on the mushroom growth of English families, and had got as far as the eighty-fourth generation of a Welsh descent, which was to close at about the hundred and sixty-fifth degree in himself, when his exhausted listener interposed a remark, saying, "that he believed the oldest family in Wales was extinct." "Which?" inquired the Lieutenant. "The last of them," answered his companion, "was Goat, Billy Goat, Ap Goat, who sailed with Madoc,⁷ the first convict, for North America." The Lieutenant's face blackened, and his red hair grew redder, like the sun in an annular eclipse. "Sir," rejoined Cleaver, "there is one English family, of long pedigree and long ears, which will never be extinct while you so worthily represent them—the asses, sir!" Thereupon, the civilian, who had boxed his way up to a high reputation at Haileybury, knocked down the Dragoon. My father and others interfered, and it was arranged that the two opponents should have a meeting in due form at the Cape. The ladies were kept in ignorance of this little *démêlé* till it was all over; but we were afterwards told that the Welshman could scarcely restrain his terrible threats before us. The heroes, on the next morning after they reached Cape Town, went out with their seconds, to a piece of ground concealed from observation by a wood. It was settled by the seconds, that Mr. Cleaver and Mr. Ravenscrop should be placed back to back, that each should walk six paces, turn and fire. The civilian stepped out steadily six times in advance, and facing right about, discovered the Lieutenant speeding far away out of shot, towards a cattle-shed, and followed closely by his second, a short fat Surgeon's Mate, puffing after him. The Dragoon, pursued by the Doctor, reached the shed, turned, and stood at bay; swearing that he would shoot his friend and pulsefeeler, if he stirred another step. The Doctor, however, who had military courage as well as medical skill, leaped in upon and disarmed the Dragoon; and the Lieutenant still obstinately refusing to stand his ground, his second asked and obtained leave of the other party to chastise his principal in his own way. Poor Mr. Cleaver was conveyed back to Cape Town an undistinguishable mass of bruises, insensible to shame and every thing else. The helpless man, however, was reserved for happiness at last, with something more compassionate than a Surgeon's Mate. He was scarcely visible during the rest of the voyage, and nobody spoke to him; but I see, by this morning's paper, that he found one friend in the ship. The Post tells us that Mrs. Shotbolt (who was one of our passengers, and for six months

⁷ For Madoc, see a poem of that name by Dr. Southey—a sort of metrical gazette in blank verse, reporting the proceedings and condition of the first convicts sent to America, with a spurious date given to it, at once to confuse the facts, puzzle the reader, and please the Welsh.

he disconsolate widow of the Collector of Travancore) gave her hand on Tuesday last, to Jones-Llewellyn Cleaver, Esq. of Llanrwydd, Caernarvonshire; late of the ~~-----~~ Regiment of Madras Native Cavalry, is very judiciously sunk.^a

Papa begs that you will tell Mr. Littlecraft, that he has been too short a time in England to have made any observations, or learned any thing worth writing about. He goes into Dorsetshire to-morrow.

I bluish to send so short a letter, so long a distance, to my dearest Louisa, but she will readily forgive her truly affectionate friend,

EMILY ARCOT.

THE STORM.

THE sun went down in beauty—not a cloud
Darkened its radiance,—yet—there might be seen
A few fantastic vapours scattered o'er
The face of the blue heavens—some fair and slight
As the pure lawn that shields the maiden's bosom,
Some shone like silver,—some did stream afar
(Faint and dispers'd) like the pale horse's mane
Which Death shall stride hereafter,—some were glittering
Like Dolphin's scales—touch'd out with wavering hues
Of beautiful light,—outvying some the rose,
And some the violet, yellow, and white, and blue,
Scarlet, and purpling red.

One small lone ship
Was seen, with outstretch'd sails, keeping its way
In quiet o'er the deep,—all nature seem'd
Fond of tranquillity,—the glassy sea
Scarce rippled,—the halcyon slept upon the wave,
The winds were all at rest,—and in the East
The crescent moon (then seen imperfectly)
Came onwards with the vesper star, to see
A summer day's decline.

The sun went down in beauty,—but the eye
Of veteran seamen trembled, when they saw
A small, black, ominous spot, far in the distance ;—
It spread and spread—larger and dark—and came
O'ershadowing the skies,—the ocean rose—
The gathering waves grew large—and broke in hoarse
And hollow sounds,—the mighty winds awoke,
And screamed and whistled through the cordage ;—birds

^a We are obliged to make another large omission. If the Editor were honoured by many female correspondents, how easily, how delightfully, how quickly, would each Number be filled!

That seemed to have no home, flocked there in terror,
 And sat with quivering plumage on the mast,—
 Flashes were seen,—and distant sounds were heard,
 Presages of a storm.

The sun went down in beauty,—but the skies
 Were wildly changed.—It was a dreadful night:—
 No moon was seen in all the heavens, to aid
 Or cheer the lone and sea-beat mariner—
 Planet nor guiding star broke through the darkness;—
 But the blue lightnings glared along the waters,
 As if the fiend had fired his torch to light
 Some wretches to their graves;—the tempest winds
 Raving came next, and in deep hollow sounds,
 (Like those the spirits of the dead do use
 When they would speak their evil prophecies,)
 Mutter'd of death to come,—then came the thunder:
 Deepening and crashing, as 'twould rend the world,
 Or as the Deity passed aloft in anger,
 And spoke to man—Despair.

The ship was tossed,
 And now stood poised upon the curling billows,
 And now 'midst deep and wat'ry chasms (that yawn'd
 As 'twere in hunger) sank;—behind there came
 Mountains of moving water,—with a rush
 And sound of gathering power, that did appal
 The heart to look on;—terrible cries were heard,
 Sounds of despair,—some like a mother's anguish,—
 Some of intemperate, dark, and dissolute joy—
 Music, and horrid mirth (but unallied
 To joy)—madness might be heard amidst
 The pauses of the storm; and when the glare
 Was strong, rude savage men were seen to dance
 In frantic exultation on the deck—
 Though all was hopeless.—Hark!—the ship has struck,
 And the fork'd lightning seeks the arsenal—
 'Tis fired!—and mirth and madness are no more,

The black skies,
 Shocked at excess of light, return'd the sound
 In frightful echoes,—as if an alarm
 Had spread through all the elements,—then came
 A horrid silence—deep—unnatural,—like
 The quiet of the grave.

Madras.

CURIOUS LITERARY DISCOVERY RESPECTING THE ORIENTAL
ORIGIN OF PARNELL'S HERMIT.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,—Like your Correspondent NEMO,¹ "I am an Englishman not at all interested in Indian affairs, excepting so far as it regards the general extension of literature and liberty throughout that vast country." Yet ardently desiring such an extension, as highly conducive, or rather, indispensable, to the process of human improvement, I feel a satisfaction, as by this time your complaining Correspondent has, probably, felt, in the mode you adopt to promote that important object. You will, I trust, like a skilful physician to the body politic, continue to administer the *utile dulci*, in proportions suited to the constitution and the varying condition of the patient.

They must be, indeed, most fond and unreflecting admirers, not to say blind idolaters, of things as they are, who can promise themselves the perpetuity of a system which imposes on every British-born resident in India a necessity to *subscribe slave*, as Milton defined a submission to church authority. No; the time is arrived, when "every thing must be discussed," as Burke complained in his degenerate days, when he was earning a pension, deserved by his great talents; yet poorly obtained by his courtly application of them. Surely, then, justice and reason will at length prevail in the contest with power and privilege, "a consummation devoutly to be wished," and which a publication like yours, appears eminently calculated to promote. At such an auspicious period, when *longo post tempore venit libertas*, what documents will be more valued by those, for instance, who would justly appreciate the deservings of an Adam, or an Amherst, a Spankie, or a Fergusson, from a people over whom the influence of their stations or their talents had been extended, than by such relations as are preserved in your volumes? and which, however minute and personal they may now be considered, will then, for those very qualities, be justly regarded as more authentic and satisfactory.

Yet while performing these duties of first necessity, your seasons of relaxation will not, I trust, be unfrequent. Lord Coke, I remember, while pursuing his profound investigation of the Forest Laws, digresses into the *Æneid*, to *recreate* himself, as he expresses it, by a *ramble among Dido's deer*. Thus you will, I am persuaded, sometimes gladly break away, with your readers, from the inhospitable wilds and perplexing mazes of Anglo-Indian politics, to "haunt the sunny realms" irradiated by the charms of British poesy. Under this expectation, and especially as my subject is quite *Oriental*, I am induced to offer you some account of a discovery I very lately made, respecting the origin of a poem so deservedly popular, as to be found in almost every collection of English verse.

I allude to the *Hermit of Parnell*, whose poems were first published by Pope, in 1721, two years after the author's death. To Parnell, the

¹ *Oriental Herald*, vol. iii. p. 86.

invention of the story, as well as its poetical ornaments, had, I believe, been generally ascribed, till Goldsmith wrote the life, prefixed, in 1773, to an enlarged edition of his poems. From Pope, in Spence's Anecdotes, Goldsmith relates, (and the opinion is adopted implicitly by Johnson,) that "the story was written originally in Spanish, whence, probably, Howell translated it into prose, and inserted it in one of his letters." He adds, that "Dr. Henry More, in his Dialogues, has the very same story;" and that he had "been informed by some that it is originally of Arabian invention."

Of this supposed Spanish or Arabian origin I know nothing; and, as will presently appear, Howell professed to be a transcriber, and not a translator: but I have very lately read the story in a Latin work of polemical theology, written by Thomas Bradwardine, Confessor of Edward III., who attained the title of *Doctor Profundus*, and died in 1349, aged 59, a few weeks after he had been consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury. Chaucer, his contemporary, though very much his junior, describes him by name, in the *Nun's Priest's Tale*, as the great theologian of his time. His work, which was first printed in 1618, under the care of that accomplished scholar, Sir Henry Savile, is entitled, '*De causa Dei contra Pelagium*.' He introduces the story (l. i. c. 31.) where he is discussing the difficulties in the administration of Divine Providence, professing to borrow it from a writer of the former century.

This was Jacobus de Vetrico, a cardinal, as I learn from a life prefixed to his *Historia Orientalis et Occidentalis*, 1597, which contains some interesting accounts of the topography and ecclesiastical state of Palestine. It is his only work in the British Museum. This Cardinal flourished under the Emperor Frederic II., and died in 1244. I was surprised and disappointed, after a tolerably attentive examination of the *Historia*, to find nothing concerning the *Eremit* and the *Angel*, though the author describes the various monastic orders in Palestine, and the condition of hermits. The MS. work may have been mutilated between the age of Bradwardine and the date of the printed *Historia*; or he may have referred to some work of that writer which was never printed, perhaps to a collection entitled in the Life, *Epistolarum ad diversos*.

Bradwardine, however, having quoted *Boetius de Consolatione Philosophiæ*, immediately adds the story of the Hermit, of which I shall offer you as literal a translation as will express the author's sense, so far as I can ascertain it; subjoining the original for the satisfaction and amusement of yourself, and any of your readers, who may have leisure to cultivate ancient learning, amidst the various attractions of modern literature.

"To the same purpose is the narration by James of Nitri, concerning a certain hermit who was vexed by blasphemous suggestions, till he began to question the equity of God's judgments; since he permitted the wicked to prosper and the good to be afflicted. To whom was sent from the Lord an angel in a human form: "Follow me," says he, "and thou shalt discern the secret judgments of God." The hermit then accompanying him to the house of a worthy man, who entertained them at night with the most courteous hospitality, he purloined their host's cap in which he greatly delighted, and bestowed it on a wicked man who admitted them the second night. But after they had been most kindly treated by a benevolent host on the third night, in the morning he drowned his servant by throwing him off a bridge. Having been enter-

tained by another good man with the like hospitality, on the fourth night, he killed his infant, whose screams would not suffer them to sleep. The hermit, having witnessed such deeds, would have parted from his companion, who thus addressed him:—"I was sent to thee from the Lord, that I might reveal his hidden judgments. Our first host delighted too much in that cup, which I took away for his good, and bestowed it on our wicked host, that he might receive his present reward. But I drowned the servant of the third, because he had purposed in his heart to kill his master on the morrow. Thus I preserved the good master from death, and the wicked servant from the crime of murder, so lightening his punishment in hell. As to our fourth host, before he had a son and heir he was abundant in alms-giving; but since that son and heir was born to him he has withheld his hand. I, therefore, removed him from the temptation to avarice, and transferred to Paradise the soul of the innocent."²

I have also read this story in a paraphrastic form, with some varieties; and one shocking interpolation, as published in 1652, probably the date of its first appearance in English, in a small 4to., entitled, 'Certain Conceptions or Considerations of Sir Percy Herbert, upon the strange change of people's dispositions and actions in these latter times'; it occupies from pp. 220 to 230. The substance and language of this English narrative, which is not acknowledged as a quotation, Howell copied in a letter 'To my Lord Marquis of Hertford,' and published, probably, soon after the date of the volume I have mentioned in an early edition of his *Epistolæ-Ho-Eliaæ*. In his eleventh edition (1754), I find the story introduced as "an excellent passage, which a noble speculative Knight (Sir P. Herbert) hath in his late conceptions to his son." Besides transpositions, and some alteration of the circumstances, as Bradwardine, after James of Nitri, allotted them to the four days, there is the following addition:—

The fifth day they made towards a great rich town; but some miles before they came to it, they met with a merchant at the close of the day, who had a great charge of money about him; and asking the next passage to the town, the young man put him in a clean contrary way. The *Anchorite* and his guide being

8 " Ad hoc facit similiter, quod narrat Jacobus de Vetrico, de quodam Heremita spiritu aggresso blasphemiarum, in tantum quod cœperat cogitare judicia Dei justa non esse, eo quod malos prosperari permittit, et bonos affligi. Cui Angelus, in specie hominis missus à Domino; Sequere, inquit, me, et videbis judicia Dei occulta; quem cum secutus fuisset ad domum cujusdam boni viri, eis tota nocte læte hospitalitatis officiis exhibitis, furatus est scyphum hospitalis, quem maxime diligebat, eumque cuidam maligno, qui eos secunda nocte exceperat, erogabat: Tertia vero nocte à benigno hospite sunt benignius hospitali, cujus famulum mane de quadam ponte precipitans submergebat; et quarta nocte à bono similiter bene recepti, filium ejus parvulum vagrantem, nec eos dormire sinentem occidit. Quibus visis Heremitæ volenti eum dimittere, ita dixit; Ego sum missus tibi à Domino, ut occulta ejus judicia tibi prodam. Primus ergo hospes noster nimis dislexerat illum scyphum, ideoque pro bono suo abstuli tibi scyphum, illumque donavi hosti nostro malo, ut mercedem suam recipiat in presenti. Tertiū vero famulum submergebam, quia in corde suo Eraxit dominum suum die crastina occidisse, sicque bonum dominum à morte, et malum famulum ab homicidio operis præservavi, ut ille in inferno mitius purpuret. Quarto autem hospes priusquam haberet filium et hæredem, largus elemosinas faciebat; sed hospes priusquam haberet filium et hæredem, manu retraxit. Quare et ab eo causam abstruli abstuli, nato sibi filio et hærede manu retraxit. Thome Bradwardina de Causa Dei et in paradiso ætali animam innocentia!—*Quæ Bradwardina de Causa Dei et in paradiso ætali animam innocentia!*—*Thome Bradwardina de Causa Dei et in paradiso ætali animam innocentia!*—*Thome Bradwardina de Causa Dei et in paradiso ætali animam innocentia!*

contra Pelagium.—*Opera et studio Hen. Savillii. London, 1618. (l. i. c. 31.) p. 281.*

come to the town, at the gate they spied a devil, who lay as it were centinel, but he was asleep. They found also both men and women at sundry kinds of sports, some dancing, others singing, with divers sorts of revellings. They went afterwards to a Convent of *Capuchins*, where; ~~about the gate they found~~ legions of devils laying siege to that monastery.

At the conclusion of the Angel's *dénouement*, we are informed that the merchant is mis-directed, that he may avoid a band of ruffians prepared to rob and murder him; that the "great luxurious city is so much at *Lucifer's* devotion, that he needs but one single centinel to secure it, and even *he* may safely sleep upon his guard." On the contrary, ~~to the~~ "monastery inhabited by so many devout souls," in vain ~~could~~ he brought so many legions to beleager them—for they bear up against him most undauntedly, maugre all his infernal power and stratagems." You will probably join me in a conjecture, that "the fifth day" was an interpolation by a *Capuchin*; or Sir Percy Herbert might be a duteous son of the *Mother-Church*, and offer this aid, however slender, to her reputation; which, in 1652, was rapidly on the decline in England.

The interpolation of the "great rich town," with a *devil-centinel* "at the gate," and "legions of devils about the convent," is not to be found in the *Divine Dialogues*, (Ed. 2. 1713. pp. 165—168.) where the story, though with some variations, is much nearer to *Bradwardine* than to Sir P. Herbert. Dr. Henry More, the learned author of the *Dialogues*, from his own theological pursuits, could scarcely fail to be acquainted with the *Causa Dei contra Pelagium*; and whoever reads the *Hermit*, as I have lately done, with the *Divine Dialogues* before him, will, I believe, agree with me, that Parnell was chiefly, if not entirely indebted to them (rather than to Sir P. Herbert's *Conceptions*, or to the very early relation by the learned Archbishop) for his knowledge of a story, which it cannot be easily denied, that he has amplified and adorned with singular felicity.

N. L. T.

ON THE STOIC PHILOSOPHY.

STERN school of Zeno, be one poet's mind
 Steeped in thy lore, as in the Stygian flood.
 The son of Thetis: thy imperious mood
 Charms like the spell that bind the serpent-kind;
 Our bent to ill restraining; sole designed
 To work the lofty soul to thoughts of good,
 Which else might, by some weaker force withstood;
 Commit all laws and precepts to the wind.
 Raised by thy influence, the flame of life
 Burns pure, and casts around a steady light,
 By which we shun the dusty paths of strife
 Where other mortals toil in evil plight,
 Choosing the track with freedom's blessings rife
 And verging slow to death's all-shrouding night

Bron.

EVILS, TO BRITISH COMMERCE, PRODUCED BY THE EAST INDIA
COMPANY'S MONOPOLY.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,—THANKS to the publication of the *Oriental Herald*, the people of this country are beginning to open their eyes to the misgovernment of the East Indies, by the Honourable the Court of Directors: and it is a curious exemplification of the shortsightedness of mortals, to observe how strikingly the evils intended for you rebound on your persecutors. Had you been allowed to remain, your writings would have been read by our countrymen in India, and have produced a partial alleviation of their sufferings; but by sending you to England, the opportunity is afforded you of conferring still greater benefits, by the attention which they must secure from your countrymen at home. The advantages arising to both countries from this publication must be very great; and it may be some mitigation of the injuries sustained by the Editor, to feel that through his means greater good may attend millions than falls to the lot of one man in a century to be instrumental in obtaining.

In the four preceding Letters, which you have been so obliging as to insert I have endeavoured to prove the exaction entailed upon *this country* by the Monopoly in Tea;¹ and although I cannot take credit to my humble efforts for the alteration, it is nevertheless true that the East India Company have condescended to put up half a million more of Congou Tea in their sale of December last. If the readers of the *Oriental Herald* will do me the favour to refer to a former Letter, they will find I asserted that an increased declaration of one million per quarter would not be more than equal to the demand, and that a comparatively small decline might be expected in the price. The increase of half a million this quarter has had little or no effect on the market, which plainly shows the scanty supply hitherto afforded by the Company, and the necessity of compelling them to increase the quantity still further. That I was not far wrong in my estimate of their enormous profits, is proved by their having again reduced the putting-up price; plainly intimating that they can afford it for less, but altogether nugatory in its effects upon the sale. Can any one be deceived by such a system of charlatanerie except the Board of Control? for whose meridian I suppose this notable device was intended as a blind. The Honourable Members of the Board of Control, I dare say, imagine that the declarations of the Directors; whereas, God help them! they know very little of the matter,—and how should they? Look over the list, and with the exception of one or two, their engagements in business or habits of life appear at complete variance with the duties they have to perform. The Editor has favoured his readers with “*A Day at the East India House*” with the Proprietors; what an intellectual treat would a Day amongst the Court of Directors afford!

But I must revert to the immediate object of this Letter, in which I

¹ See *Oriental Herald*: Vol. i. p. 586. Vol. ii. p. 58, 498. Vol. iii. p. 218.
Oriental Herald, Vol. 5.

shall endeavour to show that, if the Company's charter has been a serious evil to the people of this country in the tax of about two millions sterling per annum, taken from their pockets upon the article of Tea, it was equally a millstone round our necks in cramping the exports of our manufactures, until the opening of the trade.

A few extracts from Parliamentary Papers will clearly establish this :

Exports to India, years ending 5th Jan.	1816 1817	1817 1818	1818 1819	1819 1820	1820 1821	1821 1822	1822 1823
Calicoes, White, Pieces	252m	938m	2271m	1875m	3837m	5802m	5661m
Printed.....	968m	2782m	4159m	3699m	7512m	9874m	8918m
Muslins, White, yards	462m	1529m	2343m	1536m	2746m	4116m	6050m
Cloths, Woollen, Pieces	1483	4863	8741	7520	15918	25182	21334
Stuffs	944	1902	4692	5206	32902	19632	13557
Flannel	45m	99m	171m	35m	88m	188m	165m

In the above extract I have affixed the letter *m*, to express thousands. And after the attentive consideration of the extraordinary increase of our exports, let any one peruse the evidence of the Directors before both Houses of Parliament, when they were opposing, by every means in their power, the opening of the trade; and then judge for himself what reliance can be placed in their knowledge of the resources of the country over which they have so long exercised misrule. There is little doubt, that our exports could even now be amazingly increased, if the unjust restrictions and shackles of these monopolists upon their own countrymen and the natives of India were removed; but in the same measure as the East India Company opposed the opening of the trade to our manufacturers, so will they oppose every attempt to benefit India, upon which the increase mainly depends. It is further to be remarked, that of the export of the above articles, few, of any one, and none of the three first, were ever attempted by the East India Company. So much for their wisdom as merchants; and if they are incompetent to discharge their duties as "traders," for the exercise of which their charter was at first expressly granted, how infinitely short must they fall of discharging their duties as the "rulers" of so vast an empire! To enumerate instances of their incompetence in both would be endless; but I cannot omit one striking proof of their ignorance in mercantile affairs:

Until within a few years India has always been supplied from China with tutenague, with which to make their brass cooking-utensils. The acuteness of private traders discovered that spelter, or zinc,² was precisely the same as tutenague. About four years ago a small quantity was first sent out; and this year the export will amount to above 8000 tons, value about 250,000*l*. After the private traders had been reaping a golden harvest for about two years, the East India Company's buyer awoke from his lethargy; and an advertisement appeared for tenders at

² It is rather singular, that although we have the ore of zinc as abundant, fuel cheaper, and labour not much dearer than in Germany, the English manufacturers should hitherto have been unable to compete with the German in the price of zinc; for whilst the price here is 44*l*. per ton, it can be bought in Germany at 20*l*. per ton. I can only attribute it to the heavy protecting duty of 22*l*. per ton on the importation of foreign zinc, which prevents competition. The difference must exist in the process; for I understand the English manufacturer does not obtain more than a remunerating price at 44*l*. per ton; but this cannot long remain so.

the moment that spelter had risen enormously. The consequence was, that the East India Company paid 39*l.* 10*s.* per ton for it,—a higher price than ever had, or has ever since been given! It is reported that the export was suggested to the East India Company before any private traders embarked in it, but declined. So much for their enterprize!

If the Court of Directors are deficient in all the requisites for fair mercantile competition, they or their higher servants are by no means so in taking every mean advantage, which their exclusive privileges throw within their power; and the mention of a few instances will be amusing: As managers of the imports of private traders, they are not content with charging a heavy percentage, varying from one and a half to four per cent., according to the article, but they also exact one quarter per cent. under the head of fees. To what purpose this is applied I never could learn. That it does not go to the clerks, who have all the trouble, and to whom no private trader would grudge it, is certain; and I should be glad if any of your readers could give us information as to its use. Their charge of one and a half to four per cent. is solely for receiving and paying over money; and is chargeable whether the goods are allowed to pass through their sale, or sold by private contract. They charge rent immediately after the ship begins discharging; and although they take sometimes three weeks to get the goods out, the owners must nevertheless pay rent from the time they begin to unload her. On the arrival of the goods in their warehouse, they are taken out of their packages; and, in the case of piece-goods, they modestly appropriate the trunks, and wrappers of bales to their own use; and if the owner wants to export his own goods, after once they are opened, he must pay the Honourable East India Company for fresh trunks and new wrappers, charged at a most exorbitant price. I can give no other name to this than robbery, as to the importer, and a heavy exaction upon the exporter.

If a trader wishes to inspect his own goods, he must pay 3*d.* to 6*d.* per package, every time he looks at them; the buyer that goes to examine them, when put up for sale, must give, each time he goes, 1*s.*: and, after having bought them, must pay 1*s.* to 2*s.* 6*d.* per package, lot-money, for taking them out of the warehouse.

The importer pays rent until the prompt day; the buyer afterwards: and so heavily does it fall on some articles, that an instance occurred of goods which sold for 20*s.* being chargeable with 19*s.* rent out of it, after being kept in the warehouse *only* four or five years!! When the East India Company were the exclusive importers, they allowed goods to remain almost any length of time free of rent; but now that private traders import (with the exception of tea) infinitely more than the Company, the rent commences immediately. Those readers, unacquainted with commerce, cannot have an idea how heavily these vexatious extortions fall, nor how much of the trade has left this country in consequence, and gone to foreign ports.

In what relation they stand to each other, I know not, but the East India trade is burthened by another chartered company, styling themselves the East India Dock Company, who obtained an Act of Parliament to compel all ships trading to the East Indies to discharge in their Docks, for which they formerly charged 12*s.* 6*d.* per ton register, but of which they now return 2*s.* 6*d.* per ton, if the owners do not load the ship outward in them. The West India Docks never charged so high

a sum per ton, and since their charter expired it is much less: while they will unload a vessel in as many days as they take weeks in the East India Docks. Every other charge was proportionably high; but in consequence of its being discovered that the Act only compelled owners to take the ship into the East India Docks, but that they might convey their goods by lighters to any other approved warehouses, a great many merchants availed themselves of this saving clause, and then the Gentlemen Directors of the East India Docks thought proper to reduce some of their rates. Thank heaven, this grievance will die a natural death in a very few years; for our ministers are too wise to shackle commerce with any more of these harpy companies.

In conclusion, I have only to observe, that the trade to the East Indies has risen to its present importance, not by the means of the East India Company, but in spite of it; and that its further and almost infinite extension is sure to follow the abolition of their charter. As that period, however, is somewhat distant, let us hope that Parliament will prepare us for the meridian blaze of this sun of our commerce, by a curtailment of the chartered abuses which now obscure its beams.

P. B. P.

NOTE OF THE EDITOR.

We are gratified at the testimony borne to the utility of our labours, even at this early period, by our intelligent Correspondent: and we feel persuaded, that the powerful assistance rendered by the exposure of facts like those contained in his previous articles on the Tea Monopoly, as well as in the present, must contribute essentially to dispel the ignorance and delusion that so generally prevail on the subject of East Indian affairs. Let him but persevere in his useful exposure of the thousand abuses to which this overgrown monopoly has given rise: he may always rely on our zealous co-operation, and he will deserve the thanks of his fellow-countrymen in addition to the consolatory approbation of his own conscience.

AN INDIAN NIGHT AND MORNING.*

THE Moon was darkly shrouded,—chilling rain
Fell on the grove with melancholy sound,—
The Jackall's piercing cry,—the voice profound
Of Ganga's rolling wave, and shrieks of pain,
Came on the midnight blast!—Hill, vale, and plain,
Were in impenetrable gloom o'ercast;
Save when the fitful meteor glimmered past,
Or the blue lightning mocked the drear domain!—
Lo! what a glorious change! The rising Sun
Sheds his reviving beams! The fragrant bower,
Ringing with morning hymns,—the stately tower,—
The hepherd's quiet home, alike have won
His smile of light and joy. Fair Nature's dower
Of beauty is restored, and Pleasure's reign begun!

D. L. R.

* This Sonnet was written at Bhaugulpore, in the East Indies, on a most resplendent morning, which succeeded a night of tempest and gloom. These sudden changes of weather are very frequent in India, particularly towards the commencement or close of the rainy season.

LETTER FROM BOMBAY, ON THE CONTROVERSY RESPECTING
THE ENGINEER CORPS OF THE INDIAN ARMY.

To the Editor of the *Oriental Herald*.

SIR,—It is amusing to observe CANDIDUS sneering at CATO's style of writing, and to be enlightened by the following beautiful lines, taken from one of his concise and comprehensive paragraphs: "CATO (says Candidus) seems entirely to have forgotten, that by the new arrangements, another Colonel is to be added to the Engineer Corps, to share those emoluments he mentions; and which, be it known, will come out of a fund entirely belonging to the other branches of the service, and from which the present Colonel has received his, although the corps did not contribute towards it till of late, and then only about one-fourth of what the other branches do." Elegant composition! admirable logic! severe criticism! alas, poor CATO! all the world must pity you. To be sure, INVESTIGATOR has given CANDIDUS a few awkward facts; and I, Mr. Editor, with your permission, will convict CANDIDUS of publishing the thing which is not.

If I comprehend the meaning of the above admirable *morceau* from the refulgent epistle by CANDIDUS, it is this—That the Colonels of Engineers are paid a share out of the off-reckoning fund, equal to the share of the Colonels of Artillery, Cavalry, and Infantry, to which fund the Engineer Corps do not contribute in the same proportion as the Artillery, Cavalry and Infantry. "Be it known," then, that not one farthing is contributed to the off-reckoning fund (as it is still called by the East India House Military Secretary) by any one individual in the Honourable Company's Military Service! Facts are stubborn things; and this is an undeniable one.

Formerly, certain stoppages were made from the Indian soldiers' pay, to provide them with clothing. The money thus produced was called "The Off-reckoning Fund;" and the surplus cash, after paying the clothing expenses, was divided among the Colonels of Regiments. But the stoppages from the Indian soldiers' pay have long since been discontinued; and the Honourable Company now give the Colonels of Regiments a sum equal to that which the former off-reckoning fund produced. Why then does the India House Military Secretary still call the donations liberally given by the Honourable Company to the Colonels of Regiments an off-reckoning fund?—Why are not the Colonels of Engineers entitled to share the bounty of their employers equally with the Colonels of the Artillery, Cavalry, and Infantry?—And why, Master CANDIDUS, do you publish the thing which is not, tending to injure a body of men who never injured you?

Permit me, Mr. Editor, to thank CATO for his able and disinterested exertions, in favour of the three Engineer Corps: the best proof I can give him of the truth of his statements is, that His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, and the Government here, have reported to the Court of Directors the impossibility of carrying the new regulations, regarding the Engineer Corps, into effect, from a want of officers, and particularly of field-officers. Three field-officers were required by the Commander-

¹ From one Colonel added to the Corps, subtract one Major taken away from the Corps, and how many field-officers are added, Mr. CANDIDUS?

in-Chief a short time ago, and there was not one to send. There are now seventeen Infantry officers executing Engineers' duties; ten are required to take charge of the Sappers and Miners from the Infantry officers; three Engineer officers were a few days since taken from executive duties to go on service, and no one to supply their place; three officers are allowed by the Court to be absent on leave in Europe, and not one is away from the Corps; and there is not an officer to assist the executive Engineers, who have provinces of several hundreds of miles in extent under their superintendence, and who have applied for assistance;—and not one to relieve an officer in case of sickness, or any other emergency. If fifty officers were added to-morrow to the present strength of the Engineer Corps, there would be full employment for the whole of them.

The urgent demands of the public service for Engineer officers has induced the Commander-in-Chief and the Government, to solicit the Court of Directors, in the strongest terms, to augment the Engineer Corps; and they have recommended a greater increase of the field-officers than even CATO proposed—but of course it is the height of presumption in the Honourable the Governor, His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, and the Members of the Council, to pretend to know the wants of their own Government! The Military Secretary sitting at a desk in the India-House, must unquestionably be a far better judge of what is required, than the gentlemen above named on the spot;—they, indeed, can *only* see with their eyes, and hear with their ears; but the Military Secretary has resources within his own mighty mind, soaring above facts, ocular demonstration, and hard-earned experience.

If the Members of the Court of Directors, and the Members of the Board of Control, would take the trouble to read the despatches sent home by this Government on the subject of augmenting the Engineer Corps, and be not blinded by garbled extracts from them, made by any prejudiced or bigoted India-House Secretary, then they would know the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth.

Through your kindness, Mr. Editor, and the publicity of your excellent Journal, facts, which designing people have long been able to conceal from those in authority in Leadenhall-street, will by degrees be brought to light. As CATO well observes, "Can it for a moment be imagined, that the Court of Directors should, year after year, distribute prizes to those Cadets who have distinguished themselves in their academical studies, publicly telling them that they will be posted to the Engineer Corps as a *reward* for their talents and industry, if the Court did not conscientiously believe they *were* conferring a high reward?"

That the reward is somewhat *TARDY* in its operations, will appear from the following fact:—Lieut. Col. Brooks, the Chief-Engineer, has been forty-five years in the service, and is now sitting at the Military Board, with his Excellency the Commander in Chief, the Commandant of Artillery, and three officers of Infantry—all of them far junior to him in the service; and yet the Chief-Engineer is the worst paid officer of the Military Board. One of the Infantry officers of the Military Board is, indeed, junior to the three senior Captains of the Engineer Corps; and the present Colonel Commandant of the Garrison is *also* junior in the service to the three senior Captains of Engineers.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

Bombay, Sept. 25, 1824.

FACT.

ON THE SHAKESPERIAN ROPE BRIDGES LATELY INTRODUCED
INTO BENGAL.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,—Having observed your critique upon the Shakesperian Rope-Bridges, I wish to call your attention to the real merits of so ingenious an invention.

A model of the first bridge thrown over the Berai Torrent in Bissapore, is now at the house of the Society of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce in the Adelphi, which I hope you will have leisure to inspect. Mr. Shakespear has the merit of erecting the first of these bridges in India, at his sole risk and expense. Lord Hastings, Sir E. Paget, and several General Officers and Engineers gave the plan their decided approbation; and the Government adopted it. The first bridge having stood the test during a season of unusual inundation, others have been erected. The efficiency of the department over which Mr. Shakespear so ably presides, is best proved by the celerity and regularity of the Dawk, exceeding all former example, and in a country intersected as India is with rivers and deep ravines, frequently impassable during the rainy seasons. The simplicity and portableness of the Rope-Bridge will render it a valuable means of conveyance at all times, and in war, it will prove a serviceable appendage to our Indian army.

I could refer you to the highest testimonials in favour of this ingenious structure from the best judges of its utility, and it has been pronounced as unique by the first authority in this country. As a friend of Mr. Shakespear, I cannot allow your remarks to pass unnoticed; and I rely upon your candour for the insertion of this reply. Whatever pride may attach to the Post Master General, results from a conscious feeling that the important duties of his office are discharged with zeal and assiduity, with advantage to the Government, and, I will add, with distinguished credit to himself.

"*Palmam qui meruit ferat.*"

I am, Sir, your humble servant,

C. B.

London, Feb. 18, 1825.

NOTE OF THE EDITOR.

We are not among the number of those, who, having stated one view of a subject would deny to others the privilege of stating an opposite one. We leave this unfair and unhandsome practice to the authorities in India and their abettors. We adhere, however, to our former opinions, not from obstinacy, but from a conviction of their general accuracy. Our Correspondent has stated his. Here, few persons will, perhaps, take the trouble to compare them. But in India, where Mr. Shakespear's real merits are better known, the valuable will be easily separated from the worthless parts of his pretensions: and his new turbans, belts, badges, and rope-bridges, will be each estimated as they deserve.

ORIGINAL LETTER OF THE PATRIOT HAMPDEN.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,—I AM induced to offer you (*verbatim et literatim*) an original letter in my possession, (which there is no reason to suppose was ever printed,) because I am sure that the name of John Hampden will be acceptable to yourself and to a large proportion of your readers, both

Oriental and European. It serves also to show that, in his military capacity, he was regarded as much more than merely the colonel of a regiment. It is remarked, indeed, by Dr. Towers, (*Brit. Biog.* iv. 436.) that "his activity and courage in the field, and his wise and spirited councils on the operations of the war, rendered him so formidable a rival of the Earl of Essex, that it was thought, had he lived; that Parliament, who were greatly dissatisfied with that nobleman's conduct, would have taken the command from him and made Hampden general." Hume, also, not usually extravagant in his praise of *anti-royalists*, says, of Hampden, that "his valour, during the war, had shone out with a lustre equal to that of all the other accomplishments by which he had ever been so much distinguished."

No year is affixed to the date of this letter, but it must have been written in 1642, just after the battle of Edgehill, which was fought on the 23d of October, and in which Hampden appears to have had a command. Vicars, an early and a very quaint chronicler of the civil war, published in 1644 his '*Jehovah Jireh, God in the Mount, or England's Parliamentarie-Chronicle.*' On the battle of Edgehill, (p. 194,) he describes "Colonell Hampden" as leading a "brigado of the army," which appears to have conducted "the artillery and ammunition," when, falling in with "the enemies horse," under Prince Rupert, "he gave them a stop." Again, (p. 214,) on "the bloody bickering at Brainford," Nov. 12, 1642, this chronicler relates how "that noble and right Christian Souldier Colonell Hampden, being somewhat neare at hand, and hearing such hot pelting, came and joined his regiment with that other which was fighting, being Colonell Hollis, his regiment."

"But he did not live," says his biographer, Towers, before quoted, "to reap the reward of his valour, or to restore his country to the enjoyment of that liberty which he so ardently patronized and promoted; for he was taken off by a mortal wound, which he received in a skirmish with Prince Rupert, at Chalgrove-field, in Oxfordshire." He was seen, "contrary to his usual custom, to ride off the field before the action was finished; his head hanging down, and his hands leaning upon his horse's neck. Next day, the news arrived that he was shot in the shoulder with a brace of bullets, and the bone broken. His wound, after occasioning him to linger six days in exquisite pain, put a period to his life the 18th of June, 1643."

It is extraordinary that among the very large collections of original letters in the British Museum, written by Hampden's contemporaries, I have not been able to discover one of his *autographs*.

OTROSUS.

The Original Letter.

GENTLEMEN

The army is now at North Hampton: moving every day nearer to you: if you disband not wee may be a mutuall succour each to other: but if you disperse you make your selves & country a pray. You shall heare daily from

North Hampt.
Octob. 31st

Your servant

J. HAMPDEN

[On the Envelope.]

For my noble friends Colonell Bulstrode Capitaine Grenfield Capitaine Tyrrell Capitaine West or any of them.

INQUIRY RESPECTING THE WORK OF TWO MOHAMMEDAN
TRAVELLERS, AND RABBI BENJAMIN OF TUDELA.

To the Editor of the *Oriental Herald*.

SIR,—I AM not acquainted with any publication so likely as the *Oriental Herald* to afford some information which it would gratify me to obtain. I therefore ask your permission to propose an inquiry to yourself, or to any of your readers who may have occupied their leisure among the literary antiquities of the East.

There was published in 1733 a volume now before me, entitled, 'Ancient Accounts of India and China, by two Mohammedan Travellers, who went to those parts in the Ninth Century: translated from the Arabic, by the learned Eusebius Renaudot. With Notes, Illustrations, and Inquiries, by the same hand.'

Renaudot was an eminent member of the 'Society of Jesus,' who died in 1720, aged 74. His proficiency, his truly laudable purpose, and the reputation which he justly acquired as a cultivator of learning, especially the Oriental, are thus described by one of his biographers: (*Nouv. Dict. Hist.* 1789, viii. 84.)

Il se consacra d'abord aux langues Orientales, et il étudia ensuite les autres langues; on prétend qu'il en possédoit jusqu'à dixsept. Son dessein étoit de faire servir ses connoissances à puiser dans les sources primitives les vérités de la religion. Le grand Colbert avoit conçu le dessein de rétablir en France les impressions eu langues Orientales: Il s'adressa à l'Abbé Renaudot, comme à l'homme le plus capable de seconder ses vues; mais le mort de ce grand ministre priva la patrie de ce nouveau service qu'il vouloit lui rendre.

The French volume, which I have consulted at the British Museum, was published at Paris in 1718, and entitled, 'Anciennes Relations des Indes et de la Chine, de deux Voyageurs Mahometans, qui y allerent dans le neuvieme siècle; Traduites d'Arabe: avec des Remarques sur les principaux endroits de ces Relations.' This work purports to have been a translation from "the original manuscript" found in the *Comte De Seignelay's* library; the same, I apprehend, which Renaudot designs, when he refers in another place to 'MSS. Arab. in Bibliotheca Colbertina.' That nobleman was the grandson of Colbert, whose "numerous collection of books" is said, in his *Life*, (1695, p. 224.) to have been enriched by "Manuscripts out of Cardinal Mazarine's Library."

Of this MS. the French translator says, that "its age may be sufficiently ascertained by the character it is in." He then proceeds, from circumstances which he regards as decisive, to assign its date to "the year of the *Hejra* 569, or the year of *Christ* 1173;" adding, that the "two authors are more ancient, and that the two dates they give,—one of the year 254 of the *Hejra*, and the other of the year 254,—correspond with the years of *Christ* 851 and 867;" about "400 years before Marco Polo."

Finding in this book many curious particulars, it was natural to inquire whether reference had been made to it as an historical document. Mosheim, twice at the commencement of his second volume, (*Cent. VII.*) refers, without expressing any historic doubts, to Eusebe

Renaudot in his 'Relations Anciennes.' *De Pauw* in his 'Recherches Philosophiques sur les Américains, 1768,' (i. 212.) describes 'l'Ancienne Relation de la Chine publiée par l'Abbe Renaudot,' as ascertaining the practice of cannibalism in that empire in the ninth century; and adds, how that relation is confirmed by Marco Polo, by whom the manuscript could never have been seen. But, *instar omnium*, I find the historian of British India sustaining the reputation of the *Relations Anciennes*. Mr. Mill (Ed. 2. i. 355.) quotes, from "one of the Mohammedan travellers whose voyages are described by Renaudot," the account of a devotee who remained sixteen years in one painful posture. Again, (p. 358.) he refers to the same work for an instance of Indian self-sacrifice, with horrible circumstances of torment.

I will not, however, slight the maxim, *audi alteram partem*, but rather fairly bring before you a yet unprinted opinion, which, upon the whole, disparages the authenticity of the *Relations Anciennes*. It is given, as you will perceive, by a learned, but certainly an acute and hesitating, rather than a fond and credulous, investigator of professedly ancient writings. Among the valuable manuscripts contributed by Dr. Birch to the British Museum, are the original letters of *Anthony Collins* to *Des Maizeux*, which I have before quoted.¹ From one of these letters, dated 'Baddon Hall, Feb. 28, 1718,' I copied the following passage:

Since I have been in the country, I have read over the '*Anciennes Relations des Indes et de la Chine, de deux Voyageurs Mahometans, qui y allerent dans le 9^{me} siècle; traduites d'Arabe*;' with which I was not so well entertained as I expected to be. They are not only jejune and dry relations, and abounding in mistakes, but, I suspect, are either wholly, or in part forged. For, first, according to the confession of the Editor, *dans celles-ci il regne un air de simplicité qui n'est pas ordinaire parmi les Orientaux*. Secondly, both authors give an account of Christians who had been for some time established in China; of which the Chinese history is altogether silent, as the Jesuits and all the other Missionaries confess, who searched the Chinese history in order to verify the authority of the Inscription found under ground in 1625, wherein was contained a relation of an ancient establishment of Christians in China; and which seems calculated to support that forged inscription.

Collins refers, no doubt, to a relation given by the Jesuit *Le Compte*, which I find in his *Memoirs and Observations* on China, as translated, 1697, p. 348. He there relates how, in the year 1625, some masons, digging near *Signanfou*, found a long table of marble, which time had buried in the ruins of some building, or had hid in the ground, so that no remains of it were visible. On the top of this stone, there was a large cross handsomely graved, below which there was a long discourse in Chinese characters, and other letters, which the Chinese did not understand; they were Syriac characters. Of this stone he adds, (p. 352.) "the Bonzes, who keep it in one of their temples near *Signanfou*, have erected over against it a long table of marble every way like it, with encomiums upon the gods of the country." What the Jesuit has given as "the substance of the inscription," contains a theology conformed to the dogmas of papal and protestant churches, or what in convention

¹ See *Oriental Herald*—Vol. ii. p. 256, 257.

speech we call *orthodox*, together with an account of the tonsure, prayers "for the dead," and a hint at transubstantiation.

Mosheim, I perceive, in the place to which I have already referred, is disposed to consider this inscription as genuine, and a proof that Christianity was received in China during the seventh century. One who feels any interest in the question may usefully consult his notes of reference. It is surprising, however, that he should see no advantage derived to the Jesuits, from a fraud, if really such, which gave authority to the tonsure, soul-masses, and transubstantiation. Renaudot in 'An Inquiry into the origin of the Christian Religion in China,' annexed to his remarks on the 'Relations Anciennes,' (pp. 83—113.) largely comments on the inscription, and maintains its authenticity, which is confirmed, in his opinion, by the two accounts. The first (p. 42.) mentions *Christians*, with "Mohanmedans, Jews, and Parsees," as having perished, on the capture of *Cansu*, "one of the most noted cities in China," though it is added, that they "were there on account of traffic." The second account (p. 55.) describes a conversation with the Emperor, who is acquainted with the principal characters of the Old and New Testament. He even has an opinion (and this seems a staggering approach to the marvellous) on the question concerning the duration of our Lord's ministry, a subject variously understood by the ancients, and which in very modern times has been treated most learnedly by Mr. Mann, of the Charter House, and since ably discussed in an *amica collatio* between Archbishop Newcome and Dr. Priestley. On the exhibition of a number of images, among which were Jesus upon an ass, and his apostles with him, "He," said the emperor, "was not long upon earth, seeing that all he did was transacted within the space of somewhat better than thirty months." I will not intrude upon your pages any further quotation from this volume, but rather indulge the hope of some information on the subject, which may either confirm or confute the sceptical suggestions of Collins.

Yet give me leave to add a short inquiry respecting another work, whose authenticity has been also disputed. I refer to that small volume originally in Hebrew, first printed at Constantinople in 1543, since translated into various languages, and very frequently quoted,—'The Travels of Rabbi Benjamin, son of Jonah of Tudela, through Europe, Asia, and Africa, from the ancient kingdom of Navarre to the frontiers of China.' He is said to have "begun his travels in 1160, and returned in 1173." I have before me an English translation in 1783, from the original Hebrew, by the Rev. B. Gerrans, a clergyman of the Church of England. In a prefatory *dissertation*, the translator concludes as to his author, from various incongruities which he describes, "that it will be no unreasonable conjecture to suppose, that he never left his native Tudela." Yet it is admitted that Benjamin was "a celebrated Rabbi of the twelfth century;" and "though we cannot consider him as an eye-witness of all which he describes, we must, however, consider him as a witness of what was said, of what was believed, and of what was read by the literati of those times; and his book may be regarded as a choice fragment or extract of many books and relations, the greater part of which never came down to us." Can you, Mr. Editor, or can one of your readers, communicate any thing more satisfactory respecting "Ben-

jamin of Tudela," and sustain his disputed authenticity as a traveller, *in propria persona*, "from the ancient kingdom of Navarre to the frontiers of China?"

NOTE OF THE EDITOR.

We beg to offer our acknowledgments to the learned and ingenious Author of the preceding letter, and to pledge ourselves to an early inquiry into the subject of his questions. We may embrace this opportunity of saying also, that we shall be extremely gratified by the occasional discussion of similar literary questions in our pages, and ready on all occasions to take such part in them as the extent of our information and means of research will admit.

MARY'S GRAVE.

Oh! who has e'er bent o'er the newly-made grave,
Where sleeps, on its pillow, the dust of the brave,
Nor felt his eye swoln by the deep-seated tear,
Though the bitterest foe of his life should lie there?"

How cold must his heart be, who heedless can tread
On the hallowed remains of the once-revered dead;
But how much more embittered the grief of his soul,
Who, while the big drops down his furrowed cheeks ro

Beholds the remains of the being he loved,
From his keen aching vision for ever removed;
Who placed his affections, through life, but on one,
And feels that this hope of existence is gone.

Thus wert thou, my Mary! the star of my way,
Thy light ever shedding its rich beaming ray
O'er the gloom of my path, until death swiftly came,
With ruthless destruction, to quench the bright flame.

In darkness thus left, I may wander alone,
But, alas! all the charms of the present are gone;
The thoughts of the past yield but sorrow and pain,
And the future, no hope of enjoyment again.

Then, Grave of my Mary! I'll seek thee alone,
And mine ashes shall mingle in death with thine own.

LETTER FROM A BENGAL OFFICER, ON THE PRESENT STATE OF THE
INDIAN ARMY.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,

Bengal, October, 1824.

I OBSERVE in your Number for February, 1824, under the head "Home Intelligence," that you have taken a very erroneous view of the Indian army; and as it may tend to mislead parents at home, and induce them to send their children out into this service, and thereby entail misery and discontent upon them for the remainder of their lives, I think it absolutely necessary that you should be undeceived, that you may do the same to the English public, and save yourself from the curses of parents and their offspring. It is very true, as you have stated, that the Bengal army had long been suffering under an almost total stagnation of all hope of advancement, and in a state of mind fatal to the true interests of the Government and the happiness of the officers; but this state is far from being ameliorated by the new arrangements: it is, on the contrary, rather increased, and we are almost driven to despair.

It is true that a few individuals have derived immediate benefit by the promotion occasioned by an increase of thirty-five colonels to the army and two captains to each regiment of the old system, but the rise to colonel of a regiment is considerably protracted, as the retiring fund of colonels is so much reduced that they will now remain at the heads of their regiments, and nothing but death can give a step to the Line. We have no other increase of officers; the additional captain to each regiment is taken from the lieutenants, and we have but ten to each regiment. How you could have been so far deceived as to have stated that every cadet, of each branch of the service, when he first enters it, is within twenty-three steps of being a full colonel of a regiment, I am at a loss to conceive; the fact is widely different, he has twenty steps to rise in his regiment to the rank of major, and he has then to rise, in the Line, through seventy majors and seventy lieutenant-colonels, ere he reaches the head of a regiment; and I am thoroughly well convinced there is no ensign now in the service that can ever hope, under the present arrangement, to live to see that rank.

I have been twenty years in the service, and entered it when there was such a scarcity of officers that I joined my regiment 16th lieutenant; yet I was, at the end of nineteen years, junior captain, after having seen eight regiments added to the establishment, and cannot even now hope to live to rise to the rank of colonel of a regiment. When the regiments were in battalions, if one battalion went on service, and the other remained unemployed, it still gave a chance of promotion to the whole, and thereby prevented the supersessions that must now take place in the unfortunate regiments that are, from distance, or want of confidence in the talents of their commanders, kept in the background; besides the jealousy and discontent occasioned by being superseded by officers, formerly in the same regiment, who were our juniors. If the arrangements had been carried into effect by removing all the officers of the army, and giving them their proper standing, it would have occasioned less general discontent; but

still, as regards the rise to the rank of colonel, it would have been the same.

I know not what can alleviate the feelings of despair which at present possess us, except a very large increase to the army, and which shortly must take place, if we ever intend to remain at peace in this country; but even that will be no consolation to the unfortunate wretches who are destined to enter this service after such increase has taken place.—We require, Sir, veteran battalions to remove those unfit for the active duties of their profession, and who cannot be employed, yet keep those from the chances of the service who can; and, also, that the vacancies in regiments, occasioned by those on the General Staff, should be filled up by supernumeraries, and not oblige the unfortunate ones present with their regiments to do the duty of the absentees; every captain or subaltern of a certain standing is now obliged to do the duty of three, four, and six officers, and those who are incompetent, from their standing in the service, to do the extra duty derive equal emolument, from the absence of the seniors, with those who are obliged to do it.—This plan would render the army efficient, and comparatively satisfied; every officer would do his duty cheerfully and with zeal, instead of considering it an imposition and hardship which he has to get over in any manner he can. But this is not the only evil arising from the scarcity of officers; a much more serious one results from it: the Sepoys lose their confidence from the scarcity, and the majority being so young in the service; this must lead to a want of confidence, on the part of the officers, in their men, and you may fancy what an army must become, when thus constituted.

In short, things are going on in such a state that, in a little time, double our present force will prove insufficient for the security of our country. We are fast sinking into disesteem amongst ourselves and in the eyes of the natives, from an erroneous policy of degrading the army by every possible means, instead of upholding this only source of our power in the East; for though it is the interest of the Civilians to decry the army and represent it as unimportant in the administration of this country, it is only the most bigoted ignorance that does not see and feel that our existence as a government, even for an hour, depends solely upon the power of our arms. The tale of attachment in the natives to our system of government may do to impose upon schoolboys, or a corporation of aldermen; but experience to the contrary, when it will be too late to remedy it, will one day fall with tremendous ruin on the heads of our confiding masters.—The present expensive and uncertain war might have been avoided by an increase, which would not have cost above half of what has been, and must still be expended ere its termination, independent of the chances of some others of the Native Powers breaking out, which would show our weakness in a glaring light.

This country requires a Governor of enlarged, liberal, independent abilities, such as the Marquis Wellesley or Marquis of Hastings. Had the latter remained in the country for the next twenty years, with an increase of ten regiments, we should have remained in perfect peace, and rather increased, than lessened the respect of the Native Powers.—But it would be endless writing upon the military arrangements and policy of this country. We must remain in the same state of degradation until the system of economy, carried to a certain extreme, shall show whether there is any spirit, as well as feeling, left in the Bengal army.

AN INDIAN OFFICER.

REMARKS ON PROFESSOR LEE'S VINDICATION OF HIS EDITION
OF JONES'S PERSIAN GRAMMAR.¹

THE vindication of Professor Lee of the eighth edition of the Persian Grammar of Sir William Jones, from the severe castigation inflicted on it by the author of an article in the "Critical Researches in Philosophy and Geography," has elicited, as was anticipated in the notice of this work,² a reply from the latter. This unknown but powerful antagonist, far from shrinking from the opportunity for argument afforded him by the Professor, embraces, with pleasure, the occasion which it presents for dipping into grammatical questions that appear to stand much in need of elucidation, and to settle which will do much to "simplify the thorny paths of Oriental grammar." "If," he says, "to make intelligible what has been hitherto obscure; to render attainable, to the unassisted student, what formerly required the aid of an experienced teacher; to shorten the labour, by removing obstructions to the progress of the pupil, be ends worthy of pursuit and desirable of acquisition, to accomplish these have we steadily aimed in all that we have written."

In this point of view, the "Remarks," as well as the "Critical Researches," will indeed be found of material service to the student of Arabic, as well as to the more advanced scholar, since they are well adapted to sweep away some portion of the rubbish with which the grammar of that language has been encumbered by preceding writers, who have in numerous instances succeeded, but too completely, in adding difficulties where they existed, and in creating them where none ought to have been met with. Thus, in the rules for the permutation of vowels, which are rendered so complex by their multiplicity as to embarrass the student at every step, we find no less than six of those given by Mr. Lumsden reducible to a single one, more simple in its enunciation than any of those which it is adapted to supersede. Other instances of almost equal simplification might be adduced, but the subject is unfortunately too generally uninteresting to allow us to follow it into that detail without which justice could not be done to the clear and judicious method pursued by the author in defending his previous criticisms.

In assuming these to be "a determinate personal attack upon himself," Dr. Lee has unfortunately been induced to carry into the controversy a spirit which is by no means adapted to assist in the inquiry after truth. The learned Professor has even pursued this presumption so far, as to express himself perfectly aware of the identity of the individual who had been long watching for the opportunity of crushing him; but we have reason to know, that in this he is completely in error, the epithets which he lavishes on his supposed personal opponent being utterly inapplicable to the writer of the review complained of. To this gentleman it must, as he justly remarks, it ever will, be matter of regret, if, from a mistake as to personal identity, he may have been the innocent cause of another's hurt. His principal aim he declares to have been "to inform Dr. Lee and the public, that if he could not edit a correct edition of a grammar, he was by no means the person to be employed as editor of Oriental translations of the

¹ Glasgow, pp. 95.

² Oriental Herald, iii. 263.

Bible, and that his "attack" was consequently induced by a regard to the best interests of the Bible Society and the cause of missions.

On this portion of the subject it would be unfair to offer any observation, since space could not be afforded to the arguments and facts by which alone it could be decided. But we cannot refrain from again expressing our pleasure at the appearance of interest excited by this philological controversy, an interest which it is to be hoped will continue to increase, and be successively directed to other Oriental languages, in which Britain should at least rival, if not excel, her European neighbours. In this course of friendly emulation, the writer of the "Remarks" will not be found among the hindmost, since he proposes shortly to publish a Persic Grammar, in which we trust that he will meet with sufficient encouragement to induce him, as he hints, to pursue his career into the development of the principles of other Eastern tongues. To such labours his previous productions prove him to be fully competent, and lead to the anticipation of works newly modelled, at least, and possessing as much originality as the nature of the subject will permit, and not entirely compiled from those of preceding authors.

ON THE LATE ORDERS RESPECTING BREVET RANK IN THE INDIAN ARMY.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,—Having met with several articles of interest to the Indian army in your valuable Miscellany, I am induced to request the favour of your insertion of the following remarks:—

1st, The Court of Directors are probably not aware of the great supersession many of their officers will sustain by the late order they have sent out, and which has appeared in the Bombay Government Orders of September 1824, deferring the brevet rank of Captain until fifteen years after the date of their commissions as Second Lieutenants, Cornet and Ensign respectively. Many of the Cadets who went to India twelve or thirteen years ago were not promoted to Ensigncies, &c. until two or three years after their landing in India, although "*de facto*" as much in the service of their employers from the moment they set foot on ship-board to proceed theré, as any officer of his Majesty's service. Unless this order, therefore, be repealed, instead of superseding, they will be superseded by the King's officers two or three years; as well as by more fortunate individuals of their own service, whom the late alterations have brought to the verge of promotion, in some instances, while those who have been twice the time in the service remain generally Third or Fourth Lieutenants.

2d, In any alteration that the Court of Directors should think it fit to make, regard should be had not to injure those officers who, having entered their service under the existence of different regulations, have a right to expect the observance of them to themselves.

3d, I am induced to make this remark, because the Court have already once before altered the ranking of their Cadets, from the date of the season of appointment to that of their leaving England, thus degrading every officer, not then a Brevet Captain, of from upwards of a year to a year and a half's rank; but this new regulation defers it until an inde-

finite period; it may possibly be seventeen, eighteen, or even nineteen years before some of the Bengal Cavalry Cadets of the seasons 1810 and 1811 attain the rank of Captain by brevet; and during the intermediate time, they will be every day superseded by those who have not been half the time in the service, but will unavoidably be more fortunate in getting the regimental promotion.

4th, The leading principle of the Company's service has hitherto been understood to be, that a certain period of service shall put every individual upon an equality, so far as depends upon Government, and independent of adventitious circumstances; but these repeated alterations are subversive of that principle, and make their service one of comparative advantage to one, and hardship to another class of their servants.

5th, If the Honourable Court deem it expedient to assimilate their service with that of his Majesty, let the assimilation be complete; not only in such particulars as are prejudicial to their own officers, and particular classes of those officers. Let them rank as his Majesty's officers, do from the period of their actually entering the public service; until such is the case, do not take from them the operation of rules under which they entered that service, and which only put them on an equality with King's officers. At all events, if the Court determine that they shall rank only from the date of their first commission, let the operation of such a rule be suspended for two or three years, when it will not be attended with its present hardship; until it shall affect only those whose landing in India, and appointment as Ensign, Cornet, or Second Lieutenant was contemporaneous, which has been the case with those who went out since 1814. Those of later years have, in some instances, had commissions of even prior date to their landing in India; but let it not prejudice those whose misfortune has been sufficient in being kept out of that rank long after their landing, from circumstances not depending on themselves. If any one whose perusal this should meet, will refer to some of the Cavalry Regiments of each Presidency (particularly to the 4th Regiment Bengal Cavalry), they will be sensible of the great hardship that the army generally will sustain, and to obviate which, in some degree, the brevet was originally given.

6th, So unequally as the Lieutenants of the Company's army now stand, in different regiments, with reference to their actual period of service; the practice of the Court should revert to the original regulations in use prior to 1820, as the only means of affording some relief to those who are unfortunate in their present standing, and who have enough to deplore in not being promoted by regimental rank, without the mortification of being deprived of the benefit of that usage which would prevent their being commanded by boys. The latter will have quite sufficient solid advantages, in coming into receipt of regimental pay and allowances as Captains, long before their seniors, without the invidious distinction of being put over their heads by the operation of a *post facto* regulation.

In the hope that the Honourable Court of Directors may become acquainted with the operation of this late regulation, and that if so, they will feel disposed to grant the redress in their power, I have ventured to address you, and solicit you to oblige me by giving publication to this letter. I remain, Sir, your obedient servant,

F.

CONDUCT OF THE ADVOCATE-GENERAL AND THE BOMBAY JUDGES,
IN THE CASE OF MR. FAIR.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,—IN the article on ‘The Bench, the Bar, and the Press, at Bombay,’ contained in your publication for February, it is stated, that Mr. Norton, the Advocate-General, when directed by the Judges of the Supreme Court, to conduct the prosecution ordered by the Court against Mr. Shaw, for a contempt, not only refused to do so, but had accepted a retainer for Mr. Shaw, to conduct his defence, and had farther stated, in reply to a question from the Chief Justice, that he did not “consider himself, by any means, bound to proceed against those who might offend against the Court, unless specially directed by the Government to do so.”—If your information on this part of the subject be correct, it affords a more convincing proof, than any thing we have yet seen, of the hostility of the Bombay Government to the Supreme Court, and that, to gratify their hostile feelings, they do not hesitate to sacrifice the pecuniary interests of their employers, which it is their bounden duty to protect.—You are, no doubt, aware, that the Advocate-General, at Bombay, is the retained Counsel of the East India Company at that Presidency, and that a large monthly salary, as fixed by the Court of Directors, is regularly paid to him from the Bombay treasury. It is also well known that the East India Company defray all *Crown* and *Court* prosecutions in the King’s Courts in India; there being no fund upon which the Court could make an order for the payment of such expenses, as all fines imposed by the Courts, in course of their judicial proceedings, are by law, the property of the Company. Now, as Mr. Irwin (another Barrister) is employed to conduct the prosecution instituted against Mr. Shaw, by order of the Court, his fees in the cause must be paid by the East India Company, whilst their own retained advocate, Mr. Norton, (who would have conducted the cause without any fees, beyond the monthly salary of, I think, 2000 rupees, which he receives from Government), is employed by Mr. Shaw, to conduct his defence; and this has taken place under the eye of the local Government, and we must naturally presume with its sanction and concurrence.

How far it is competent for any Barrister to refuse compliance with an order of the Judges, to conduct a prosecution in support of the dignity of the Court in which he practises, let the “learned in the law” determine; but it is obviously improper, if not altogether illegal, for any Barrister to undertake the defence of a party, when he knows, that a client from whom he receives a monthly salary or general retainer, must bear all the expenses of the prosecution. I think, therefore, that Mr. Norton’s conduct on the occasion, has been at least unprofessional, if not something worse; but the conduct of the Bombay Government, in permitting such a dereliction of duty, when it rested with them to prevent it, is, if possible, still more reprehensible. They well knew, that the expense of prosecuting Mr. Shaw, must be paid from the Bombay treasury, if any other than the Advocate-General was employed in doing so; besides,

what can possibly tend more to shake the confidence of the natives of India, in the power of the King's Courts to protect them against oppression, and afford them redress against the Company and their servants, than the proceeding in question? A civil servant of the Company, committing a violent assault on an officer of the Court, within its own walls, and when the Court was sitting; and the Advocate-General, the retained Counsel of the Company, and whose professional services are known to be at the disposal of the local Government, not only refuses to prosecute in support of the dignity of the Court, but undertakes the defence of the offending party.

The line of conduct adopted by the Judge, in consequence of the misrepresentations contained in the *Bombay Gazette*, is not, I think, on a review of all the circumstances of the case, liable to the objections you have stated.

There is nothing in the correspondence, quoted in the *Oriental Herald*, to show, that Sir Charles Chambers ever called on the Editor of the *Gazette* for an apology; on the contrary, it appears by the correspondence published in the *Morning Chronicle*, of the 27th of January, that the call was made by Government; and it is of some importance to notice this circumstance, because such a proceeding on the part of Sir Charles Chambers, had it taken place, would have been inconsistent with the dignity of his situation, but there appears to have been no communication whatever on the subject between the Judge and Mr. Fair.

That there are many wrongs for which it is difficult to find a legal remedy, is no doubt true, and the wrong committed by the *Bombay Gazette* against the Supreme Court, in misrepresenting its proceedings, is assuredly of that description; for if the Court had adopted the course which you think they ought to have done, the evil would in all probability have been thereby rather increased than diminished. Supposing the statements that appeared in the *Gazette* to have been libellous, treating the matter as a contempt would have been an arbitrary mode of proceeding, as it makes the Court prosecutors, jury, and judges, in their own cause; and although they would have been *legally* right in doing so, yet the exercise of such a power is so much at variance with the spirit of a free constitution, that I believe there will scarcely be found an instance of any British Court of Justice having adopted it in modern times, and it would now-a-days be quite impossible to reconcile the feelings of Englishmen to the justice of such a proceeding. The Court might, no doubt, have proceeded against the Editor or proprietors of the *Gazette*, by information or indictment, but the expediency of that mode, I think very questionable, as the present state of the Bar at Bombay, where, as you observe, "party spirit pervades every class of society," would have given the accused (in a case where the dignity of the Court, and character of the Judges were concerned) advantages utterly inconsistent with strict justice, and would most likely have led to an acquittal, under the influence of those highly excited feelings which naturally bias the judgment. I appeal to your own knowledge and experience, whether such a result might not have been expected, and what would then have been the consequence? The *Bombay Gazette*, supported and influenced as it is by a member of Government, avowedly hostile to the Court, would have gone on publishing libel after libel with impunity, and there would have been no means of counteracting the effect of its misrepres-

sentations; for the *Bombay Courier*, being precisely under the same influence and control, would have either justified the *Gazette* in giving publicity to the most gross and unfounded calumnies, or it would have been silent on the subject, which would have had the same effect; the Barristers would have also joined in arraigning the legality and justice of the Court's proceedings (as they had done on former occasions), and thus the dignity of the Court would have been compromised, the character of its judges vilified, and the administration of justice impeded; for what Native or European in India could have felt confidence in its decisions, under such circumstances. The situation in which Sir Charles Chambers was placed, by the misrepresentations published in the *Bombay Gazette*, left him only a choice of difficulties; and I think that he exercised a sound discretion in claiming the interference of Government, in whose hands alone the press remained. How far Government may be right in the line of conduct they adopted towards Mr. Fair, in consequence, is yet to be determined. The responsibility of that measure, however, seems to rest with the Governor alone; for had he supported the authority of his Majesty's Court at Bombay, as it was his duty, and ought to have been his pride to do, the disgraceful scenes which have recently taken place at that Presidency, never would have occurred.

"That there were," as you very justly remark, "omissions and colourings in the reported proceedings of the Supreme Court, in the Paper edited by Mr. Fair, calculated to affect the reputation of the Judges," I think, with you, there is no room to doubt. Mr. Fair was called upon by Government for a public acknowledgment of these "omissions and colourings," with an apology, for having given publicity to an incorrect report of the Court's proceedings; his correspondence with the Bombay Government, shows that he refused to do either, and we are consequently left to infer, that he must have relied on the secret influence of some of those in power, being exerted in his behalf, or cared not for the consequences, whatever they might be.—What other conclusion is it possible to come to from a review of the correspondence in question?

The determination promulgated by the present Chief Justice of Bombay, so soon after his arrival there, to allow the practice of the Court to all who chose, and had a right to appeal to it, against oppression and wrong, and more particularly the helpless natives of the country, naturally aroused the jealousy of those who had been long accustomed to respect no law but their own will, and to commit acts of oppression and wrong with impunity, whilst the measures he adopted to check the rapacity of the practitioners of the Court, and to administer speedy and cheap justice to the suitors, were strenuously opposed by the Barristers, whose pecuniary interests were likely to suffer by the salutary regulations he introduced. The opposition of such a Bar, however, would of itself have been feeble and ineffectual; but supported and encouraged as it was by Government, or at least by some of the most influential members of Government, it is not to be wondered at, that a party spirit against the Court was generated in the settlement, soon producing that open opposition and interference with its proceedings, which it could not permit consistently with a due regard to its own dignity, and the impartial administration of justice. Is it not repulsive to the idea of independence in his Majesty's Courts to suppose that any man or set of men, within their jurisdiction, however powerful, should be able to control or

influence them? would not a Court, so influenced, soon become an instrument of the most dreadful tyranny? In India the only palladium for the injured and oppressed, is a British Court of Justice, and the Judges cannot be too cautious how they suffer any part of its independence, dignity; and legitimate power, to be encroached upon.¹ Had Sir Edward West permitted fraud and extortion to pass unnoticed, had he, in short, neglected his duty as a Judge, and been indifferent to the state of confusion and disorder in which he found the Court on his arrival at Bombay, or had he never made public his determination to protect the natives against oppression from any quarter, he would have continued popular with the ruling authorities there, and we should have heard nothing of the dissensions or party spirit, which has of late prevailed to such a disgraceful extent in that settlement.

A. B.

INACCURACY OF MR. ASTELL'S ASSERTION RESPECTING
MR. ARNOT.

It will perhaps be in the recollection of our readers, that, when the case of Mr. Arnot was last brought before the Court of Proprietors, the Chairman, Mr. Astell, who, on all occasions, pretends to more *accurate* information than those he addresses, said that the Directors had no *official* information before them on the subject; but added, that *he* had learnt, *unofficially*, that, on Mr. Arnot's return to Bengal, after being burnt out of the *Fame*, and thrown back naked and destitute upon the unhealthy shores of Bencoolen, the Governor of that Presidency had permitted him to remain in India; and that he believed he spoke the sentiments of the Directors generally, when he said, that if this were the case, they would have no disposition to disturb such an arrangement! The hollowness of this affected benevolence is not more apparent than the total ignorance of facts under which Mr. Astell, with all his pretended accuracy of information, laboured. The case was, indeed, the very reverse of that which he endeavoured to represent it. Mr. Arnot had returned to Bengal from Bencoolen, with the consent of Sir Stamford Raffles, the chief local authority there; and to prevent the possibility of this being called a clandestine return, he sent up, from the entrance of the river, and before the ship arrived off Calcutta, or before he left the vessel, the following humble representation:—

TO W. B. BAYLEY, ESQ. CHIEF SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT.
Sir, Ship Wellington, Sangoor Roads, May 29, 1824.

I beg leave to request, that you will have the goodness to bring to the notice of the Right Hon. the Governor-General in Council, that in consequence of the destruction of the Hon. Company's ship "*Fame*" off the coast of Sumatra on the night of the 2d of February last (the captain thereupon instantly abandoning me to my fate), I reported the situation in which this event placed me to the Hon. Sir T. Stamford Raffles, then Lieut.-Governor,

¹ There is yet another security required to keep the Court itself in order: and that is the Free Press. This would be as certainly the open protector of honest and independent Judges, as a fettered press has been their secret enemy.

and the highest local authority in that part of the Hon. Company's territories, submitting myself at the same time to his disposal. In conformity with his suggestion in reply, (by a public letter, dated the 6th of Feb.) I transmitted, through his Excellency, a representation of my case to the Supreme Government; and after a detention of three months in that precarious climate, considering the very great uncertainty when my Memorial might reach Bengal, and having no longer the means of supporting myself in Bencoolen, however desirous of doing so, until a reply could be received, I found it to be a duty incumbent on me to avail myself of the ship "Wellington" proceeding to Calcutta; there being then no other vessel expected in Bencoolen for a long period, and consequently no prospect of any other opportunity of leaving the settlement for a very considerable time.

In following the course pointed out by the Hon. the Lieut.-Governor of Bencoolen, my only object was to submit myself to the decision of his Lordship the Right Hon. the Governor-General in Council; and as, under the above circumstances, no other mode presented itself to extricate me from the difficulties of my situation, but that of proceeding to place myself within the immediate reach of the Supreme Government, I hope that the above-mentioned Memorial (of date the 14th of Feb.) transmitted by the local authorities of Bencoolen, detailing the hardships attending my voyage in the late ship "Fame," has been submitted to the consideration of his Lordship in Council. I now await the decision thereon, cherishing the hope, that in pronouncing sentence on my future destinies, his Lordship in Council will be graciously pleased to bestow whatever regard may be considered due to the sufferings I have already undergone.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient and humble servant,

SANDFORD ARNOT.

After a delay of ten days, the following reply, dated June 3d, was returned from the Chief Secretary:

TO MR. SANDFORD ARNOT.

SIR,

In reply to your letter of the 29th ult. I am directed to inform you, that Government does not see fit to permit you to remain in India. I am farther directed to apprise you, that if you are found within the limits of this Presidency after the 1st of September next, legal measures will be adopted to enforce your return to England.

I am, &c. &c.

(Signed,)

W. B. BAYLEY, Chief Sec. to Govt.

The individual who transmitted to us this closing correspondence, offers some remarks on the disappointment of the British Indian public as to the result, in terms that deserve to be repeated. He says: . . .

'So poorly have they answered to the expectations formed, and the reliance placed on their magnanimity to overlook offences. Yet Mr. Arnot, no doubt, did right to make the trial, otherwise he could not have excused himself, and others would not have believed that Sir Stamford Raffles so much mistook the spirit of the Government as to rate it so much more favourably than it deserved. But will it even now be credited, that on the mere *suspicion* (not proof) of such a trivial offence as mentioning your transmission from India, your assistant and successor *has been illegally imprisoned,—illegally transported to Bencoolen*, like a convicted felon, and all the property he possessed destroyed in consequence of the same illegal procedure; *that he has, in a word, been subjected to every thing short of capital punishment*, and by the same lawless measures within a hair's breadth of losing his life also;

yet more punishment is sought, and he is to be a second time banished for the same offence? Would to God he were beyond the reach of such a cruel vindictive, persecuting spirit, which is only limited in its vengeance by the limits of its power to inflict injury—bounds which must be acknowledged by the most ruthless inquisitor and tyrant. Those who understand the secret springs of Government assure me, that it is the suspicion under which he labours of being sincerely attached to *your* cause, which procures him the honour of this unrelenting hatred; and that some of the men in power here would most willingly hang as well as banish any of *your* friends, if they could. Nothing less than such a feeling of malignity can account for their callous disregard of character, in making use of such false assumptions as they do, in order to hold up Mr. Arnot as a proper object of public punishment; and the manner in which their assumptions have been exposed, has probably drawn down on him a double portion of the displeasure of these "religious and gracious" counsellors. I say nothing of Lord Amherst, as he is understood to have sunk into almost a mere passive instrument in the hands of such men.'

Mr. Arnot has *not*, therefore, been permitted to remain in Bengal as the accurate Mr. Astell endeavoured to make the Court of Proprietors believe. He has been compelled to return to England, under circumstances of the most aggravated cruelty, and after having lost his little *all*, by the burning of the ship in which he was illegally sent round by the circuitous route of Bencoolen. The following extract of a letter, dated March 14th, and received from him while the ship was on her way up the Channel, and before he landed, has already appeared in some of the papers, and may be appropriately repeated here:

'After being tossed about for upwards of a year and a half by the unrelenting persecution of the Bengal Government, from the time of my confinement in Fort William in September, 1823, I have the satisfaction of seeing myself at last on the shores of England, to which the injured look for redress, or at least an asylum from despotic power. The judge, who at the outset of its operations on me released me temporarily from its grasp, has already himself felt its severest stroke, with circumstances of aggravated cruelty, in the person of his son, who is at this moment compelled to seek the protection of the authorities in England against the arbitrary proceedings of Lord Amherst's Government. Thus the venerable father, who has lately exposed himself to its indignation, by suspending the shield of English law over *my* head, is unable to protect *his own*, against which the blow was so soon after levelled with most vengeful force. By a singular coincidence, before the sentence against me is fully accomplished, this other victim is also driven from India by cruel ill-treatment, and the same vessel carries us both! Could I have foreseen this event at the time of my confinement by Lord Amherst's illegal mandate, I would have suffered all his arbitrary will could inflict upon me, by prison, cell, or dungeon, rather than seek protection against him from an Indian judge, who is himself liable, if he give umbrage to the same power, to receive a wound through his dearest affections, from which no law can save him. Such are the natural consequences of the incongruous union which the Government of Great Britain is continually attempting between legal rights and the arbitrary will of an individual, who by indirect methods can paralyse the laws, or trample their organs under his feet.'

Whether Mr. Arnot will be more fortunate in obtaining redress of injuries than others have been, time will discover. We can only say, that nothing on our parts shall be wanting to assist him in the accomplishment of that object, if human exertions can effect it.

for the press in India, and those for the press in England, were so strikingly similar; that they might almost be said to be *the same*. In both countries, no man could print without a license; in both the printer was obliged to have his name at the foot of his paper; in both he was obliged to furnish securities for payment of fines; and from both he might be banished for printing a libel. On being questioned, however, as to some slight points of difference among all these remarkable traits of similarity, he confessed, 1st. that in England *every man* who chose might set up a printing press without asking any one's leave, on paying a small sum for the license; while in India, *no man* could do so unless the Government permitted him. 2dly. That in England, no man's license could be taken away for any offence or by any power whatever; while, in India, any man's license might be taken from him for any thing which the Government there chose to consider an offence, and his concern be broken up and ruined without remedy. 3dly. That, in England, nothing could be considered as libel which was not so pronounced by the verdict of a Jury; while in India, every thing was a libel which the Government chose to consider one. 4thly. That, from England, no man could be banished for any libel excepting a blasphemous one, and that, not until after the second offence, each case to be decided only by a regular trial at law; while, from India, any man might be banished without committing any legal offence, without writing any sort of libel, and without any trial at law, but by the mere will of the Governing Body alone! These are slight shades of difference certainly. "But," says Mr. Washborough, in answer to all this—"Aye, this is all very true; but then, recollect, England and India are *very different*." We admit the melancholy fact: *very different indeed*. But the object of the worthy speaker was to show that the laws of each were *THE SAME*. How well he has succeeded, let the reader judge.

Mr. Mills, a Director, after having heard all that had been said in censure of Lord Amherst's weak and disastrous measures, expressed his regret that no abler defender had appeared before himself: but seeing this, he felt it his duty to rise to protect an *absent* man! It was unfair, he thought, to condemn those who could not be heard in reply! Often as this most absurd of all fallacies has been uttered at the India House, it was never more ridiculously introduced than here. To censure those who have not the *power* to reply is, no doubt, unhandsome: but to say that no man's acts should be censured, except in his own presence, is to advance a doctrine more destructive of the whole fabric of society than any that ever proceeded from the mouth of man. If it were followed up, no man could ever be called to account for any of his misdeeds, unless he chose; for he might always remain absent. Besides, all men are absent from all other men, except the particular circle by which they are surrounded at the moment. Shall it then be treason for any but those in whose presence a man stands to express either praise or blame? Every man in India must be absent from England; every man in England (except something more than a hundred) must be absent from the India House Court; and every man in that Court is absent when the knot of six or eight Directors sign their calumnious despatches, or draw up calumnious resolutions on the conduct of their servants abroad. Are not the members of the Hyderabad Firm absent? Yet they are abused by every epithet that ingenuity could devise. Is not Lord Hastings absent? Yet he is censured in the severest terms. But the dead are even still

more absent than they : for they can never be heard again in reply. Yet, who, in after days, will hesitate, in writing the history of India at the present period, to call persons as well as things by their right names, because they may be in their graves ? In short, if Mr. Mills's sage maxim, " that no one should censure the acts of an absent man," were adhered to, it would shut the mouth of every man living, and do more to destroy all the good than the fear of this censure now occasions than any measure ever yet proposed.

Though last, not least, came Captain Maxfield's brief, but certainly pregnant, remark. The motion before the Court was for the production of certain papers intended to throw light on the late mutiny in the Army. Captain Maxfield opposed it—he had only *one* reason, but with him it was a powerful one :—it was this ; he had great apprehensions from such information as these papers might contain passing into other countries. Here was a confession ! All the countries to which such information can ever reach, had already heard of the mutiny and the massacre by which it was for the moment quelled : Rumour, with her thousand tongues, must have magnified and distorted this in every possible manner ; and this had already gone abroad, on the wings of the wind, to every corner of the earth. The information contained in the papers would correct such exaggerations, and give our enemies at least the true state of the case. But, as if this truth would be more horrible than the worst exaggeration that had yet obtained current circulation, Captain Maxfield voted against its being told ! He would rather the Proprietors should remain in utter ignorance of their own affairs than even run the risk of any other persons obtaining a correct view of them. We remember to have heard in India of a strange mistranslation in one of the Indian copies of the New Testament, done into Bengalee by a Missionary, wherein the passage ; " Judge not ; that ye be not judged of others," was thus expressed : " Be not just to others ; lest others should be just unto you." Captain Maxfield's maxim is the very counterpart of this, " Do not obtain information from others, lest others should also obtain it from you." What will be said of this at all the Courts of the Continent—from Paris to Petersburg—*from Vienna to Berlin*—to each of which the *Oriental Herald* is sent by order, and at each of which it is no doubt attentively read ? What will be said of this avowal : that the Papers respecting this mutiny, and the state of our army in India, are such as we should not let other nations see ? This reason for Captain Maxfield's vote against their production has already gone abroad into all the Newspapers of the kingdom ; and cannot now be recalled. We have no hesitation in saying, that we believe this very avowal will convey to foreign powers more of that very impression of our misrule, which it was intended to prevent, than the production of all the papers that ever were printed. This evil, however, if indeed it be one, rests on the heads of those whose measures have produced it.

SECRET POLITICS OF THE EAST INDIA HOUSE.

SOME valuable notes were not long since furnished to us for our private information, as to the causes of the late ill-treatment of Lord Hastings, by the dominant party in the Direction at the East India House; but want of room, which delayed so many other contemplated arrangements, kept this also longer in our own possession than we wished. We are glad to observe, however, that the subject has attracted attention elsewhere; and as we are happy on all occasions to co-operate, where good is to be done, even with those, who, in our estimation, are not always free from the charge of doing evil by the advocacy of principles that we deem full of that quality, we select, with some slight omissions, the following Sketch of India-House Parties, from the TELESCOPE, a Weekly Paper, that we took occasion to censure, for its unfounded assertions respecting the use made of the Free Press in India; but which we are glad to see now leading some space, at least, to better purposes, and to the advocacy of more just and liberal views than those which characterized its earlier Numbers:

We feel it to be particularly expedient at the present moment to draw public attention to the state of parties at the India House; because the next month is the period for performing one Farce and one serious Drama at this great Theatre.—The Farce, which at other Theatres is the After-piece, comes first in order of the Leadenhall-Street Bill of the Play; and it is surprising how perfect the Actors have become by frequent rehearsals.

This low Comedy is called "The Election of Six Directors," to fill the place of Six who retire every year:—a very solemn and laughable Farce it is—something after the fashion of Tom Thumb. Much of the pomp and ceremony of Election—Candidates offering themselves, *cap in hand*, when they learn there is no one to oppose—as Lord Grizzle says of the mighty Thumb—"they make the giants first and then they kill them."

With regard to the serious After-piece, it is of a very different character, and has more of a regular plot than many Dramas. Its chief action consists in choosing a Chairman and Deputy for the year. The election of the Chairman is, however, subordinate; an underplot compared to the main business of the intrigue, which is to choose the Deputy, who becomes Chairman of course in succession. Sir George Robinson is said to be the Principal Actor this year, and expects to play the part of Mr. Deputy with success. We confess we are somewhat at a loss to know what are his pretensions and qualifications for this pre-eminent character, a more unpopular performer in Bengal, where he formerly exhibited, it is not easy to imagine. Indeed it was as an Auditor, generally, that he cut a figure in that quarter. A Baronet indeed he is, and no doubt a worthy one; but we had always understood that this dignity was the reward of his merit as *Prompter* for several years behind the curtain to a celebrated actor in the Buffo-line, famed for versatility under different managers; but not at all perfect in his part when he appeared in the imposing character of President in the Harlequinade, called "The Board of Control."

The late Mr. Grant, a civil servant; Sir G. Robinson, formerly Military Auditor-General; Sir G. Barlow, and several others of less note, owed their rise in the world to Lord Cornwallis, the protégé of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas, who sent him out to India as Governor-General in the year 1786-7. Mr. Grant came home about the same time as his Lordship, in 1793; and Sir G. Robinson not many years after, when they firmly attached themselves to his Lordship, and his patron Dundas. Sir John Shore's (Lord Teignmouth) reign was but of short duration, and he was succeeded by the Marquis of Wellesley, who was also supported by Pitt and Dundas. But, however well he might stand with the Ministry, the Marquis ere long incurred the displeasure and hate of the majority of the Court of Directors, among whom at that period Mr. Grant was rapidly rising in power and influence, partly from his talents and industry (for he had a fair share of both) but chiefly from his thoroughgoing, unquestioning, bigotted, India-House tenets, with regard to the Trade and Government of our Oriental dominions. This virulent dislike to the noble Marquis arose from his practice being diametrically opposed to the theories of these Gentlemen. He encouraged the free trade of India, and India-built shipping; did everything he could to awaken the industry and draw out the resources of that country, and evidently showed that his view of the duty of a Governor-General was, that he should do everything in his power to forward the mutual interests of England and India, and not confine himself exclusively to enhance the interests of the monopolists of Leadenhall Street by the sacrifice of every other obligation and duty. But besides such heresies he had the hardihood to avow his contempt for the opinions of his masters, and to presume to think that the local Government of India on the spot, and aware of the circumstances, were fully as capable of acting and judging as the sages of the British House; while they again looked upon the Governor-General and his Council only as delegated to repeat their commands. And though in these heterodox opinions he was supported by Mr. Dundas in the cabinet, and Sir David Scott, and a powerful party in the India House, they were not on that account the less unpalatable to the orthodox monopolists. As soon, therefore, as Mr. Pitt went out of power in 1801, the delegation-system-men got stronger and bittener at the India House, and Mr. Addington's tottering ministry dared not quarrel with any powerful body. Lord Wellesley's unsuccessful campaign of 1804 gave a colour for his recall, as, though Pitt had come back to power, he was not in his former strength, and Dundas was under a cloud.

After Grant's triumphant return, Lord Cornwallis went out a second time to India, and lived just long enough to set on his instructions and regulated systems, and to lay the foundation of the late second Mysore war, by counselling just as we were obtaining the reward of our perseverance. He lived long enough, however, to reclaim Sir George Barlow from the error of his ways, in having so long and zealously co-operated with Lord Wellesley; and Barlow turning round with all the zeal of a convert on old friends and principles, and in an evil hour succeeding to the temporary government of India, completed all the mischievous plans of Cornwallis and the Grant party. Sir G. Robinson came out as Lord Cornwallis's private secretary and prime minister, and for his important services of three or four months' residence, was rewarded with a handsome donation, and carried at no long interval by the interest of the party to a seat in the direction.

The ministry of "All the Talents" were never strong, of which fact no better proof can be desired than that they were foiled in the nomination of the Earl of Lauderdale as Governor-General by the Grant party. A weak ministry necessarily makes the anti-English party in the India House strong, while a sturdy cabinet, like Pitt and Dundas's, soon brings them to reason. The Fox ministry showed their weakness still further, by compromising the matter with this faction, and bringing out Lord Minto as a plausible and accomplished man; no doubt, and much after the Company's own heart, but who had an unlucky propensity to be on bad terms with the military, a class of people who are

rather useful in a country which stands in the relation to us which India does.—He waged no wars except against the French and Dutch, and as the crown paid for those, the Company looked on as quiet spectators. During his reign the Mahrattas recovered their broken strength, while their friends, the Pindarrees, took courage, and carried their ravages within the boundary of the British territory.

Every one remembers what a flame Sir George Barlow contrived to blow up by his mismanagement, violence, and pride, out of comparatively trifling heats, which good temper and prudence might have put down. An almost universal mutiny of the whole Madras army took place, and the Bengal and Bombay armies might have been almost goaded to have joined in it, through the singular folly of urging them with useless tests and declarations, but that they possessed better sense and better temper than their wise masters or their misguided brethren of Madras.

Lord Minto went round tardily to Madras, after all the mischief was done, to mediate and do justice. By that time the violence of Sir George Barlow, and a feeling of the hollowness of the ground on which they stood, had brought the mutineers to a sense of their duty, and all was subdued. We would wish to say as little as possible of those unhappy times and disastrous transactions, in which it is impossible to deny that all parties were in turn to blame, only it may be as well to notice that nothing more was heard of mediation or justice after Lord Minto reached Madras; an amnesty, which might have served as a model for the beloved Ferdinand's in 1822, was proclaimed; a long list of officers at the head of the mutineers were devoted to proscription; and when courts-martial, actuated by an evident sense of the share which the follies and excesses of the Government had had in driving many brave and excellent soldiers into downright and unjustifiable rebellion, steadily refused to condemn the proscribed to die, they were turned out of the service en masse, and sent home penniless. The Cornwallis or Grant party were then all powerful in Leadenhall-street, and the ministry of 1809 and 1810 was weak and distracted by the intestine broils of Mr. Canning and Lord Castlereagh, and their several partizans. Mr. Astell was the chief supporter of Mr. Grant, and they performed the parts of Chairman and Deputy Chairman to each other in frequent succession.

When the penitent mutineers presented themselves in England, and told the story of their crimes, and their palliatives, in regard to the Government of India, the lofty personages in power disdained to give ear to their humble petitions, just as they now scorn the reclamations of William Palmer and Co. and their creditors. Even the allegations of civil violence, mixed up with the military follies of the government, the alleged packing of tribunals and juries, banishments and deprivations inflicted on refractory persons, all were urged in vain, and no man was more deaf to compassion and reason in this instance than Mr. William Astell, the present Chairman. But he and Mr. Grant were stoutly opposed by a more liberal set in the Direction, who began to get the upper hand; the Press gradually enlightened people on the subject; and the parties whose characters and prospects were all at stake bestirred themselves. So the press and the parties are now active, and there can be little doubt but the same cause will produce similar effects in both cases, only give them sufficient time to work. In the former case, in the short space of two years, a total revolution of opinion took place upon this great question, so that all the mutineers, with one exception, (Col. Bell,) who had levied actual war on the King's forces, were reinstated in the service. The civil servants, Mr. Sherson, Mr. Smith, and others, were replaced with honour, and compensations were granted for persecution. All the survivors had their grievances redressed to the very letter. Sir George Barlow was turned out with signal and needless disgrace, and Lord Minto superseded with as little courtesy. A more conciliatory system was resolved on, and the man selected as the best fitted for carrying that system into effect was Lord Moira. Such a triumph to the moderate party at the India House,

such a signal humiliation of the Grant party and all their abettors, was not easily to be overlooked or forgiven; and with the instinctive feeling of all base and despicable minds, the unoffending instrument of this just and rational retribution was marked out by that party as the butt at which to shoot their poisoned shafts. In the low state of humiliation in which they for some time remained, they remembered with bitterness and heart-burning their degradation and disgrace, and carefully treasured up the phials of their wrath to be poured out when opportunity would permit.

Lord Hastings's system of administration resembled in too many respects that of Lord Wellesley, while to complete the climax of his offences, it was free from the only part of the Wellesley system, which suited the taste of this amiable party, namely, the precipitation and violence, the want of consideration for the fair rights and personal claims of individuals, which occasionally tarnished the lustre of that Nobleman's administration. Lord Hastings's military rank, too, was by no means in his favour in the eyes of those who cherished the superiority of the Company's civil service as one of the most valuable and fundamental prerogatives of monopoly; his constantly declining to carry into effect absurd and unjust retrenchments, from the scanty pittance of the least favoured class of servants—the military; his deference to the tribunal of public opinion; and, in particular, his showing so much consideration for his fellow-subjects in India as to call them together, to give them an account of the origin and conduct of a war in which none could have so deep an interest as themselves. All these are considered as so many overt acts of *Lèse Majesté*, considered as evincing the nefarious design of erecting the Governor-Generalship of that vast colonial empire into something more substantive than the mere trumpet mouth-piece, or mechanical vehicle, through which the high behests of the clerks in Leadenhall-street were to be issued to our handful of eighty millions of Indian subjects without discretion, or modification, or delay! Lord Hastings may feel some consolation in thinking, that if he has fallen, he has fallen with such men as the Directors, Elphinstone and Pattison. The evil days of the monopoly party are come in again, and Mr. Astell and Sir G. Robinson again reign Lords of the Ascendant for a while. It is to be hoped, however, that their time will be as short, and their defeat as certain as it was on the last great struggle.

PARLIAMENTARY PROCEEDINGS.

We had intended, at the commencement of this publication, to include in it full reports of such Debates as might occur in Parliament, on the subject of Indian Affairs, but our limits have often prevented us; and we find, from the frequent occurrence of Debates at the India House, that the difficulty is likely to be increased rather than diminished. Of the last, the Newspapers do not find it to their interest to give more than outline reports. Of the first, competition and rivalry are sure to secure the most ample and faithful records; and as these, after obtaining the most extensive publicity that the press can command through all the Newspapers of the kingdom, are again transferred to the large collection of "Hansard's Parliamentary Debates" for preservation and reference; there appears to be no immediate necessity for their repetition here. On the other hand, the very imperfect manner in which the India House Debates are rehearsed, the very imperfect manner in which the India House Debates are reported in the public prints, offers a sufficient reason for paying the greater attention to them in a publication expressly devoted to the consideration of Indian Affairs. This explanation will account for our not doing more than adverting to what may transpire in Parliament from time to time, when comment and observation on its proceedings are necessary; as the reader will be sure to see the Debates in the daily papers long before we could print them here; and confining ourselves as much as possible to information not made public through other channels, and only to be obtained through the medium of this.

DEBATES ON THE HYDERABAD TRANSACTIONS—SCENE OF TUMULT
AND DISORDER AMONG THE TEA-BROKERS
AT THE INDIA HOUSE.

DURING the late protracted debates at the India House on the subject of the Hyderabad transactions, the Chairman, Mr. Astell, complained of the great inconvenience of such frequent adjournments, as it was extremely incommodious to the tea-dealers of the city to be kept out of the Court in which both the debates and the tea sales were held, and put into another room, not so convenient for their purposes. We were then quite at a loss to understand why one room should not be as good as another for the business of an auction, provided each were large enough to hold all the buyers with ease. An occurrence which took place during the past month has, however, thrown much light on the causes of the dissatisfaction at the tea sales being held any where but in the accustomed place.

To those who have never attended the Court in which the debates of the Proprietors are held at the India House, it may not be superfluous to state, that it is of the following form and arrangement:—The body of the room itself is nearly square, with a semicircular sweep at the principal end; it is extremely lofty, and is lighted by a dome sky-light. About one-third of the length from the semicircle, is cut off by a wooden partition of about three feet in height, forming a sort of partition-wall, and running across the whole breadth of the room; this is what is technically called "the Bar." Within this bar are seated the Directors, and the principal clerks of the India House, forming a sort of crescent, their seats following the semicircular sweep of that end of the room, and the Chairman and his deputy occupying the centre of the whole. Without the bar is a small space continued on a level with the floor, and from this the seats for Proprietors of India stock rise gradually one above another, after the manner of a theatre. (except that the ascent is much steeper and continues to the roof, and recede till it joins the gallery at the further end, which is dear the roof, and intended for the inferior clerks of the House, neither strangers nor reporters for the public press being understood to have any right to admission, though it is granted to the latter as a matter of courtesy.

At the Tea Sales, which are always held in this room, the Directors who sell the tea, by putting up the lots to auction, sit within the bar; the brokers and buyers, or those who bid for the lots, range themselves on the Proprietors' seats without. It is easy to comprehend how, in a tumultuous auction, which this for the sale of the India Company's Tea always is, those bidders who secure the front seats, can make their bids and winks much more intelligible to the auctioneer than their less fortunate brethren in the upper ranges of the back benches can ever hope to do; and it is equally easy to understand how much of this advantage of comparative proximity would be lost, by placing the buyers and sellers in a room where all would be on the same level, and the strongest bodied men be able to push their way to the front, and keep the weaker competitors behind them. The reason of all the tumult, strife, and contention, which occurs at these Tea Sales is simply this: that the English East India Company,

following the same selfish and execrable policy which induced the Dutch East India Company to burn one half of their stock of spices in order to enhance the price of the remainder, do not import, or put up for sale, any thing like the quantity of tea which the consumption of the nation requires. By withholding the full supplies, which they might afford, immense competition raises the price to an extravagant standard, and the duty is thus equally advanced, as that is regulated entirely by the price. The contest for particular lots is, therefore, as severe as if the article was to be fought for instead of purchased: the result is a greater gain to the India Company, and a greater gain to the revenue on the small quantity sold at extravagantly high prices, than would arise from a larger quantity sold at more moderate rates. But by this same process, the community of tea-drinkers, now including almost every individual in Great Britain who can pay for this luxury, are made to pay several hundred per cent. over and above the price at which good tea might be had, if this odious monopoly of the India Company did not exist; to say nothing of the vast consumption of British manufactures, which the teeming population of China would take off from us in return, so as to be productive of mutual and reciprocal benefit.

To return to the incident, which we have mentioned as throwing light on the dissatisfaction of the tea buyers, at being put out of the room in which the debates were holding by the tea sellers, and thrust into another where their privileged seats could not be commanded; it is communicated to us in the following paragraph:—

At the Tea Sale, on the 2d of March, the business of the day was impeded for nearly an hour, during which time the greatest uproar and confusion prevailed. The moment the doors of the sale room were opened in the morning, the junior brokers took their seats on the benches which have, hitherto, been exclusively occupied by the oldest and wealthiest brokers, and such is the value of these, from their contiguity to the Chairman, that a seat has been sold at from 300*l.* to 500*l.* The original occupants alleged, that custom and purchase had given them an indisputable right; on the other hand, the juniors contended, that no part of a public sale room could be made private property, and that as they had been excluded for a series of years from all participation of the thousand pounds per annum, granted by the Company to the oldest brokers, to print tea books, which enabled them, in a great measure, to monopolize the trade, they were determined to vindicate their rights, having repeatedly petitioned the old brokers and the Company without effect. The Chairman (J. Mastermann, Esq.), on being appealed to, stated—he could not interfere with respect to the seats; that there could be no doubt they were open to all brokers indiscriminately; but he would inquire into the way the 1000*l.* per an. was appropriated, and endeavour to see justice done to the complainants. Messrs Twining and Gibbs suggested the necessity of the Company's enlarging the sale room, and arranging the seats more fairly, giving the oldest brokers the priority of choice; instead of the former practice of selling the seats when vacated, or transmitting them to their sons or partners. This proposition was received with applause by the trade, and, under the promise of the Chairman representing the case to the Board, and the expectation of the oldest brokers coming into the arrangement, the junior brokers surrendered their seats.

This grant of a thousand a year to brokers, for the purpose of printing their tea books, must of course come out of the Company's East India stock. Yet, even the Director himself, who presided at the Sale, seemed quite ignorant both of the grant itself, and of the manner in which it was

applied! How many other profligate misapplications of the Proprietors' money may be made in the same secret manner (secret at least to the Director in question, and no doubt to hundreds of other Proprietors as well as himself) it would be impossible to say!

There is something amusing in the notion of a knot of young tea brokers coming into a sale-room and expressing their determination "to vindicate their rights." If they would do this effectually, it must be not in a contention about a front or a back seat in a sale-room, but in an appeal to Parliament and the Nation, detailing all the iniquities of the East India monopoly of tea, exposing their malpractices and evasions of the law as it stands, proving the evils to the whole community of the present abominable monopoly, and demanding the destruction of their charter that the public at large may participate in the benefits of a free trade. Let them "vindicate their rights" after this manner; and the community, instead of laughing at what must appear to them a petty squabble, will sympathize with their demands for justice, and join them in enforcing it on the attention of the legislature.

The following paragraph has appeared in the journals of the past month, and we cannot insert it in a more appropriate place than this:

It is said in a New Orleans newspaper, that the tea plant has been discovered growing in Louisiana. It will be a great advantage to America; if this prove to be the case, and perhaps a still greater to England, by assisting to break up the monopoly of the trade to China by the East India Company.

IMPARTIAL JUSTICE OF THE ASIATIC JOURNAL.

IN the Asiatic Journal of February last, was inserted a letter under the title of "Dr. Bryce's Reply to Mr. Buckingham," containing a tissue of calumnies, to which he had affixed his name. A reply to this was sent to the Asiatic Journal, equally substantiated by the real signature of the writer, in the confident expectation that it would be as readily printed in that publication. It was refused insertion, and the following reason was assigned for this refusal, in the public notice to correspondents affixed to that journal.

"The letter addressed to us by *Mr. Buckingham*, commenting upon *Dr. Bryce's reply to him*, we have declined inserting for the following reasons:—1st. Because of its immoderate length: it would occupy at least EIGHTEEN PAGES in the smallest type; 2dly. because much of it is irrelevant; 3dly. because it contains obnoxious reflections upon other individuals and the Bengal Government. Whenever Mr. B. prefers making *our Journal* his medium of publication, it shall be as open to him as to others, provided he confine himself within reasonable limits, and refrain from extraneous and acrimonious reflections."

The reasons here assigned, are not merely insufficient to justify such refusal, but they are in the most material part untrue.

1st.—As to "immoderate length," it is stated that "it would occupy EIGHTEEN PAGES in the *smallest* type. On a reference to the *Oriental Herald* of the last month, in which this same letter appeared without the curtailment of a single line, it will be seen that it occupied less than ELEVEN PAGES in a larger size type than the very *largest* ever used in the Asiatic Journal (Long Primer); whereas, in the smallest size used by it (Nonpareil), it would not have made a single page more than the letter of Dr. Bryce himself, (5½) as inserted in the

same publication ! The Convention of Trade (more than half a page) was optional to the Editor, to print or not, as he thought proper; and the Postscript occupying three pages in the Oriental Herald, was not sent to the Asiatic Journal at all: so that there is no escape for it, from the alternative of gross ignorance as to a matter of space to be occupied by a certain portion of manuscript copy, or wilful perversion of the truth. The Editor may take his choice of the alternative.

2dly.—He says much of it was irrelevant. That is a matter of opinion only: but a reference to the letter itself will show that it did not contain a single paragraph that was not strictly confined to a refutation of Dr. Bryce's calumnies.

3dly.—It contained "obnoxious" reflections upon other individuals, and upon the Bengal Government!—No doubt, all reflections on the misconduct of men are "obnoxious" to the individuals complained of; as what we are now saying will no doubt be to the Editor of the Asiatic Journal; but if reflections being "obnoxious," were a reason why they should not be published, then all censure whatever must be suppressed. Does the Editor think that Dr. Bryce's observations on Mr. Buckingham were not "obnoxious" to him? Or does he suppose that he or any man living can witness the publication of calumnies against himself without pain? Yet this did not prevent the Editor from printing Dr. Bryce's letter, though it served as an excuse for him to decline inserting Mr. Buckingham's reply to it. It was "obnoxious to other individuals:" no doubt, to say that the proprietors of the John Bull were found guilty of libel and made to pay damages for uttering the very slanders which Dr. Bryce repeats. But though obnoxious, it was true; while Dr. Bryce's calumnies are both obnoxious and false. Yet these the Editor willingly assisted him to propagate.

If obnoxious reflections "on the Bengal Government" were a sufficient reason for rejecting a communication; then the Editor must be as hostile to a free press in England, as he has so often avowed himself to be to a free press in India. But he prints in his own Journal the severest censures on the Bengal Government, when uttered by Mr. Kinnaird, Mr. Home, and others, in the Court of Proprietors. The censures in this letter were better authenticated than even these; for they bore the signature of the writer himself, and were deliberately penned and revised. Whereas the former depend for their accuracy entirely on the fidelity of reporters. The inconsistency is therefore manifest.

To say that Mr. Buckingham may be heard as well as others through the Asiatic Journal, if he will confine himself to *reasonable* limits, is to say what the conduct of the Editor disproves. His reply to Dr. Bryce, if printed in the *smallest* type, would not have made a page more than the letter to which it was an answer; and while this same Editor does not take upon himself to reject the speeches of East India Proprietors, because of their being longer than he deems *reasonable*, (a standard of the most vague and indeterminate kind), or because they contain extraneous or acrimonious reflections, no one will believe his assertion that the reasons assigned were the true and only reasons of his rejecting the letter in question. It was a triumphant refutation of every paragraph rejecting the letter in question. It was a triumphant refutation of every paragraph of Dr. Bryce's misstatements: and would have set the character of the individual he calumniated in a more favourable light than would be agreeable to the Editor and his patrons: and this is a more "reasonable" solution of his objections than any that he himself has offered. To suffer an injustice is painful enough; but not so painful as it must be to any man of honourable feelings to inflict it on another. The former is our fate: the latter that of our opponent. We would not exchange lots with him.

SUMMARY OF THE LATEST INTELLIGENCE FROM INDIA, AND
OTHER COUNTRIES OF THE EAST.

BENGAL.

As we desire to make this Publication a record of Indian History worthy of being preserved and consulted for reference in future times, as well as calculated to gratify the more eager interest of the present moment, we think it necessary to state, that we shall not, after the fashion of more fleeting journals, content ourselves with giving merely the *latest* intelligence that may reach us from different quarters of India, but endeavour to preserve the chain of events as unbroken and uninterrupted as the irregularity of despatches from that distant country will permit. We have received, by the last arrivals from all the Presidencies, intelligence up to the very latest date; but we reserve the details of these to come in due order in their place, and take up the series of public events at the point at which we closed in our preceding Number, namely, about the middle of September, 1824.

We may take this occasion to repeat, what cannot be too frequently impressed on our readers, that the public papers of all the Presidencies are in such a miserable state of thralldom, that nothing can appear in any of them but what is agreeable to the several Governments; so that private letters are now the only sources of full and accurate information: and fortunately our connexions enable us to receive, from every part of India, such details as could not possibly appear in the papers of that country, though they may be relied on for their perfect authenticity.

We shall reserve our comments on the facts developed, until they are laid before our readers; and to do this at once, and in the order of their respective dates, we commence with the following portions of a private letter from Bengal, dated September 25th, 1824.

‘The war which our rulers declared with such breathless haste, just when the season rendered it impossible to prosecute it effectually, has necessarily languished. The expedition to Rangoon was expected by the wise people here to strike terror into the Court of Amerapoorah; and they confidently hoped that the force sent would either obtain a peace from their terror, or be able to sail up the river with ease and conquer half the country before October. Sir Alexander Campbell occupies Rangoon, but the inhabitants have all left it, and he finds that without boatmen or boats he cannot get up the river; nor in October can he march without cattle for his tents and ammunition. It is expected that Sir Edward Paget will himself advance in December, from Sylhet, with a large army; while another from Chittagong, under Brigadier-General Morrison, will probably penetrate by Arracan to the Irrawaddy River. I fear that our prospects of some interesting, if not brilliant operations, will be balked by the Burmahs taking fright and offering to humble themselves. If they do that and pay *costs*, Lord Amherst would be glad to get quit of the war, and of the distressing thought, ‘what to do with the country he must conquer,’ as if there were not abundant materials for setting up new Rajahs of Rangoon and Princes of Prome.

‘Colonel Valentine Blacker has compiled a large map of the Burman Empire from such materials as are in his possession, which has been struck

off at the Lithographic Press, very neatly indeed. Copies are distributed with the usual caution here, (no doubt, lest the Burmahs should get any!) But I suppose several must have been sent home to the Court, so that you can easily get a sight of one.*

‘If Sir Edward Paget should stay here to direct the whole operations of the war, or take up his post at Dacca, or some such place for that purpose, Sir Stamford Whittingham, I think, will be the General in advance. The Government want to keep Sir Edward here very much.

‘Mr. Adam, our late Governor-General, is recovering his health and strength at Kénapon. He will come here in November, but will probably be obliged to go away to sea or to Europe in the hot weather.

‘You will have seen the new Regulations which the Court have sent out in contempt of Lord Hastings’s despatch. They gave a Colonel to each Regiment, split each Regiment into two, and raised the furlough and retiring pay to the level of the King’s service. Moreover they abolished half-inquintings, and gave command-money. But they added most positive orders, in a style more than usually peremptory, to abolish the whole allowances drawn by officers commanding troops and companies; to abolish the medical allowance of Surgeons; to place the troops at *Burrachpore*, *Berhampore* and *Dinapore* on *half batta*; and to modify all manner of Staff allowances. The Military Secretary, like a loyal subject, struggled hard to get the orders of the honourable Court obeyed: Lord Amherst was afraid to disobey them; but happily Sir Edward Paget stood firm in the breach. He is independent of the Court in mind and purse, and his high personal character gave weight to his opposition, which I understand was strengthened by Mr. Adam’s letters.’

Other advices from Calcutta represent this matter to have occasioned very sharp discussions in the Council, that recal to our recollection the days of Sir Philip Francis and Warren Hastings. In supporting the new regulations, Lord Amherst is stated to have pleaded that he had come under a promise to the authorities at home, to carry these reductions into effect; an avowal which provoked, we are told, a very severe reply from the Commander in Chief to this effect: that such a promise (if not itself disgraceful) was at least more honoured in the breach than in the observance. And it is understood that if Lord Amherst had not yielded the point, Sir Edward was immediately to resign.

‘The result has been (continues the writer) that the command-money, the promotions in consequence of the increased Colonels, and all the other *Plums*, have been picked out and distributed, while the refuse of the *Pudding*, the part most dear to the Court, (the cuttings and clippings,) is referred home with some remonstrances against the injustice and impolicy of these measures! The only retrenchments that have been carried into effect, are the allowances of officers commanding local battalions, who are reduced to the modified command-money. This was dovetailed into the regulation on that head, and could not be decently left out.’

‘There is a general impression that our forces at Rangoon had not yet come in contact with any considerable portion of the best Burmese troops, on which the enemy place their chief reliance; and that our skirmishes have generally been with a sort of irregular or local force of much inferior quality. This seems to be confirmed by the accounts given in private letters from Rangoon, dated in the beginning of October, published in the *Madras Gazette*. They state that there was a corps of 3000 men, specially denominated “warriors,” and some of them again assuming the title of “invulnerable,” who generally remain about the person of the King. One of them,

* We have a Copy of this map now in our possession, but cannot join in commending its neatness.—Ed.

sent out to reconnoitre the Great Pagoda, struck with terror at the sight of our arms, came over to us as a deserter, and gave intimation of an intended attack on the evening of the 21st of September. They made their approaches very secretly, and commenced a desperate attack, but met with such a sharp reception from his Majesty's 38th, and a twelve pounder of the Madras artillery loaded with grape, that they found it necessary to retire; having lost, it is said, twenty of the first class warriors in this bold attempt, which might have had a very different issue but for the seasonable information of the deserter, which enabled our troops to be particularly on the alert.

The intelligence received at Calcutta from the seat of war, even though softened down to the public through the medium of a fettered Press, is of a nature to inspire alarm in the minds of all acquainted with the tenure by which we hold our Indian possessions; a tenure which will ever continue precarious, while the Government continues its present impolitic system of driving from the soil those who, from national feeling and personal interest, would be attached by the strongest possible ties to British rule, and form a link between the Governors and the governed infinitely more secure than that depending on the point of the bayonet, and that bayonet in the hands of mercenary Indian troops.

It appears from all the information that the Burmese are not slow to profit by experience, however dearly they may purchase it. As the Russians, when comparatively barbarians, by being repeatedly defeated by the Swedes, at last learnt how to conquer them: so whatever be the issue of the present war, there can be no doubt the enemy will treasure up the knowledge they have acquired in this, so as to render future attempts to control them far more hazardous.

In a despatch of Sir A. Campbell's, dated from Rangoon the 11th of October, we learn the particulars of an attack made by Lieutenant Colonel Commandant Smith, with a party consisting of 800 men from the Madras Brigade of the Native Light Infantry, 300 rank and file of the 28th and 30th Regiments, accompanied by four camel howitzers, and a competent number of pioneers, on a position of the enemy in the neighbourhood of Annauben, on the 5th of October. Nothing was seen of the enemy until the advance of the party to a deep nulla near Todagabe, on crossing which, the advanced guard were received by the enemy, who lay concealed under some trees and brushwood, with a smart fire. From this they were soon driven, and in the pursuit a stockade was discovered directly facing the main road. Upon this the party halted, to await the coming up of the howitzers and scaling ladders; on the arrival of which, after due reconnoissance, Major Wahab was directed to take the same by escalade, which was speedily effected, the enemy however effecting their escape. Several skirmishes took place at the same time between the rear guard and other detachments of the party, in which the enemy were compelled to fly. After this affair the troops advanced, and at five o'clock arrived in the vicinity of Nikaloo, having during the march had several minor encounters with the Burmese, who had erected breastworks and other rude fortifications to impede the force advancing. About this time the guides affected to be ignorant of the stockade, which was known to be in that quarter, although they pointed out the direction in which it lay, and as the road appeared to be good and leading directly upon a pagoda, which was represented to lie on the left of the stockade and to be undefended, Colonel Smith determined

pursuing it. And here, to show the improvements already made by the Burmese in the tactics of European warfare, we give the following extract from the despatch of Colonel Smith :

The necessary reconnoissance having been made, which the enemy allowed as to complete, unmolested, and the extreme silence that had hitherto prevailed, induced me to believe that the post had been abandoned ; but, notwithstanding, as the lateness of the evening would not allow of any further examination of the enemy's position, arrangements were made for assailing the place, and Major Wahab was directed to move forward in double quick, with ladders to escalate. This gallant officer gave the cheering signal, and the 1st Division, with a spirit and animation I never saw surpassed, and with shouts of huzza and dun dun, rushed forward to the attack. This was only answered by a round of cannon from the pagoda, which, until now, I was led by the guides to believe was undefended. The enemy in the stockade still observed a sullen silence ; not a shot was fired until the division of the 34th and ladders had got well in front of their works. It was then that volleys of grape and musketry were discharged upon the party at the distance of fifty or sixty yards, with an effect and regularity hitherto unequalled in this country : several of the pioneers, with the ladders, were at this instant knocked down, together with the leading Officers ; and the men, consequently, from the awful and destructive fire that fell among them, and the loss of their Commanding and leading Officers, were seized with panic, and lay down to secure themselves from its further effects.

The lateness of the evening rendered this first check irreparable, or otherwise I might have brought up the 3d or supporting division to renew the attack. But to satisfy myself more thoroughly at this momentous crisis of our actual situation, I proceeded to the head of the attacking column, and there I learnt from Lieutenant Shiel, of the 3d Light Infantry, who, in the ardour of zeal, had moved forward with some of his men, that Major Wahab had retired, his wounds not admitting of his remaining any longer in advance. I quickly surveyed the enemy's works, and saw it had a parapet, from which blazed a continued sheet of fire ; under these circumstances I had no alternative, I thought, left me. I must either bring up the 3d division, and renew the attack to the imminent hazard, nay, certainly, of losing all, or saving what remained by speedily retrograding. Of two evils I instantly chose the least, and directed Lieutenant Shiel to file away to the rear without noise or confusion. As soon after as possible I sounded the retreat, and the several parties, and such of the wounded men as could walk, assembled on the ground from which the reconnoissance was taken in the first instance. The firing of the enemy was still kept up from three positions.

On the first fire from the pagoda, Captain Bell, with 100 of the 28th Regiment, had been directed to move round by the left, and endeavour to seize it ; but on his arrival on the other side, he found it to be strongly stockaded, and not assailable without ladders ; and Lieutenant Briggs, who had volunteered to conduct the party, in returning to secure ladders, was attacked by about forty Burmese, armed with long knives, from whom he only escaped by jumping down a deep ravine. The order which had hitherto been preserved now utterly disappeared, and the whole corps crowded indiscriminately into one mass ; and had not Captain Williamson, with his division, fortunately come up in time to cover the flight, it is more than probable the whole party would have been destroyed. The opportune junction of this Officer, however, enabled the broken forces to reach a plain in the vicinity of the attack, upon which they were re-formed, and continued their retreat to Sotajee, without being followed by the enemy.

In this disastrous affair the Officers appear to have exposed themselves most gallantly, and their loss was consequently considerable, two European Officers being killed, and six wounded, while but one European private was wounded. The loss of Native Officers and troops was 19 killed and 57 wounded. The above details require little comment; but the account given by Colonel Smith of the formidable appearance and systematic conduct of the Burmese, will show we have by no means a despicable enemy to contend with. They seem determined to dispute every inch of our advance into the territory, and render conquest, even if we ultimately obtain it, but a dear-bought honour.

On the return of Colonel Smith's detachment, Sir A. Campbell promptly sent out another force under Brigadier M'Creagh, consisting of about 420 European troops and 1100 Natives, with the necessary artillery; in the hope that the enemy, elated with their triumph, would have retained their position. The Burmese appear, however, to combine valour with prudence; for on the arrival of the force at the pagoda, on the 11th October, they learnt that the Rayhoon, with his force, amounting to about 3000 people, had retreated, the preceding afternoon, to Kaghahie, where he had a reserve of one thousand strong, and a much more formidable stockade. The despatch of Brigadier M'Creagh, in speaking of the scene of the previous defeat, gives the following account of the strength of the works then attacked:

A pagoda situated upon an eminence, and slightly fortified, appeared to be the key to their position, as it commanded and overlooked both their stockades within very effective musket range, and would, in fact, render them untenable. The stockades were of a very poor description, the defences low, and faced with crooked and irregular timber, so as to be very easily scaled at any point, even without ladders.

This account appears to show, that the panic of our troops, or the bravery of the enemy, and not their formidable position, caused this disgrace to the British arms. The Brigadier, upon learning the probable place of retreat of the Burmese Commander, immediately made a rapid march on Kaghahie, the road to which was covered with felled trees; and in some places strong breast-works had been erected, which the rapid advance of the British prevented the enemy defending, their outposts successively flying without firing a gun; and on the arrival of the advanced guard at the stockade, it was found entirely abandoned, the barracks within it burning, and the enemy flying in all directions through the neighbouring jungle; the village, which was extremely large, being also in flames in several places. The troops upon this retraced their steps, and, without any further measures, returned to their former positions. During this expedition, several of the bodies of those who fell in the preceding action were seen fastened to the trunks of trees, and mutilated in a most shocking manner.

Another despatch of Sir A. Campbell's, dated October 12, communicates an attack made by a force under Major Evans, on the village and stockades of Thantabain, which were occupied by the Prince of Sarawaddy and a large force of Burmese; and after a very gallant action, during which the enemy attempted to destroy the shipping by means of fire-rafts, the place was occupied by the party, without any loss on their part. Two of the Burmese Ministers of State were witnesses to the

defeat of their people; and the action appears, by the despatch, to confer considerable credit on those concerned.

Under date the 15th October, Sir A. Campbell states the receipt of information, that the united strength of the Burman Empire was collecting in his front, under the command of the Bundoolah, who was possessed of unlimited powers, and the whole of whose immediate followers were armed with muskets. It was said to be the Chief's intention to attack the British lines in the ensuing moon; and he had issued preparatory orders to those posts nearest the British position to cut bamboos, and collect all the earth-oil and cotton in the neighbourhood, for the purpose of forming fire-rafts to destroy the shipping. The grand dépôt for these materials had, however, been destroyed by Major Evans, and, therefore, this plan of the Chief was considered to be disarranged. By the next accounts, however, we may expect the particulars of some attempt by the enemy; and that it will be an important one, from the preparations he was making to ensure success, may be readily inferred.

Prior to the date of these despatches, Tavoy, a port of some consequence in Siam, had been taken possession of by a detachment under Lieutenant-Colonel Miles. It appears that, on the arrival of the British troops, a large party of the inhabitants rose upon the garrison, imprisoned the Governor of the Province and his principal Officers, and, after a smart contest, delivered them over, with the place, to the British Commander. Thirty-six long guns and carronades, 1100 muskets, and numerous other arms, fell into the hands of the captors. Paulang, which the Burmese had erected into a dépôt for fire-rafts, had been taken possession of by a force under Brigadier-General Fraser, and the whole of the materials collected were destroyed. Mergui, a town of some importance, situated on the river of Tennesserian, had likewise fallen into the hands of the British; and indeed it appears that, wherever the co-operation of the naval force can be obtained, our arms have been successful: but the expeditions into the interior, from the treachery of the guides, the want of knowledge of the country, and the extreme difficulty of the roads, appear less promising of success, and far more dangerous of execution. Both the Rajahs of Tavoy and Mergui were, with their suites, taken prisoners in the above affairs.

On the side of Cutchar, the Burmese have shown a disposition to fall back, having evacuated the forts of Tilayn and Doodhathi, and retired on Munnipoor. Indeed, the policy they are expected to adopt, is to allow our forces to advance, and then, by surrounding us with difficulties which the nature of the country enables them to throw in our way, cut off our retreat; a plan they have formerly practised with great success. Colonel Jones, commanding on the Sylhet frontier, had sent a party of troops to Tilayn; but the country, up to the beginning of November, was still too much under water to admit of regular troops marching in pursuit of the enemy.

The following letter, dated November 12, throws much valuable light on the late transactions in India:

The Burmah war is still protracted. Troops are moving towards Sylhet and Chittagong; but the country is not healthy or fit for military operations before December; and, again, the rains commence in the middle or end of May. As soon as the Chittagong force is increased, Brigadier-General Morrison will advance upon Arracan; and, I have no doubt, will drive the

Burmahs from that;—perhaps will be able to pass the mountains, and take post on the Irrawaddy. The Rangoon expedition, which should have been sent at the end of the rains instead of before they began, has no means of moving, the Burmahs having cleared the country of cattle and inhabitants for fifty miles round Rangoon. Now the season admits of their marching, and they will be reinforced by the Body Guard, and thus be able to keep the enemy at a distance, and give them alarms, and probably time to collect supplies. Government are also purchasing bullocks here for the carriage of their ammunition and camp-equipage; and the conquest of the province of Tavoy, on the Siamese frontier, promises to supply their wants of fresh meat; but, in the meantime, the troops having been at Rangoon all the rains, and fed on salt meat since April, are destroyed by scurvy, dysentery, and fever. The finest regiments of Europeans that went there, are reduced as much as they would have been in the West Indies; and they require reinforcements to enable them to move up. In the Government Gazette, which I send you, you will see a report of a revolution at Amerapoura, which is our latest news from Rangoon, and which appears highly probable. This would certainly, I think, lead to an early peace. I suppose we shall insist on the Burmese evacuating Munnipoor and Arracan, and the remainder of Assam.

‘There are various rumours of discontents in the north-western provinces, and, undoubtedly, Rohileund, Hurriana, and Saharapoure, are all ripe for a revolt, if they saw a fair chance of success. There is a party here also, who are afraid of Runjeet Sing; but his hands are full, and he has marched to the north-west against the Afghans and Hill Chiefs. However, most undoubtedly, if he chose to venture to burst into Hurriana and the Doab, we have no adequate force to oppose him, and there would be immediate disturbances from Joudpore to Bareilly; and yet the Court have, as I suppose you know, given absolute abuse to Mr. Adam for raising the four regiments (eight battalions) that were embodied last year. In the end, I conclude some man fit to govern will be sent out, and an army formed such as the country requires. About May last, Sir Edward Paget urged upon the Government the want of two regiments more of cavalry, but the Government said it was not within their power, after the late peremptory orders from home!

‘There has been a very serious disturbance at Barrackpore, among the Sepoys; and the dislike and horror of the climate, and hardships of the service on the Eastern frontier which they entertain is so great, that the battalions ordered to Bengal lose hundreds by desertion. One battalion marched from Seetapore on the 16th ultimo for Midnapore, and, in the first fortnight, lost 254 men. This aversion is to be removed by extending new and special indulgences to the men employed in so (to them) unhealthy and odious a climate, and also by sending officers carefully selected to command them, who would speak to their feelings and prejudices, and command their lives through the medium of their affections. But the first of these modes of cure would cost money, which Government is averse to spend; and the second requires an energetic high-minded liberal man, to be in the place now filled by persons of a very opposite cast. The Court of Directors have been pleased from time to time to express great alarm at the consequences of young men rising to high staff appointments. It would be more to the good of this service, if they were to guard against such posts being filled by old women.

‘In the case of this regiment at Barrackpore, (the 47th;) it had been ruined by its Colonel, who is a plausible clever well-read man, but a partial and capricious commanding officer. It was known five months ago, that the regiment was in a very high state of *indiscipline*, the Colonel having sapped every officer's authority except his own.

‘The Military Board and Commissariat had found it absolutely necessary to

adopt a higher scale of pay to all establishments going to Dacca or Chittagong, adding twenty-five per cent. to the ordinary pay, and fifty per cent. to that of men going to Rangoon. The Commissariat were also buying up every decent pair of bullocks about Calcutta to send to Rangoon, which rendered it impossible for the men to hire bullocks. Government, indeed, (as soon as it was made known to them,) advanced them money to buy bullocks at a very high price. But this was done too late; and was not the proper course to pursue. How were the Sepoys to get the bullock-men to go to that detested climate? How keep them if once got? Nor could they well afford to pay so high. If a bullock died, or was lamed in a week, the men whose baggage and bedding it carried, must either buy another, (where was the price to come from?) or starve from cold and get fever; thus the regiment would melt away. Government should, under such circumstances, have hired carriages for the regiments going on service, or bought the cattle for that purpose, and let them out to the men at a moderate rate.

You will remark, that the Madras troops have embarked with great readiness for foreign service. They have now ten battalions at Rangoon, who, living on rice, have been very healthy. The whole ten battalions had only five or six men missing when they came to embark. But be it remembered, that they get rations gratis the whole time they are absent, and have great-coats sent down to them to keep them warm in damp and raw weather. Besides this, they have an excellent Adjutant-General.

The first cavalry marched from Sultaupore, Benares, to Purneah, on their way to the Eastern frontier, in October, and have had only five desertions of young lads. This is, in a great measure, owing to the Hindoos (and Brahmins) being mixed in the ranks in smaller proportions; about one-third of the regiments (or five-twelfths perhaps) being Hindoos. In the infantry, you know eleven-twelfths are of that race; it is likewise greatly caused by the officers being much more fixed to their troops, and more closely connected with them, than infantry officers are to their companies. In a battalion, the officers are perpetually changed from one company to another, to make the rotation of detachments fall equally upon the officers present, and also on the companies. Thus, suppose five officers present, the one who goes on command with the company No. 2, must go the next time with the company No. (2 x 5) = 7; and the links which rivet the Sepoy to his old captain, can never be firm and strong until there is an officer present with every company, besides the commandant, the boys, who are learning their duty as subalterns, and two or three surplus officers of five years standing to replace casualties, and supply the place of absentees. The principles established in Lord Hastings's despatch of fixing a necessary complement of officers, and keeping it always untouched, are the only true maxims to follow.

A third cause of the present rate of our infantry, is the mischievous shifting of officers. When the four regiments were rated last year, the military authorities unfortunately concurred in a plan for doing what they intended as a favour (or justice rather) to the younger part of the Lieutenants. Some regiments that had been backward were left, in forming the new regiments, with only seventeen Lieutenants, and even with sixteen. Instead of putting an eighteenth Lieutenant into this place, who would have got two steps for the trouble of moving from his home, (i. e. *his own regiment*), they took another seventeenth, who was farther from the line step of being sixteenth; and, in this manner, shifted twenty-one of the junior Lieutenants; and all the Ensigns promoted to Lieutenants by the augmentation, as well as all who continued in the rank of Ensign at a trifling and almost evanescent advantage to themselves, but to the great injury of the battalion from which they were taken, which lost so many officers of two, three, and four years standing. In their new regiments they had to begin again to learn the characters of their Native Officers and men, as if they had been new Ensigns. All the Ensigns were unposted and reposted in this way. If you get a file of

Calcutta newspapers for 1823, you may trace the extent of this evil, by referring to Government General Orders of the 11th of September 1823. The Ensigns who were made Lieutenants in other regiments, fill more than two folio pages. Then come the Court's orders to make each battalion one separate regiment; posing the officers, of course, 1, 3, 5, &c. to the 1st battalion, and 2, 4, 6, &c. to the 2d battalion. But this measure sent officers to their new regiments, where three-fourths of them were perfect strangers. The 47th regiment, in which this mutiny broke out, had one Captain and two young Lieutenants that had belonged, in April last, to the 1st battalion 24th regiment. This is about the average. They have got new officers, new adjutants; many have new commandants from the great promotion of field officers; and the Native Officers complain that every thing is without stability or certainty. This has been done with half the army, either in the field or moving to the frontier, and thus the confusion and consequent discontent has been increased. The mischievous consequences of splitting the battalions, were clearly stated by the Military Secretary to the Council. But I fear he stopped there. A man honestly zealous to save the army from such an injury, would, I think, have done more.

Among the retrenchments which came out lately, and which would have all been carried into effect but for Sir Edward Paget's opposition, was a project to abolish the cavalry system of troop allowances, and throw the supply into the commissariat; thus effectually disgusting all the officers of cavalry.

The present system of the cavalry keeps many men and officers with their regiments, with whom they have lived and served for twenty years. Their troops would follow them to the Indus or the Yellow River, while their Captains remained with them; but remove the officers from the men, and put new ones in their places, and the same devotion could not be relied on.

We have given in another part of our publication a detailed account of the Barrackpore transaction, from the pen of a person in the immediate neighbourhood when it happened, to which we refer our readers. To show the sensation created by this mutiny in other parts of India besides Bengal, we insert some portions of a letter from a distinguished servant of the Company, in the Upper Provinces, on this melancholy subject, dated the 9th of November.

Although I had the day before heard that there was a mutiny in the Corps at Barrackpore, I was so shocked at the result which reached me yesterday, in three several letters, from Calcutta, that I could not compose myself to sit down to reply to any letter.—I hope the severe example made of the mutineers will have a salutary effect. I have no doubt that it will, so far as to induce the other regiments under marching orders to move quietly to their destinations; but the effects of the measure will be more slow in their development. There will, I fear, be a more general distaste to the service, and a greater degree of difficulty in recruiting the army. This was bad enough before, you will say, without any sweeping charge of a general change in the service, unfavourable to the native soldier.

We should bear in mind that as we beat the sword out of the hands of natives, and extend agriculture and commerce, we remove the great inducement to enlistment, namely, poverty. Men less readily quit their homes too, when their movements, instead of being confined to the line of the Ganges (between Annoopshulur and Dacca,) is widened to the Indus, the Nerbuddah, Guzerat, and Candéish. Unfortunately, as demands on the exertions of our native soldiery have augmented, our attention to their comforts and to the maintenance of attachment to their European officers have fallen off. Yet we exact and expect the same cheerful obedience as in more favourable times.

'I am confident the 47th had some substantial causes for complaint and discontent; I hope these will be sifted to the bottom: and since we cannot remedy the past, let us learn how to act for the future. The grant of money to provide carriage, after the whole country had been drained by Government, was something like a mockery. Instead of money, the State should, in such an untimely contingency, have allotted carriage. The demand for double full batta was an idle piece of bombast, and had nothing to do with the real wants of the soldiers. The evil principle which, like a moth, has worn away all the best feelings and dispositions in our native army, is the want of European officers. Surely both the local and home Governments must open their eyes to the folly of their present system! If India cannot afford an efficient army, we had better make up our mind to lose the country. We must unravel the web we have wove, and begin our new system by making it the benefit of officers to stick to their regimental duties.

'All the little emoluments from commands, guides, and other contingencies, have vanished. The late regulations have carefully provided for the interests of two officers in every regiment, viz. the Colonel and Lieutenant-Colonel;—but has this not been done, in some measure, at the expense of the other more numerous and equally important classes? I think it has, even in what has been promulgated: and how much more so would this have been apparent had the other parts of the new system been carried into effect? I should like to see half a dozen of His Majesty's best regiments similarly placed to our Native corps, and if they did not become discontented and mutinous, I would forfeit my life. Remove almost every officer twice in one year; and leave the regiments either with only two or three officers, or with boys who have just left school; in the midst of this derangement, order the corps on a distant and difficult service, with little assistance in carriage, &c. and see how they would act! We must not shut our eyes to such a parallel. Until we learn to keep men and officers together, and have, besides, a sufficient number for all staff employ, and contingent services, our army will never go right. It is not by cutting and clipping the staff, the remedy will be found; an army of 150,000 men requires even a larger staff than we allow—and if regiments were kept complete, these would be no more than a sufficiency of prizes to excite emulation, although under the present miserable system, the prizes nearly equal the blanks (which regimental duty is considered.)

'I am so sick at heart that I really want words to express what I feel.—I hear the Military Secretary is very urgent with Government to begin shooting deserters, "pour encourager les autres," no doubt. If our service is not a temptation, we certainly shall not improve it by the shooting system. We must make it of advantage; for, without this, no Sepoys will enter it. I am very anxious to hear the subsequent occurrences at Barrackpore, and the steps taken: the sooner what has happened is promulgated to the army the better. If silence is preserved, great evil may follow; for all that has taken place will be open to exaggeration.'

'The writer of the above feels that even silence on the subject must have a most injurious effect. But how much more mischievous must it be to promulgate to the world, as they have confessedly done, a false account, prohibiting others, at the same time, from publishing the truth? Is not this calculated to convince the public that Government is afraid of its enemies? to publish the real facts; and to take away all credit from its statements in future? Will not this cause private reports to be eagerly sought after, and give even common rumours more weight than official accounts, which are thus brought into disrepute? Now, as far as concealment was concerned, to attempt such a thing to any purpose is evidently absurd and impossible. For it is well known, that among the natives of

India news spread with the greatest rapidity, without any aid from the press. It is a remarkable fact, that the motions of Buonaparte in Europe were known among the native inhabitants of Calcutta, through private channels, before intelligence reached the European part of the community. A victory or a defeat in Russia was often reported for several days among the natives in the Calcutta Bazaar, before the public accounts arrived. With regard to events transacted in their own country, intelligence must, of course, pass with much greater facility. As Europeans, however, from being accustomed to the use of the art of printing, are out of the habit of corresponding privately on such subjects, by silencing the press, we, indeed, shut our own eyes. But we do not shut those of the Natives: on the contrary, we give them a great advantage over us; since, never having been habituated to the use of the press, they continue their ancient system of private correspondence, which, whenever they may have any real designs against us, is far more dangerous, being unseen and unsuspected.

Some hostile movements had taken place also among the Sikhs in the North West of India, and the Lahore Arkbar of the 7th September states that "Rajah Runjeet Sing was still encamped at Wuzeerabad, on the Chunab or Acesines. An Arzee arrived from Sirdar Huree Sing, at Durbund, stating that the Zemindars of that quarter having risen in great force, to the number of nearly ten thousand horse and foot, he, with Sirdars Jumiyat Singh and Moolraj, marched to attack them at a place about two kos from Gund Gur'h. The insurgents were prepared for battle; but on the arrival of the troops fled, and in the flight several were killed and wounded. After this success, the Sikh troops occupied the ground deserted by the insurgents; and all the Sirdars, with about one thousand horse and foot, encamped in one enclosure, the remainder of the force being dispersed in the adjacent villages. At night the rebels re-assembled, surrounded the enclosure, and commenced a vigorous attack on it. The fight lasted from midnight until morning. Sirdar Jumiyat Singh, his nephew, Moolraj, commandant of horse, Bod'h Singh and the commander of Dhunna Singh's contingent, and Sudda Sookh, were slain, and of the 1000 horse and foot, only about 200 escaped. The remaining 800 were killed by the insurgents.

'On hearing of the heavy loss thus sustained by the Sikh forces, the Maharajah despatched a Shookkeh to Sirdar Huree Singh, desiring him to strengthen his position at Gund Gur'h, and keep up his spirits, as the Maharajah proposed to join him without delay.'

Although doubtless the best policy of the Indian Government would be to let these opponents waste their strength upon each other, yet from the peculiar habit we have of monopolizing all the quarrels of India to ourselves, as well as the restless spirit we always evince to be something more than spectators of disputes, however little they may concern us, it is by no means improbable that this apparently neutral warfare may be the foundation of much work for our troops. The advices from Saugor likewise state that the Pindaree Chief, Sheikh Dulla, had again appeared in arms near the Nerbudda, and that another refractory Chieftain had advanced to the vicinity of Jubbulpore.

A detachment of the 60th N. I. had marched from Bhopalpoor in the direction of Neemawar, reinforced at Seerora by one hundred horse of the Bhopal contingent to intercept Sheikh Dulla, who had been levying con-

tributions on the village, and was said to have one thousand men under him. A detachment was also expected to co-operate from Saugor. The banditti had also been plundering in greater force than usual about Sharanpoor and Hansee, and troops had marched for their dispersion from the North Western stations. The general state of the interior may indeed be regarded as labouring under strong excitement, which a reverse in the war now carrying on must render most dangerous. At Delhi and another station under the Bengal Government, the lives of two of the Civil servants of the Company had been attempted by the natives; one of them was beset by a party and escaped with difficulty, and the other, a judge, was shot at while sitting in his own Kutchery (or Court of Justice) by a sepoy who was apprehended.

The accounts received at Calcutta from Cheduba, stated the troops there to be in good health. The gun-boats and frigate on that station had gone against Ramree and taken three stockades without loss. The troops which had been landed then proceeded about three miles along the coast without seeing a single Burmese, and then returned to the first stockade, where they passed the night. At three o'clock in the morning the enemy attempted to surprise the camp, but were repulsed.

The letters from Nussceerabad confirm the accounts of the disturbances in that district, and state that a battering train was about to depart against Jeypore, when the Ranee had assembled all her troops to pay them their arrears, after receiving which, they refused to return to their cantonments. She had also quarrelled with her Prime Minister, who had taken refuge in the British camp. The latest accounts from Ellichpore also stated that Sheikh Dulla had been defeated on the 12th of October, by a detachment under Captain Seyer, and that on the 21st he was surprised by Lieutenant Lermitt, and many of his party killed; but that he himself effected his escape wounded.

The private letters from Calcutta, speaking of the expenses of the war, state that the treasuries were empty and specie fast disappearing. Two successive propositions of loan from the government, one a transfer loan at four per cent., and the other a cash loan at the same rate, the exchange to be two shillings, had failed. The following is an extract of a letter dated October 21 :—

‘It is impossible to go on this way very long. A blow will be attempted somewhere, but it is said that even the Government have not made up their minds where; and the public, if you can call it a public, has been able to discover nothing like consistency in the plan of the campaign, or caution in the commencement of the business. You must not suppose the natives of the interior are passive spectators; on the contrary, their attention is strongly rivetted upon the operations on our eastern frontier; and the news of any serious disaster, or even the protraction of a doubtful contest, will be enough to raise up hosts of enemies on every side. It cannot be dissembled that our rule, though most beneficial to the industrious classes, even with them is nowhere popular; excepting perhaps in the newly-acquired districts, so lately rescued from utter devastation, and hardly settled enough yet to ensure against relapse. What must be the astonishment of the good people in Leadenhall-street to find that, while they have been securely calculating upon two millions of surplus revenue, and a long series of unimolsted patronage and dominion, the very existence of their empire has, in a few months, fallen into jeopardy, under the very Governor-General, whose caution, pa-

cific virtues, and economy, they are perhaps at this moment contrasting with the opposite qualities of his predecessor.

'I wish you could be a witness of the surprise with which we receive the intelligence of the East India House debates, wherein all manner of indirect abuse is heaped upon our late Governor-General, and all manner of eulogy passed upon our present Lord and Commander-in-Chief.'

Suttees appear still to disgrace the annals of British Government in Bengal; one having taken place in November opposite Isherah. The victim was a woman about thirty years of age, the mother of three children.

Since closing the preceding summary of Indian news, some additional letters from Bengal, dated between the 15th and 18th of November, have been put into our hands, from which we give the following extracts:—

'There is a mess of sixteen officers stationed at Kemmendine, which is a great advantage; and they have a messman who is very clever, and gets them fresh meat when no other mess can procure it. It is not much; but still, though only a few mouthfuls for each of them, it is of the utmost consequence in keeping off the scurvy, from the worst kind of which disease the European troops have suffered, and are still suffering greatly.

'A communication has been opened with a place called Mergui; and Colonel Miles, of the 89th, has taken a place called Tavoy, and bullocks, buffaloes, &c. were coming from these places by the last accounts, so that it is to be hoped the food is improved by this time, and that the ravages of sickness and death will cease in consequence.

'The 19th and 38th King's regiments are coming up here again, and are to be relieved by the Royals and 47th. They went down to that vile place, Rangoon, two of the finest regiments in India, nearly 800 strong, and they are about to return here with scarcely sixty efficient men in each regiment. Is it not dreadful? The damp and bad food (and scarcity of the latter also) have reduced the force, especially Europeans, dreadfully.

'It is impossible to predict what measures will be next taken in this ill-conducted, ill-planned war; nothing of consequence has as yet been done. When the season is sufficiently advanced for the army from the frontiers to march towards Unimerapoor, the capital of Ava, it is to be hoped there will be a speedy finale of this business; but how the Rangoon army are to get there, God only knows; and it will be very hard upon them, who have borne all the brunt and hardship of the contest, to be kept as an army of reserve only, without sharing in the triumph.

'The Burmese are shocking savages; they mutilate all the dead bodies they can meet with, and crucify the dead Sepoys, greatly to the horror of the living ones. Two chiefs of Mergui and Tavoy are just arrived here as prisoners. I think Lord Amherst must have enough upon his mind at present, for certainly it is a nervous and critical time for India.

'The public prints will have told you of the mutiny at Barrackpore, and that the 47th Native Infantry is struck off the list in consequence. The Company's Artillery, and two King's regiments were brought out against the mutineers; and, although every thing is now quiet, and it is to be hoped Sir Edward Paget's decided conduct has quieted the feeling of disaffection, yet it is supposed to have spread widely through the Native troops, and there is no knowing whether it may not show itself somewhere else, where there are no Europeans at

¹ This letter confirms what was stated in another place, with the addition of the word "efficient," there being perhaps, 100 in each, though half might be inefficient from sickness.

hand to stop it. The ridiculous system of economy, so much in vogue now-a-days, will not do for India; and one would have thought Governments in this country had experience enough of the folly of interfering with the prejudices of the Natives on the Madras side, without cutting their allowance of coolies and cattle for carriage *here*. The Sepoys are high caste men, and will not carry their cooking things, &c. like Europeans.

There is a report, that the hero of Ramoo (a place on the frontiers, where we were worsted at the very beginning of hostilities) is about thirty or forty miles off with 9000 men, with the intention, according to his own account, of driving the English into the sea. Some people hope the gentleman will try it; but, for my part, I would rather he should walk quietly into the sea himself instead! At Mergui and Tavoy, as soon as the chiefs were taken, the poor people returned quietly to their homes, and said they had no wish to fight the English, but their chiefs would make them. Many poor wretches from the Dalla shore, opposite to Rangoon, came over at that time in boats, and begged General Campbell's protection, as they were literally starving. They will be very useful in fishing, &c. The sick are getting better as the climate improves. Fresh provision was getting more abundant. One party had just brought in plenty of cattle. Poor creatures! I am sure they have need of every thing that can be got for them. It is, altogether, a disheartening war, and every one seems tired of it. The letters of the officers say, in every other line, that they hope it will soon be ended. There is nothing but privation and expense, and no glory.

MADRAS.

Our advices from Madras extend to the early part of November, and are neither less important nor less interesting than those from Bengal. It is through letters received from this Presidency that we learn two very remarkable facts as illustrations of the spirit of dissatisfaction prevailing in the higher parts of Hindoostan as well as in Bengal.

It is stated on the authority of letters from the upper provinces, and appears entitled to as much credit as information coming through such channels generally deserve, that Mr. Oldfield, a civil servant on the Bengal establishment, while on duty in the neighbourhood of Agra, at the Zillah court, of which he is the registrar, or assistant to the judge, was beset by a party of natives, and in the affray was wounded, though not dangerously, before he could effect his escape. It is not said whether the cause of this assault arose from any personal hostility to the individual himself, or a feeling of hatred to the class of which he was a member. In either case, it must be matter of deep regret.

The other instance of a similar nature, which is communicated through the same channel, is, that Mr. Scott, also of the Bengal civil service, registrar of the Zillah court at Moradabad, and joint magistrate of a neighbouring district, was actually shot at, while sitting on the bench and administering the affairs of his own court. This was done by a Sepoy, one of the guards of the court itself: but fortunately the musket either missed fire, or was turned aside so as to save the life of the intended victim, and the Sepoy was accordingly secured and taken into custody.

Such events as these are indications of a spirit that cannot be mistaken: and although no more cause for this spirit may exist now than formerly, yet it at least proves that men are emboldened by the aspect of the times, to display that spirit in a manner which they had hitherto hesitated to do.

Accounts received from Bareilly, which is also under the Bengal Government, state that the squadron of the 5th cavalry, which had arrived

there and were under orders to march off again on the following day, to join their head quarters, had been directed to stand fast, in consequence of some intelligence from Moradabad, to which the papers could but vaguely allude; the fear of offending Government preventing them from more fully explaining.

The most recent accounts from this Presidency (Madras), are of an equally alarming nature; and show that the spirit of resistance to the British authority, which we have already noticed under the preceding head, has more ramifications than could have been supposed. Letters of the 3d Nov. mention an unfortunate affair as having taken place between a small body of our troops and the garrison of a fort belonging to a Native Chief. From the slight detail furnished by the Indian papers, it appears that a troop of horse artillery, under the command of Captain Black, being on the march from Fort St. George to another station, when about thirty miles from Darwar, was ordered by Mr. Thackeray, the chief Commissioner and Collector in that part of the country, to attack a small fort, the chief of which had manifested a disposition to revolt, and had put himself in an attitude of resistance. An attack was consequently made, nearly at the commencement of which a sally took place from the fort, and the whole troop it was found had been cut off, (with the exception, it was added, of Dr. Turnbull, the Assistant Surgeon.) Captain Black, Lieutenants Sewell and Dighton, and Mr. Thackeray, were *reported* to be killed, and Assistant Collectors Stevenson and Elliot taken prisoners, after being severely wounded.

Such is the only statement of facts which the Indian papers thought it safe to give. We are enabled, however, from private sources, (now unfortunately the only one through which truth can be obtained,) to add some further particulars respecting this affair, from letters written on the spot. The following are extracts from a letter, dated near Darwar, October 24:

‘The affray commenced on the 23d. The day previous, Mr. Thackeray gave orders for sentries to be placed over the treasure and jewels in the fort, amounting to about fifteen lacs. He also ordered two guns of the horse artillery to be brought into the fort on the morning of the 23d. As a party of artillery was coming in to relieve the party sent in the day before, the people refused to admit them. When this was made known to Mr. T. he ordered Captain Black to proceed to the gateway and plant his two remaining guns, giving them one hour’s law. This having elapsed without their compliance with the requisition, another half hour was allowed; after the expiration of which, the guns were fired and the gates blown open, upon which the enemy commenced a tremendous fire upon our horse artillery and infantry. Mr. Thackeray then proceeded towards the fort from his tent, and was almost immediately shot; receiving a matchlock ball in the groin, he fell, as also did Capt. Black and Lieut. Dighton; and Lieut. Sewell was badly wounded.

‘They shortly afterwards took Messrs. Stevenson and Elliot prisoners, and brought them in front of our troops, who were still firing. The above Gentlemen requested our troops to desist from firing, saying, that their lives would be instantly sacrificed if they persisted; consequently all surrendered, and were taken prisoners. On the 24th, a serjeant of the horse artillery, a jumadar, and all the Sepoys, were released and allowed to proceed unmolested, and they came in yesterday morning. Mr. T.’s body was likewise allowed to be brought in; and the sight of it was dreadful, indeed. He was cut on the head, one arm was cut off, the face dreadfully disfigured by sword wounds, and hardly to be recognized. We attended his last remains yesterday even-

ing. Thus fell our much lamented friend. A better man never existed.—
Darwar, 26th Oct. 1824.

The cause of this rupture is said, in the *Bombay Gazette* of 3d Nov. to be this:

‘It appears the Deshai or Chieftain of this place dying in September without any issue or natural heirs, the lands held by him as a Jagheer lapsed to the sovereign state. The management of them had therefore been assumed by Mr. Thackeray, until he should be furnished with further instructions for his guidance. Some of the principal servants of the late Deshai had concealed the fact of his death, and endeavoured to impose on the Government the adoption of a child of the late Deshai, but which proved to be totally false and unfounded.’

A letter of the 26th of October, from the same quarter, adds the following particulars:

‘It is to be feared that Mr. Thackeray acted with unfortunate precipitation in ordering the guns to be fired; the insurgents having, it is understood, repeatedly required him to withdraw his troops, adding, that they would then conform to the orders of Government. This he would not accede to, and we have paid dearly for it. Letters have been received from Messrs. Stevenson and Elliot, in which they say, that if the force from Belgaum should take summary measures against the place, their lives would be instantly forfeited. We are given to understand that the Kittoor people are willing to negotiate with the Bombay Government, upon condition that their lives shall be spared, and the country given over to them on its former footing of complete independence; that it is only on these conditions they will liberate Messrs. Stevenson and Elliot; that, on the other hand, they will put those Gentlemen to death, and afterwards defend the place to the last man.

‘There are various reports raised hourly. I have related the substance of such as have reached me. The bodies of Captain Black and Lieut. Dighton have come in; and Lieut. Sewell is here in a very dangerous condition. The force from Belgaum is in the vicinity of Kittoor, and Mr. Edco is now the principal civil authority on the spot. It is understood that he will join Col. Pierce, escorted by a party of horse artillery, amounting to about two troops, being those who were so lucky as to escape; but their four gallopper guns and ammunition fell into the hands of the enemy. Col. Pierce will be likely to stand in need of reinforcements, and will, probably, call for every disposable man.’

A letter from Madras, of a later date than those from the scene of action, and embodying apparently the facts and opinions then most currently known and entertained, contains the following remarks:

‘I take the earliest opportunity of sending you some of the news in this quarter. Two days ago despatches arrived from Darwar and Belgaum, announcing that Mr. Thackeray had directed an attack on Kittoor, in which himself, Captain Black, of the horse artillery (Madras), and several other officers, were killed; only Messrs. Stevenson and Elliott, two of Mr. Thackeray’s assistants, and about 40 Sepoys, have survived, and they are all prisoners of the Raja in Kittoor, which is garrisoned by about 4 or 5000 men. Mr. Stevenson was permitted to write and to state, that it was the resolution of the Raja and his people, to sacrifice themselves as well as the prisoners, if a shot was fired against the place. Mr. Fullerton was left in charge at Darwar, with only 30 or 40 Sepoys, to protect the Cutcherry; and, by his letters, appears to have been in a great fright on hearing of this occurrence; but, probably, the brigade at Kulladghee was able to afford protection to Darwar. The Belgaum force, it seems, have been unable to reach Kittoor

immediately, in consequence of Appa Desshai, commonly called the Mepankur, having destroyed all the boats on the rivers, so that he also must be in rebellion. Major Lodwick's regiment, the 8th, was countermarched by orders from Poona, and returned here by forced marches yesterday; but is ordered to proceed on field service immediately, and to join the troops assembling near Darwar, under the command of Colonel Pierce.

'We expect a movement to the southward of the horse artillery, and irregular horse from Poona, in the course of a few days. These preparations appear to indicate apprehensions of a general disturbance amongst the southern Mahratta Chiefs; but we are all here entirely in the dark, and I have not heard of any agitation amongst the Putwendban Chiefs, who are our nearest neighbours; if they get up, we shall have enough to do to protect the Raja's territory, although a wing of the 14th Regt. from Ahmednuggur is ordered down to replace the 6th Regt. We are ignorant of all particulars of the unfortunate event at Kittoor, and every one is a good deal surprised at the attack of such a place by a few companies of Sepoys, and also at Mr. Thackeray and his assistants, having been, it would appear, in the thick of it. Captain Black also, and two other officers, were merely on a visit, it seems, when the event took place. The business altogether is very obscure.'

The attack at Kittoor appears, by all authorities, to have been rashly and unnecessarily determined on by Mr. Thackeray; and although there can be no doubt that the refractory Natives will be at last put down there as well as elsewhere, it would have been much better if such an exposure of our weakness had not taken place, particularly at the present time, when there is much distress in the country, and no great force within immediate reach.

The Coolies, (a race of natives so called, and not porters, as that word implies,) near Ahmedabad, have also shown a disposition to revolt; and, in quelling them, one officer (Lieut. Ellis) is said to have been killed, and about 200 Sepoys who were with him.

All the treasuries of the three Presidencies were at a low ebb; and in one, the payment of the civil servants was suspended until further orders. The 6 per cent. loans had not succeeded at either of the Presidencies. Provisions were quite exhausted at Rangoon. Several native regiments were ordered to Darwar, and money was wanted for them also. Add to which, there was expected to be a deficiency of the usual revenue from a failure of rain. The threatened payment of the crore and half of 5 per cent. loan in March, 1825, would, no doubt, be abandoned. The merchants at Bombay were looking to the opening of a loan at 5 or 6 per cent., and as the demand for bills became less, the exchange was expected to rise.

A letter from Madras, dated early in November, contains the following passage:—

'The 4 per cent. loan has been successful at Bombay; you are, no doubt aware of its disrepute in Calcutta. Here very little has been subscribed to it; nothing by calculating men, whose expectations having been raised by the rumoured excessive expensiveness of the war, and further stimulated by the indiscreet exposure of the impoverished state of the Treasury, manifested by the offer of Treasury Notes for all further demands, hold back in hopes of necessity obliging the Bengal financiers, ere long, to offer better terms. But it will be dire necessity alone which will induce them to advance in terms once offered.'

We shall conclude our summary of news, obtained through the letter from Madras, by the following statement, of the accuracy of which

we have no reason to doubt; but as the Chairman of the East India Company, in his place in debate, thought fit to question even its probability, we shall repeat it here in words at length. It is this: that H. M. 13th and 38th regiments of foot, who had embarked with the original expedition to Rangoon, in battalions of 800 strong, and were to be relieved by the Royals and H. M. 47th, had, in consequence of living in the swamps of a flat piece of land almost continually under water, and deprived of all nutritious sustenance, being fed chiefly on salt beef, without even the luxury of wholesome water to drink, being reduced, the one of them to about 80, and the other to 60 efficient men; and these in so debilitated a state, that a day's march was more than they could have performed. We can have no possible interest in the exaggeration of facts like these. We give them on the best authority that can now be had—letters from the country itself. Let the British Government only emancipate the press of India from its present degrading fetters, and then we may have fuller, as well as more accurate information, on all that relates to the country.

As a proof of the heartlessness and perversion of all good feeling which a fettered press, and the suppression of all honest opinion is almost sure to produce, we need only offer to the indignant notice of the English reader, the following specimen of flippant mockery, and disgraceful indifference to the sufferings of a starving population; which cannot be read without abhorrence. It is from the *Madras Courier* of Sept. 7, 1824, and is as follows:

‘LOCAL.—We have nothing *novel* to offer under this head:—PEOPLE ARE STARVING,—no sign of rain,—and the Madras Assembly took place last evening.’

We need not add a word of comment to such a text as this.

The following are portions of a letter containing some intelligence from the seat of war at Rangoon, which has not before transpired:

‘The state of Indian affairs have undergone a great revolution since you departed from the Tropics;—both at home, as to the new organization of the army, which is doubtless a great improvement, in as much as it will keep up that acquaintance between men and officers, which was formerly prevented by so constant removals; and also, because a second battalion can no longer form a place of refuge for those whose conduct has disgraced them in a first; this Burman war, too, is a great innovation, but few seem inclined to think for the better. You will, no doubt, if justice be done, hear sound reports of the zeal of the Madras army; and, indeed, the very circumstances of our having sent five Brigades, (containing five European regiments), and being in readiness to embark *two more*, will speak for itself. The Sepoys walked into the boats as carelessly as the Europeans, not a *man* missing,—nay, more, corps not ordered on the service have, in several instances, turned out one hundred volunteers for other colours, to be shipped off at twenty-four hours’ notice.

‘The case in Bengal was somewhat different,—the first onset was the total destruction of thirteen companies near Chittagong,—the refusal of the *Marine Battalion to embark*,—the arrival of an order for a Madras brigade, to protect Chittagong, which is now there under Colonel Fair, and for a Madras force to protect Calcutta, which has, however, since been countermanded. Sir E. Paget wrote to Sir Alexander in the highest terms of us,—“I envy you your Presidency,” &c. After all this you will be astonished when I say, that our troops have been so ill-treated as to cause a general disgust through the whole. It was generally supposed that our force, under Brigadier-General

M^rBeane of the 54th, would act in some degree independently of that under Sir Archibald Campbell, from Bengal, after the capture of Rangoon. The reverse has unfortunately been the case;—he is either the most prejudiced or the most misguided man they could have sent,—his conduct to our staff, &c. has approached to insult. The last private letters hint at his having put our engineers and pioneers under Bengal officers; and it is a fact, that our artillery has never been employed, while he has taken four-fifths of their ammunition for the Bengalees.

‘The despatches have been filled with their exploits, and the Madras troops have been only once mentioned; which once, however, may give rise not improbably to an inquiry. Two columns of ours, under Colonels Hodgson and H. Smith, were ordered to the attack of a Stockade a few miles up the river, which Sir Archibald Campbell himself, in the Hastings Frigate, was to attack by water. His report says, *the columns failed through a mistake*, and private letters explain this to be, that the Madras Europeans got in and were fired on by the Hastings; the men becoming confused fired at random, and what with the rain, the thick jungle, and the fire of the Hastings, the Stockade was abandoned with the loss of four officers and fifty men, killed and wounded, chiefly by our own fire. By the last accounts they were so hemmed in, that no one could stir a quarter of a mile from the camp except in force. We are in such want of provisions as to be supplied from the ships, though the Bengal troops have four months’ stock. Nothing has been done since the capture of Rangoon in May.—’Tis the height of the Monsoon, and though the Burmese made no resistance in the town, they are now like bees round us,—the jungle is so thick that they cannot be seen within pistol shot, and they make a Stockade in *one night* so silently, that our men cannot discover them till fired on.—Every day they have to thrust them out of these enclosures, which are burnt regularly, but always replaced before morning; in fact, they are the worst enemies we have had for a long time. The portion of the Bengal army that are still in the north are watching *Runjeet Sing*, who has a large and very fine army in readiness, as *he* says, for *Kabool*.’

There is one remarkable fact stated in this letter, of which we had not heard before: namely, that *the Marine Battalion at Bengal had refused to embark*! This was indeed a much more decided and open act of mutiny than the conduct of the 47th N. I. at Barrackpore. The Marine Battalion, as its name imports, is raised expressly for the purpose of serving by sea, and generally furnishes the Marines to the Company’s ships of war. For *them*, therefore, to refuse to embark, was a bold step indeed! But what was done to remove the causes of their dissatisfaction (for causes no doubt they had) we do not know. We only know that they were not massacred and mowed down by a masked battery of artillery; or we should certainly have heard of that. Sir Edward Paget, who, be it remembered is a king’s officer, and therefore not likely to have much sympathy with what are called the “idle prejudices” of the Sepoys, was then up in the interior of the country: and those having the military command at Calcutta, thought it perhaps wiser to satisfy the reasonable demands of the men, than to blow them out of existence by a discharge of cannon. The fact is, this mutiny was appeased by gentle means, and not a life was sacrificed. We have no hesitation in expressing our firm belief that the subsequent mutiny might have been suppressed in the same easy manner, and the evils of the dreadful carnage and its dispiriting effects throughout all India have been saved. Let those who neglected these means answer to their own hearts and to the world for the consequences!

BOMBAY.

THE letters and papers received from Bombay since our last, extend from the 1st of October to the 5th of November, the latest date received. The contents of the papers are as meagre and uninteresting as they must always be under such a system of terror as that which keeps down free discussion and public opinion in India. The banishment of Mr. Fair from Bombay is likely to operate as a check upon all independence of the Press in that island for some time to come; and this, added to the fact of there being only two papers in the Settlement—one of them the Government Gazette, published by authority, and the other 'the Gazette of a Member of Government, equally careful not to speak freely, except to censure those opposed to men in authority—is sufficient to account for the base use to which this powerful engine, the Press, is used by those who wield it without an opponent or even the power of reply. Our private letters are, however, more unrestrained in their communications, and from these we accordingly draw our most valuable information.

From a letter written early in October, we learn that the hostile feelings of the Barristers towards the Judges, at Bombay, had in no degree abated. The Advocate-General, it is said, though less violent before the two Judges of the Supreme Court than he was before the single one, as Recorder, continues to conduct his cases in such a manner as even those best acquainted with the modes of proceeding in England, think offensive and disrespectful in the highest degree. It is said, indeed, that formal representations on this subject have been made to the Board of Control, and that his recal had even been thought more than probable. It is now universally understood, that the secret cause of all this hostility towards the Judges, but to Sir Edward West especially, arose from his honest and praise-worthy endeavour to stop the career of extortion which the lawyers were running with unchecked reins at Bombay. This conduct in a Judge deserved the thanks of the whole community, and the especial patronage of the Government under which it was displayed: but unhappily for Sir Edward West's peace, though much to his honour, he espoused the cause of the oppressed and injured Natives of India, and extended the protection of the law to those who had before experienced little else but its evils. It was this, unquestionably, which brought upon him the hatred of the Ruling Powers; and we have, therefore, no difficulty in believing what is currently rumoured and generally credited in the best circles of Bombay, namely, that in all their insults and opposition to the Court, the Barristers were backed by two of the Members of Government, Mr. Elphinstone and Mr. Warden; by the latter more openly, but not more effectually, than by the former. The *Bombay Gazette*, of which Mr. Warden was himself the chief Proprietor from the time of the suspension of the Bar, until the unhappy Editor, Mr. Fair, was sent home, (it being rumoured that he had relinquished his proprietary right in it since that event,) regularly and systematically misrepresented almost all the proceedings of the Court; and it is now asserted and believed by many, that the Barristers themselves assisted in furnishing those garbled reports, and that Mr. Fair was by much the most innocent of all the persons engaged in these transactions, though the parties who supported him had neither the virtue nor the courage to come forward and avow themselves like men in the hour of need. Sir Ralph Rice, the late Recorder of

Penang, had arrived, according to the latest accounts, to take his seat as one of the Judges of the Supreme Court, and as Mr. Elphinstone had found it necessary to redeem his former opposition to the Judges, by offering up Mr. Fair as a victim to their offended dignity,—a measure which no circumstance whatever can justify, and which, though in our estimation it was undignified in the Judges to ask, it was still more degrading to the ex-liberal Governor to grant—it was thought that matters would be more amicably conducted than heretofore. We trust, however, that neither Sir Edward West, nor his colleagues, are thus to be won from that part of their duty which consists in protecting the helpless Natives from the oppression of their Governors, however they may have committed themselves by consenting to let their countrymen be dealt with according to arbitrary power, and not according to law. We should be more satisfied to see all classes equally shielded by its protection.

As an illustration of the uses to which the Press of Bombay is applied, we may mention, that in Mr. Warden's Gazette of the 6th of October, there is a letter, probably written by himself, but certainly from some one high in authority, commenting on an assertion made in Parliament, as to the threatened deportation of a Native, which the writer pretends to insinuate is incorrect, though he must have known at the time that no man in Bombay, even if he knew the circumstance referred to, dared to come forward with his proofs, as he might be sent to overtake Mr. Fair, in his circuitous voyage by the way of Bengal and China to England, for the benefit of his health, and the improvement of his manners! The magnanimity of these Indian authorities in affecting to throw down the gauntlet when they know that no man dare take it up, in giving a challenge which it would be little short of treason for any man to accept, cannot be sufficiently admired. This is the evil of a FETTERED Press: the cure is only to be found in establishing a free one. This letter, however, deserves, perhaps, something more than being merely referred to: we shall, therefore, give the whole of it to our readers, in separate portions, making a few remarks on it as we proceed.—The writer says:

‘In the debates that appear in the periodical prints in England on Indian affairs, nothing surprises an Indian so much as the ignorance which some Members of the House of Commons betray of the subject on which they are enlightening the nation. This is very apparent in some of the speeches on Mr. Buckingham's case; while others are led away by misrepresentation or misinformation. I have to notice only one on this occasion. There is a passage in the speech of an honourable Baronet in that debate which has certainly surprised me very much; and as the point is susceptible of elucidation, I should feel obliged by any individual pointing out the year in which the transaction occurred:

“It appears that a Native had made a good bargain with the Government, which they were desirous he should abandon, and which he was determined to keep. (*A laugh.*) He was threatened with deportation, (to what place is not specified,) and his answer was to be found on the Company's records. With a spirit becoming an Englishman, with that spirit which the Natives always manifested, *(he was not crushed to the ground, as they too often were,)* (hear, hear,) he answered to this effect:—‘Honourable Sir, I have been informed that you threaten to turn me off the Island. I believe it is untrue. I am satisfied, Honourable Sir, that you are too well acquainted with the laws of your country, and the rights of British subjects to take that course.’ (*Hear.*)

“Those individuals who have never been in India, or who, having visited it, are little acquainted with the country, and still less with the measures of

the local Governments, are the most ready to imbibe unworthy impressions of the mode in which the Natives are treated by their rulers. With such false impressions they blindly run on the rock of prejudice, which tinctures and distorts the whole of their proceedings.

This is all very lofty and very fine: but supposing it to be even true, which, as long as the History of Mr. Mill exists, any man may fairly doubt, as that great and excellent work, unrivalled for its comprehensive, as well as accurate information on Indian affairs, is the production of an individual who never set foot in the country; yet, supposing it to be perfectly true, it is, unfortunately, most inapplicable to the present case. The Honourable Baronet to whom the writer alludes must have been known to him by name, as he quotes this portion of his speech from the reports of the debate in the newspapers, where his name is mentioned at length. He ought to have known, therefore, (for no man in India besides himself can be ignorant of the fact) that this worthy Baronet passed the best years of his life in India, at the head of a mercantile house of the first character, and most extensive connexions; that his opportunities of knowing the character of the Natives of India was as great as that of almost any man that ever visited the country, and that throughout his whole career, as well as up to the present moment, he was, and still continues to be, one of their warmest advocates and most faithful friends. The reasoning of the Bombay Member of Government, (for so we must consider the writer in Mr. Warden's Gazette) is hardly more accurate than his knowledge of facts. He says:

But can any thing more strongly prove the enlightened character of a Native, (which in this instance was so much more so than that of the Government which he seems to have been instructing in its duties;) can there be a more decisive proof of the spirit of independency, and therefore of the improvement in THEIR habits that has been generated by British rule, than the reply which is said to have issued forth from the pen of a Native?"

We beg the reader to admire the logic of this short sentence. It is quite worthy of one who speaks with an authority, and who is not, therefore, bound to be reasonable, as other men are. A whole race of people, composed of all manner of men, Hindoos, Musulmans, Jews, Parsees, and others, living under British conquest, and British rule, are so subservient to those who govern them, that not one man in a million dares utter a murmur of complaint. One such man, however, does arise, from a class possessing the greatest portion of intelligence and spirit to be found among the Natives generally, we mean the Parsees, and he alone ventures to speak his mind more freely than his neighbours: When lo! the Bombay Counsellor assumes, that because a Native had been found not "enlightened" enough, merely; but rather bold enough to do this, therefore, he exclaims, "What a striking proof that all other Natives have been IMPROVED in their habits by our rule!" Alas! the truth is, and the writer himself must well know this, that the Natives want no "enlightening" to teach them the nature of the English rule: they feel it too accurately, and know much more on this subject than we are willing to believe. They want "emboldening" only: and if they were at liberty to speak freely, without fear of punishment for so doing, hundreds would be found as able to teach their rulers their duty, as this bold and independent Parsee; not, however, because we have taught them this lesson, since the very na-

ture of our despotism in India has a directly contrary tendency. The writer proceeds :

‘ Some abuses were discovered some years ago in the office of Superintendent of Police, who was accustomed to send suspicious *strangers* off the Island,—a kind of power similar to that which is exercised even in England under the Alien Bill. With all the overwhelming power which the Governments of India are imagined to possess, and with which they “*too often crush*” the Natives of India, they have none so arbitrary in reference to foreign Natives, even as that exercised under the Bill in question. Any attempt, however, or even a thought, to banish a Native of Bombay from the Island—with views of economy too—is so very extraordinary a procedure, that its proof or disproof is desirable on many grounds; and especially in vindication of the character of the Government.’

Here is an Englishman—can he be worthy the name?—who thinks that the Government of India have no power so arbitrary as that which the Government of England possess, to send away aliens! and he thinks it necessary to “vindicate the character” of the Indian Government from what he would have us believe to be a foul aspersion on its purity. Why, it was only one short month before his letter was penned, that one of his own countrymen, not an alien, but a brother, Mr. Fair, was sent, in the most arbitrary manner that can be well imagined, a voyage round the world; was transported, like a felon, untried and unheard (for the offer made by him to substantiate the truth of his report by respectable witnesses, was rejected with scorn, and thought to be only a fresh insult to Government, by presuming to be able to prove as true what they had already pronounced to be false). Does the Government of England possess any power equal to this? Can they kidnap any Englishman they choose, and send him to Bencoolen or China, for merely mentioning his friend and patron’s name, as was done in the case of Mr. Arnot? or giving an incorrect report of public proceedings, as in the case of Mr. Fair? The Bombay writer may, perhaps, suppose that in India, even Englishmen are aliens. Perhaps they may be; and, as such, may really have no business there at all! But then, what becomes of the right of his honourable masters to all the wealth and power of the country in which they themselves are strangers? By what authority has Mr. Warden a seat in their Council? By what authority does he maintain his Gazette? And why does he and others write in it? If Mr. Fair was an alien, Mr. Warden is equally so. If free-speaking Englishmen have no business in India, enslaved and tongued Englishmen ought not to have a better right to be there: and as to the vindication of the British name and character, it is not difficult to pronounce in whose hands that duty might be most safely reposed.

We may mention, *en passant*, that even the threatened deportation of a native of India is not so “extraordinary a procedure” as this official writer supposes. In Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, such things have been often heard and often known. We are not so insensible to the safety of the parties as to mention their names here, for that would ensure them some signal proof of the vengeance of their oppressors elsewhere, if the parties themselves are still living; and if dead, their descendants would not fare the better for our indiscretion. We proceed, however, to give the last portion of this memorable letter, being desirous that not a syllable of it should be lost:

‘ It is evident from the tenor of the letter from this Native that he had received no OFFICIAL COMMUNICATION of any intention to banish him; and

little doubt exists in my mind that no such measure has ever entered into the imagination of the Governments of this Presidency from the year 1668 to this hour,—a hoax must have been passed on the Native which he has transferred to others, but if any one can state the year, or furnish a clue to discover when this extraordinary bad bargain, which required the adoption of so extraordinary a measure to cancel, was contracted, they will oblige. Sir, your most obedient servant,

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The first portion of this paragraph is most probably true. The Governments in India know well enough what to communicate in writing, and what to keep in the more safe and irresponsible form of verbal communication. When the determination of the Bengal Government was taken, not to suffer the property of the Calcutta Journal Press to be made any use of whatever as long as one hated individual was likely to derive any profit from that source, they took care to cause this to be intimated in those “winged words” which are not afterwards to be produced in evidence against their utterers. So, also, in the case of this or any other native of India, a verbal threat would be as effectual as a written one: and we all know what a hint from men in authority can do, in every country under the government of an avowed and absolute despotism, as that of India is admitted to be.

But the highest flight of this official writer's absurdity is left for the last. He assumes to himself the attribute of omniscience as well as of omnipotence: and entering into the heart of every man that has held authority in India from the year 1668 up to the present hour, he asserts his belief that no such idea as that of deporting a native ever entered into the imagination of these immaculate men! Here is a searcher of hearts indeed! An ordinary man would have been content to say, that no such event had actually happened: but men who speak with the tongues of oracles, and whom no one dares to question or contradict, assume a higher tone, and presume, at least, to know what is hidden from all other eyes but their own. If even the acts of Indian rulers were told in the language of truth, we should have a sad picture of human infirmity; but if all these collective imaginings, from 1668 to 1824, could be presented in their true colours on the tablet of history, we believe that even they themselves would turn from the picture with horror and dismay.

The last modest request, inviting any one who remembers it, to state the particulars of this “bad bargain,” is quite worthy of the author's pen. He well knows that no Englishman on the spot, no, not even the worthy Baronet's relatives and friends, dare come forward to substantiate the assertion, without risking more than it would be worth to put down such an empty vindication of offended authority as this: and he knows also, that no native, acquainted with the disgraceful transaction, would be so silly as to suffer himself to be ensnared by such a trap as this, into further difficulties, by accepting the invitation offered. No, no! while the press of India remains in its present state, free for all men in authority to say what they please, and fettered to all men who could contradict them; if a hundred “vindicators” were to appear in the ranks of authority, and Mr. Warden's Gazette were to be filled with nothing else but their lucubrations, they would obtain no credit here. If they will not themselves speak the truth, let them permit others to do so for them: till then they are unworthy of consideration.

To return to the subject of general news from this Presidency, we

shall first give an extract from a letter, written at one of the principal stations in the Deccan, toward the end of October 1824, which is as follows: . . .

'We shall have a famine all over the Deccan—Government must know it, and could, in a great degree, soften the misery by coming forward in time, and laying out four or five lacs of rupees in grain; for there is plenty in the country, but all getting into the hands of forestallers; and if Government came into the markets against them, many thousand poor wretches would be saved; but no—they would *lose* considerably, and that tells bad in Leaden-hall Street. This country has been going to the dogs ever since it was conquered; and it must ever be the case under such a rapacious revenue system. In 1823, there was grain enough raised for five years' consumption. It was then of so little value, that the Ryots could not realize enough to pay the collector; still Government insisted on *cash*, and the consequence was the sale of five times the usual quantity of grain to parts of the country (Berar particularly) which had not been so productive, and two bad years following, the people have now neither money nor grain. God help the poor inoffensive wretches! They really deserve something better than the East India Company's blessings—missionaries and starvation.'

It would be well, perhaps, if the Government at Bombay could have heard this under their own Presidency, and at the moment when it was most useful, instead of its coming to their ears for the first time, as it now will, through these pages, after performing a voyage to England and back again in the interim: but if the paragraph given above had been printed in Bombay, in *any paper not the property of a member of Government*, the paper would probably be suppressed; and if sent to either of the Public Secretaries by an officer in the service, he would, perhaps, have had a reprimand for his officiousness as a reward. The following is a portion of a letter from Bombay, dated early in November:

'There appears to be but little doubt on the public mind as to the pecuniary wants of the Bengal Government, although the attempt to impress it with a contrary opinion, by opening a loan at 4 per cent., did for an instant blind a few of the Natives as to the real state of the finances. The subscriptions to this loan amount to about 40 lacs, including 25 from the Bank of Bengal, I understand; and that Government calculates largely on the subscriptions here, at Bombay, and at Madras. They have applied to the King of Oude for a supply of cash, and, it is said, will obtain 50 lacs from him. Another loan, however, on terms more favourable to the public is confidently looked for at Calcutta, and money is scarce in consequence of intending purchasers hoarding their means. The one and a half crore will not be paid off in March next, as far as present appearances indicate, and paper has risen a little within the last few days.

'The Government of Bengal is making large purchases of cattle for the expedition, and collecting, *per force*, all the hackeries (carts) they can find. Their preparations are now, indeed, beginning to look somewhat in earnest, and troops are in motion towards each point of attack. From Rangoon we expect soon to hear of the army having commenced their advance towards Amrapoor.'

By subsequent accounts it appears that the expectations formed of the 4 per cent. loan had been completely disappointed, the paper having fallen to a discount of 1 or 2 per cent., which of course compelled Government to commence drawing it in again.

Some accounts of the proceedings of the Sikhs had been received at Bombay, by which we learn that the Mahamjah arrived at Umritseer

early in September, and immediately intimated to the chiefs his intention of proceeding to Cabool, and if that kingdom should submit to his authority, he promised to perform all required of him. The ditch and fortifications of Umrutseer were directed to be put in repair, and orders were given for purchasing a considerable quantity of iron for the purpose of being cast into shot. A subsequent account mentions his arrival at Lahore with the whole of his army, shortly after which he despatched a letter to the Ameers of Sindé demanding the tribute which they had been accustomed to pay to the king of Cabool, and threatening, in event of a refusal, that he would resort to hostile measures.

Letters of November 3, advert to the disturbed state of the Bheels, and say they are plundering in the northern Concan, which is close to Bombay. The whole of the surrounding country is, it is said, in a most disordered state; and one writer says, nothing is more certain than that, with the troubles in India Proper, the war in the Burmese territories, and the hostile movements in the north, the Company's Government will have their hands full. All the letters from this quarter, as well as from every other part of India, earnestly pray that Lord Amherst may be recalled.

With respect to the disturbances in the north, alluded to above, we have an illustration of what is meant by these expressions, in the heads of a letter received from Bengal, dated the 15th of November, but which we place here for the purpose of affording the explanation which it gives. This letter states, that the Jeypore states are in open rupture with us; that Sir David Ochterlony has taken the field in that quarter to keep them in awe, or to quell them;—that the Sikhs are in motion;—that Runjeet Singh has a large force collected;—that Ameer Khan is gathering troops around him from all quarters;—and that every person or state in acknowledged enmity with the British power, is more than usually active and stirring. Such is the threatening aspect of affairs!

INCIDENTS AND EVENTS IN EUROPE CONNECTED WITH THE EASTERN WORLD.

THE constant inquiry in all circles connected with India appears to be—*When* is Lord Amherst to be recalled? No one seems to entertain a doubt that this *must* sooner or later happen: their only uncertainty appears to be as to the time. Neither the Ministers, however, nor the Court of Directors are willing to undo what they have done, as long as there is a hope of its being avoided. It requires the magnanimity of a great mind to acknowledge an error, and still more to set about repairing it as soon as it is discovered. But for such greatness of mind, the strictest search at the India House, or Board of Control, would be a waste of time. The Directors *know* that he has shown himself incompetent to govern India: but not one of their whole body rises to avow this. Nay, they even show, by their silence, an acquiescence in the complaint of the only Director who has spoken on the subject, and who rose to deprecate the idea of passing any unfavourable opinion on the conduct of an absent man! The Board of Control are equally satisfied of the incompetency of Lord Amherst to discharge the high and arduous duties of his station: yet neither will they admit this publicly to the world. The practice of both these

bodies is to uphold and defend, outwardly at least, whoever is acting under their immediate authority; though, as in the case of Lord Hastings—at the very moment they are applauding him in public to the skies—they may be writing the severest censures on his measures in secret despatches.

It is hardly just, however, in the present instance, to attribute all the disastrous changes which have taken place in India since Lord Hastings left that country, to his successor, Lord Amherst. It is his misfortune to be a weak man, or he never would have consented to make such pledges as were required of him before he went out, to carry all the dirty orders of the Directors into effect for curtailing the allowances of the Military Service, already too scanty, and needing increase rather than abatement. It is his weakness also which has enabled those more wicked men by whom he was surrounded to carry their iniquitous measures into effect. We do not believe that Lord Amherst would, had he acted on his own unaided views and feelings, have invaded the rights and property of individuals in the manner which, backed by Mr. Adam, Mr. Bayley, and Mr. Harrington, he has, conjointly with them, suffered to be done. Neither would the notion of a Burmese war, or a Rangoon expedition, have originated with him. The former, it is said, was the advice of the Political Secretary, Mr. Swinton, a quiet and inoffensive man in his way; but as much fit to be Political Secretary in India, as Mr. Trant to be Prime Minister of England. The latter is attributed to the great professional talents of the Military Secretary, Col. Casement, than whom, perhaps, the Bengal army hardly ever had a more unpopular man at its head.

To the interests of India and England it is the same thing, however, whether the wickedness of many, or the weakness of one, had the largest share in producing the evils that have resulted:—without the one, the other would have been unequal to the production of the misery entailed by both; and the most desirable event would be, to see the whole governing body changed. As this is not likely to happen, however, the next best step would be, the appointment of an able and popular Governor-General, to unite the office of Commander-in-Chief in the same person. For this appointment we know of no two men more suited than Lord William Bentinck or Lord Hastings. The former has not sufficient interest at Court; and the age of the latter may be thought an objection. But, it is said, that Ministers have actually sent out the *Liffey* frigate to bring Lord Amherst home; and that to Lord Hastings, who is shortly expected in a frigate from Malta, they are prepared to offer the joint offices of Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief in India, if he will accept them.

Nothing could be better for India, at the present moment, than his return, especially as it appears to be so ardently wished by all classes in that country, and would undoubtedly restore confidence in a greater degree than could be done at once by an untried stranger. If Lord William Bentinck could be appointed to accompany him, in order to succeed, in the event of the Marquis meeting the fate of Lord Cornwallis, who returned only to leave his remains in India, it would be a wise provision for keeping that confidence unbroken. It is added, that, in consequence of this intention of Ministers, Lord Combermere, though actually appointed to the office of Commander-in-Chief, will not leave England until this point is settled. From all we hear on this subject, his remain-

ing at home will not be a matter of deep regret to those who think the highest qualifications necessary for such distant and difficult commands.

IN the debate on Mr. Hume's motion, for the production of a military despatch of Lord Hastings to the India Company, in 1819, which occurred in the Commons, on the 24th of March, Mr. Wynne made an assertion which, if true, would make the whole Civil Service of India (than which a better educated, more gentlemanly, or more honourable class of public men, taking them in the whole, does not anywhere exist,) as a set of triflers and fools. He asserted, that the fact of Lord Amherst having handed the lady of Commodore Hayes (of the Company's Marine) to table, when he ought to have handed the wife of an elder Civil Servant, had been the cause of more outcry against his Lordship's whole administration, from the indignation of the Civil Servants generally, at this public insult to their body, than any ill-success attending his public measures.

Really, Mr. Wynne must be one of the weakest of men himself, or he must have thought all those who heard him men of the most contemptible intellects, if he believed that such a statement as this could obtain credit among them. Half a dozen of the Calcutta ladies, who thought themselves ill-used by seeing Mrs. Hayes put above them, might have been angry at such a mark of precedence, and two out of the three old ladies, of the *other* sex, who guide his Lordship's councils might have been a little nettled to see *their* wives neglected. But to say, that the whole Civil Service, or any other part of them than the half dozen named, cared a straw about such an unimportant matter, is to pass a censure on their understandings, which we do not believe they deserved. We shall take an early occasion to say something on the peculiarities of Indian society, more at large, but content ourselves for the present, with assuring Mr. Wynne, that his poor attempt to help Lord Amherst out of a difficulty, will only excite ridicule in India, however he may delude himself with the hope of its being successful here.

When the debates at the India House, and in Parliament on Indian affairs are mentioned, little remains to add under the head given above; though we hope the time is approaching when there will be less of secrecy in the proceedings of the Board of Control and Court of Directors than at present.

In our last we omitted to notice, that on the 24th of February Mr. Hume had moved, in his place in Parliament, for a return of the number of British born, and other European subjects banished from India from the year 1784 up to the present period, distinguishing the circumstances attending each individual case; which, after a slight alteration by way of amendment from Mr. Wynne was agreed to. When the papers are printed we shall examine their details.

In the course of the past month Sir Charles Forbes adverted, in his place in Parliament, to a cruel regulation of the India Company, preventing their large ships sailing in company with each other for mutual succour or relief, in consequence of their having once had to pay demurrage on one of their large ships, which had been detained in assisting to save the drowning men from the wreck of another. The fact of

the Kent, Indiaman, being in that situation, without a consort or companion; the periods fixed for the separate sailings of the ships carrying troops from England to India; and the announced departures of the China ships, at intervals of a few days only after each other from Canton, tend to corroborate the accuracy of the assertion.

The East India Company have been making the most extensive preparations to send out reinforcements to India. About seventy vessels, many of the largest dimensions, have been tendered to them to carry out men and stores; and the report is, that 30,000 tons of shipping will be taken up by the Company. The average tenders are 15*l.* per ton, out and home, and for the voyage out about the half.

The destruction of the Kent, Indiaman, by fire, affords materials for a melancholy tale. The details have been repeated in all the public papers of the kingdom, so that it is the less necessary to repeat them here. The conduct of Captain Cook of the Cambria, who, accidentally falling in with the Kent soon after she took fire, succeeded, notwithstanding a boisterous sea, in getting on board his little vessel of 200 tons upwards of six hundred men, including troops, women, and children, and saving them from destruction, was highly enterprising and admirable. Though outward-bound with miners and materials for Mexico, he brought them back safe to England, landed them at Falmouth, where they were humanely treated by the inhabitants; and received, as he richly deserved, the thanks of his own employers, of the Commander-in-Chief of the army, of the Underwriters at Lloyd's, and of the East India Company, each of whom presented him and his crew with liberal rewards; in addition to which, he had the strongest manifestations of gratitude from those he had saved, and the general approbation of all classes of his countrymen.

On the 4th of March, a deputation of the Merchants connected with the Cape of Good Hope waited upon the CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER respecting the duties on Cape Wine. In the reduction of wines generally, from 7*s.* 7*d.* to 4*s.* per gallon, wine from the Cape was entirely overlooked. As it forms the return payment of two-thirds of the exports, the article is of the first importance to that colony, and has lately averaged eight thousand pipes annually. The present duty on Cape Wine is 2*s.* 6*d.* or 2*s.* 7*d.* per gallon, and the merchants pray for a reduction, on the scale of that of the other duties. The wine from the Cape cannot, they contend, without this reduction, stand the competition with Portugal and other wines. The Deputation was favourably received; and informed that the representation would be immediately taken into the serious consideration of Government.

It is the avowed determination of Government to pay the troops in the Colonies in British coin for the future, instead of dollars; in consequence of which, 200,000*l.* are to be transmitted to the several islands and stations. The Samarang has already sailed with 60,000*l.* for the Cape of Good Hope and the Mauritius; and upwards of 70,000*l.* are to be shipped on board the Ferret, Captain Hobson, for conveyance to the Bahamas, Jamaica, and Barbadoes.

Mr. George Ricketts has been presented at Court, on his being appointed one of the Puisne Judges in India, and received the honour of Knighthood.

DEBATE AT THE EAST INDIA HOUSE.

On Wednesday, the 23d of March, a Quarterly General Court was held at the East India House.

The CHAIRMAN took his seat at 12 o'clock.

SUPERANNUATION LISTS.

The CHAIRMAN begged to call the attention of the Court to a List of Superannuations of the Servants of the Company, made by the Court of Directors, since the last Quarterly General Court of Proprietors.

The SECRETARY was desired to read the list, when he read the heads of it as a matter of form only.

Mr. HUME begged that before the Chairman proceeded with other business, the paper might be read entirely, so as to show the names and the services of the persons to whom the superannuated allowances had been granted.

The CLERK accordingly read the paper, which contained only the name of one individual, whose salary having been £104 a year, it had been resolved by the Court of Directors, that in consideration of his long services, he should be placed on the Superannuated List, and allowed two-thirds of his salary, being £73.

Mr. TRANT said, it had often occurred to him, that such papers as these ought to be laid on the table in the adjoining room, for the perusal of the Proprietors, previously to their being called upon to vote upon them.

The CHAIRMAN observed, that this course had never been considered necessary, and therefore had never been adopted. But the Court was required by Act of Parliament to lay these papers before the House of Commons; and according to a bye-law of the Court, all papers whatever that were to be laid before Parliament were, first of all, to be laid before the Court of Proprietors; it was therefore necessary that this Court should have the present list submitted to it.

Mr. HUME wished to be informed, whether any regulation existed at the present moment to prevent aged persons from entering the service of the Company; for it appeared to him, that if there were no such regulation, the consequence would often be that many persons would enter their service at a

time of life that in a very few years they would become superannuated.

The CHAIRMAN said, that there was always in these cases attention paid to the age of the individual, although there might be no particular regulation upon the subject. But the general rule was not to take persons into the service of the Company beyond the age of thirty-five. The individual who had been placed on the superannuation list, had served the Company faithfully seventeen years, and he thought was an object deserving of the allowance proposed to be made to him.

The Resolution was then agreed to.
APPOINTMENT OF FIRST ASSISTANT TO THE SURVEYOR OF BUILDINGS.

The CHAIRMAN said, he had further to inform them, that this Court had been made Special for the purpose of laying before the Proprietors, for their approbation, in conformity of the 17th section of the 6th chapter to the bye-laws, a resolution of the Court of Directors of the 26th of January last, for the appointment of a person in the capacity of First Assistant in the office of the Surveyor of Buildings, at a salary of £350, per annum, but his successor to be at a salary of £300, per annum. All that he should do, therefore, was to move—That the Court do approve of this Resolution of the Court of Directors, and of the appointment made by them.

Mr. HUME was desirous of being informed who was the surveyor of buildings. It was quite evident that the individual who filled that appointment should be a person qualified by education, experience, and talent, to perform the duties of it. He, therefore, wished to know whether the person who had been named by the Court of Directors had been regularly bred to the business of a surveyor, so as to enable him to act efficiently in his situation?

The CHAIRMAN said, the hon. Member had wholly mistaken the object of the motion; he was confounding the two offices of Surveyor and First Assistant together. The person now appointed was the First Assistant to the Surveyor, and not the Surveyor himself. The Surveyor was a gentleman whose merits were well known to every body. He had built our College at

Haileybury, which was considered by all who had seen it as the finest monument of his talent and genius. The Gentleman whose appointment was now under consideration was formerly the Clerk of the Works, and in that capacity had shown himself a most useful and meritorious servant. Upon the retirement of Mr. Cockerell, the Court of Directors thought it fortunate to be able to appoint him on the ground of merit only. He had no increase of emolument by the exchange, but only a few more privileges, which by his past services he was considered eminently entitled to.

Mr. HUME did not object to the amount of salary; he only wished to know whether this person was capable of affording that assistance which the Report of the Court of Directors said would be required of him.

The CHAIRMAN said, the Court of Directors were quite satisfied of his ability to perform the duties of his situation.

A PROPRIETOR asked, what was the salary of the Surveyor, and what were his duties, that it should be necessary for him to have a first and second assistant?

The CHAIRMAN said, the present salary of the Surveyor was 500*l.* a-year. The increase of his duties was very considerable. Hon. Members need only look over the very great extent of the building they were now in to satisfy themselves that the appointment of Assistant Surveyor was absolutely necessary.

The CHAIRMAN then put the motion, that the Court do approve of the appointment, which was agreed to.

PENSION TO SIR JOHN MALCOLM.

The CHAIRMAN begged to inform the Proprietors, that this Court had been further made Special for the purpose of laying before them, for their approbation, a Resolution of the Court of Directors of the 5th of January last, granting to Major-General Sir John Malcolm, G.C.B. a pension of 1000*l.* per annum, from Christmas last, in consideration of the eminent services, both civil and military, which had been rendered by him during a long period of active service. He should content himself with moving—"That this Court do approve of the Resolution of the Court of Directors of the 5th of January last."

General THORNTON fully approved of this grant, and he was only sorry that, seeing the gallant General in

such a state of health and vigour, he was no longer in the service.

Mr. PATTISON begged to say a word or two in answer to the observation which had just been made. When the gallant General, whose meritorious services every person must acknowledge, returned from India, great hope was entertained by the Court of Directors that that Officer would soon be again employed in some public capacity. He had the honour to be in the Chair on the occasion when the subject was discussed, as to sending out a mission to Persia; and at that time Sir John Malcolm evinced the greatest readiness to go upon that mission; but this appointment was opposed by the Colonial Department, and therefore nothing was then done. When he left the Chair, it was upon the pledge, that if their present hon. Chairman did not take the matter up, he (Mr. Pattison) should consider it his duty to pursue it; but the consideration of the Hyderabad Papers put a stop to all other business, and prevented him from proceeding as he had intended. It was thought, however, by many of the Court of Directors, that we ought to appoint this distinguished Officer to one of the Governorships of India; (*hear, hear;*) and if that had been done, it would have prevented them from coming to this Court to-day to ask for a pension. But that attempt had also failed, and the consequence was, that this eminent person was now put upon the shelf, for reasons which he could not well understand, but which he dare say were very sufficient. Under these circumstances the Court of Directors thought that they could not allow this illustrious Officer to go out of their service without some signal mark of their entire approbation of his conduct during a long series of splendid services to this Company.

Mr. HUME said, that he should most cordially vote for the motion; but he wished to state the grounds why he did so. Although we had had many valuable Officers in our service, whose merits were worthy of being rewarded, yet few had enjoyed the opportunities of rendering such eminent services to the Company as the gallant Officer whose name and merits were now under the consideration of the Court. It happened that he (Mr. Hume) was in India when Sir John Malcolm was coming fairly into the service, and he could only say, that the universal feeling towards him, both on the part of the Natives and Europeans, was that of

the highest respect and gratitude. He was not aware that any public servant before that period, he might say nor since then, stood so well in India as Sir John Malcolm. He mentioned this fact, because he considered, that if there were any of their servants who deserved more encouragement than others, they were those who by their conduct and example taught and encouraged others to endeavour to make the Natives of India look up to us as their friends, their fathers, and their benefactors, instead of contemplating us as their masters and their tyrants. (*Hear, hear.*) It was such men whom we ought to keep in our service and ought to reward: He could not help contrasting the state of India during the time of Sir John Malcolm and the present period. Then all was confidence and respect towards the British name—now every thing was mistrust and doubt.

Mr. BUCKINGHAM said he did not rise to disturb the unanimity which seemed to prevail in the Court. He was happy to observe the general feeling in favour of the motion; and he had therefore the less scruple in offering himself to their notice; as he might now indulge the hope that his rising to advocate the claims of Sir John Malcolm would not prejudice his cause in the eyes of the Directors. He could not consent to give a silent vote upon this occasion: and, although the services of Sir John Malcolm were too well known to require any lengthened detail from him, yet he could not refrain from adverting more particularly to a few of the striking points of his character and career. (*Hear.*) It was at a very early period, under the administration of Marquis Wellesley, that, in a political sketch of India, published by Sir John Malcolm, he had the merit and the honour of being the first to draw public attention to the state and condition of the Indo-British, or half-caste population—a race for which little has yet been done—and to point out to the Government the importance of elevating and ameliorating their condition. (*Hear.*) In his maturer years, Sir John Malcolm had acted a most distinguished part in diplomatic transactions with the Natives of India, and it might be said, to his honour, that no man understood better than himself, the most effectual means of securing their attachment, which was by a system of kindness and conciliation, and not by force. (*Hear, hear.*) Perhaps no man that ever served in India was more generally or

more justly beloved by the Natives of that country: and his benevolent wish, to promote their happiness was not satisfied with all he could himself do to promote it; for, on his quitting India, he left behind him a code of instructions to the Residents serving under his authority, which was attached to his Report on Malwa; the chief feature of these instructions being a marked attention to the interests and happiness of the Natives, which he seemed on all occasions anxious to promote. (*Hear, hear.*) Nor was his fame confined to India alone. He (Mr. Buckingham) had had occasion to travel through Persia in the year 1816, and he felt peculiar satisfaction in stating, that at every step of his progress he heard the name of Sir John Malcolm, as one familiar to all Persian ears, and it was never pronounced but with feelings of gratitude and respect. He had no hesitation, indeed, in declaring his belief, that the high consideration enjoyed by the English about that period in Persia was more owing to the excellent and judicious conduct of Sir John Malcolm, during his diplomatic Residence in that country, than to any other cause. (*Hear.*)

He paid this tribute of his praise to that gallant Officer with the greater alacrity, because, upon the subject of the restrictions on the Indian press, he had been compelled to differ with him, and certain discussions of rather an unpleasant nature had taken place in consequence. That subject had, however, nothing to do with the object of the present motion, to which, as no man had a higher opinion than he had of the gallant General's military and diplomatic services, he should give his most cordial and hearty concurrence. (*Hear, hear.*)

The question was then put, and carried unanimously in the affirmative.

LATE MUTINY IN INDIA.

Mr. HUME would not have troubled the Court upon this occasion, if the subject which he was about to introduce was not one of considerable importance. No one was ignorant of the events which were now passing in India, and for which he found it impossible to furnish himself with any explanation. When he was in India, he had always witnessed the most ready obedience on the part of the Native troops, and the greatest confidence reposed in them by the Europeans, which had combined to produce the most brilliant results. His sentiments respecting

the press were well-known; he had foretold that the interference of Government with the press in India would be attended with unpleasant consequences. Those consequences had not only taken place, but still continued.

Mr. S. DIXON rose to order.—He begged to ask the honourable Gentleman if he meant to follow up his observations by proposing a resolution? If so, he thought he had better move it upon notice.

Mr. HUMPHREY assured the honourable Proprietor he should have the benefit not of one, but of two or three resolutions. He was observing that his prophecies were fully borne out. They were now entirely ignorant of what was passing there; the only communications received were from persons who were afraid to speak out, lest they should be punished with banishment. When he (Mr. Hume) was in India, the idea of such proceedings taking place was never conceived. The Court was bound to consider, out of respect to themselves, and consideration for the millions intrusted to their charge, of the best means to put an end to them. He laid it down as the subject of every letter from India which he had seen, that the white as well as the black population of that country had lost all confidence in the Governor-General. (*Hear.*) They looked most anxiously for the measures of the Court; they expected that the Government of England would have sent out some person competent to conduct the Government of that country. The public press was prevented from affording them the least assistance in the way of information. It was well known that every occurrence that took place any where, was told in a different way by each of the spectators, by which means the public had the advantage, by seeing and comparing all the several accounts, of being able to form an accurate judgment of the fact. But in India they were deprived of this advantage. In the instance of the unfortunate affair at Barrackpore, a circular letter was sent round to each paper, forbidding them to publish or notice any part of what had taken place there until the official account was first published. Not only this, but letters had been written to the editors, informing them that if they published any observations respecting Mr. Buckingham's removal from the country, they would incur severe displeasure. This was beneath

the conduct of men who were conscious of acting right, and was only to be understood when pursued by such men as Mr. Bayley and Mr. Adair, who had forgotten what they owed to themselves as Englishmen. It was to this system that he attributed the want of confidence in the Government which at present prevailed; and if it were allowed to continue, the consequences also would not only continue, but would be fearfully aggravated. Now, he asked, had any measures been taken to procure the recall of Lord Amherst? In all the letters which he had seen, the writers said, "For God's sake, don't mention my name." Such was the dread of the consequences of imparting information. The honourable Proprietor then mentioned the circumstance of two Gentlemen having been recently taken away suddenly from their indigo plantations and transported; of which, he said, he supposed they would receive the accounts in a few days. In fact, India at present could be compared to nothing but a person sitting on a barrel of gunpowder with a train just ready to be lighted. Such was the state to which it had been brought by the conduct of the present Government. It began with the putting down the press, and individual oppression, and all its subsequent acts were marked by the utmost imbecility. The troops were ordered away in the rainy season; the consequence of which was, that out of a body of 8,000 or 9,000 men, 1,100 were destroyed by disease. Now if the whole of that body had been cut off by the enemy in one day, it would not have had so great an effect upon the other troops as the death of these men by disease. Next, there was a great unwillingness on the part of the Native troops to march without cattle to carry their baggage; but there was no corresponding disposition on the part of the Government to meet that feeling on the part of the troops. The difficulties thickened; desertion became frequent; in one corps, on the 18th of October, (and here he begged to be understood as not blaming the Government so much for plunging the country into this war, as for not taking measures to meet the feelings and prejudices of the troops), no less than 254 men, out of a body of 1,000, deserted within eight-and-forty hours. This ought to have been a warning, and such warnings were constantly taking place, yet the Government persisted in a reduction of the troops allow-

ances. In consequence of the activity of the Burmese to cut off all supplies, the Sepoys found it difficult to exist on their allowances. Every ragamuffin that went on the gun-boat expedition from Calcutta received an advance of 25 per. cent., yet they refused to increase the allowance of cattle to the Sepoys, which, combined with the dread of an evil power in the Burmese country, produced the unfortunate proceedings which had taken place at Barrackpore. The mutiny, however, having taken place, he admitted it ought to have been suppressed, but in a different manner from that which had been resorted to. He saw no occasion, for instance, for opening masked batteries upon their own soldiers; many of whom had fought and bled for them; and he had, therefore, been ready to weep over the fate of these old soldiers. But further, it appeared that on the field the Native officers retired, and were no parties to the rebellion; but what was the conduct of the Government? Instead of rewarding them for their fidelity, they drew no distinction between the innocent and the guilty, but they ordered them all to be dismissed and disgraced. Here, therefore, were men who remained honourable and faithful, classed with the mutineers. How very different was the conduct observed upon the occasion of a regiment mutinying at Claring-cross, at the time of the Queen's trial? The Duke of Wellington rode into the news, and the regiment was instantly marched off to Kingston. The conduct of the Commander-in-Chief upon this occasion deserved great credit. What would have been the consequences had this regiment been treated in the same way as the troops at Barrackpore? The European officers were hardly less dissatisfied than the Natives: they said they hoped the Marquis of Hastings would be sent back to them; and yet how lamentable it was to see that individual at that very moment disgraced, as far as this body had the power to disgrace him? He would say no more; they must have the proceedings under Lord Hastings's administration, and those under the present Government, before them. Lord Hastings did not leave his conduct to be guided by people here who knew nothing about the matter. *(A laugh.)* He did not trust to the opinion of a committee of merchants and bankers. The Court would not do their duty, unless they had the recent proceedings fairly unravelled,

and the grounds of action as far as possible before them. Then, if he found he was in error in blaming Lord Amherst's Government, he would be the first man to acknowledge that error. The honourable Proprietor concluded by moving—"That there be laid before this Court a copy of the military despatch of the Marquis of Hastings, in 1819, to the secret department of the Court of Directors, on the organization and allowances of the Bengal army; and a copy of the despatch of the Court of Directors to the Government in India, in 1823, on that subject; together with a copy of the despatches from India, stating how far their orders had been carried into execution."

Mr. BUCKINGHAM, concurring fully with the opinions of the hon. Proprietor who preceded him, thought it his duty to assist in removing the doubts which some of the hearers seemed to him to entertain, as to the connexion of the Indian Press with the late melancholy and disastrous transactions adverted to. He contended, that the suppression of all freedom of the Press, and consequently of the expression of the public opinion, in India, was intimately connected with the present unfortunate situation of that country. This fact had indeed been stated by Mr. Hume, but it seemed to make so little impression on the Court, that he begged to state a few observations in illustration of that position. It might be recollected, that, in the early part of Lord Hastings's administration, a rebellion broke out at Cuttack. The Press was then under a censorship, and the Government was unable to obtain that full and accurate information respecting the complaints of the people there, which it undoubtedly would have obtained through the Press, if it had been free. From the moment that the Marquis of Hastings removed the censorship from the Press, India enjoyed uninterrupted tranquillity; *(hear.)* but no sooner had the press been again fettered by his successors, than the old evils began to reappear. He believed that the mutiny at Barrackpore never would have come to such an extremity as to have broken out into open disobedience, if the Press had been free. For weeks before the mutiny came to this crisis, the men had meetings and discussions among themselves. The reason why these circumstances were not communicated to Government was, that individuals did not like to be considered officious meddlers, which those who send com-

plaints or representations to Government are too frequently considered; but if the Press had been free, many persons would have had no objection whatever to make communications to the Editors of the Newspapers, and thus the whole affair would have been brought, without risking displeasure to the informant, to the knowledge of the Government and the public. (Hear.) He would state another instance in which injury had resulted from the enslavement of the Press. All persons who had been resident at Calcutta knew that a trade had long existed between that place and Rangoon. The ship masters and pilots at Calcutta were better acquainted with the state of the climate and winds, as regarded Rangoon, than the civil or military servants of the Government could possibly be. If the Press had been open, he had no doubt that a hundred letters would have been written, communicating that information, which the result of the expedition showed that the Government themselves really did not possess. But if any man, under the present state of the Press, had ventured to question the wisdom of Government, with regard to the Rangoon expedition, he (Mr. Buckingham) was a *living instance* of what would have been his fate. (Hear, hear.) The result of the expedition had shown that the Government was in a state of lamentable ignorance respecting the climate of the Burmese empire and other important particulars. Had the Press been free, Government would have received information through it, by which not only hundreds of brave lives might have been saved, but the British name might have been preserved from a tarnish which he feared the result of this expedition had cast upon it. (Hear.) He thought that if the native troops alone had suffered in the expedition, little sympathy would have been called forth on their behalf in this Court; but it unfortunately happened that two British regiments, he believed the 13th and 38th, which had proceeded to Rangoon in battalions of 800 strong, had, in consequence of being obliged to live in a swampy spot, wading almost constantly through the water—living almost like amphibious creatures, and without proper sustenance—returned to Bengal, one, he had heard, with only sixty, and the other with something more than eighty men. (Hear, hear, hear.) While such was the extreme debility of even these poor

remnants of the whole body, it was the opinion of those who had seen their condition, that a heavy days march would have destroyed them altogether. The hatred that these unfortunate transactions would cause, should press on the attention of the country, before it was too late, the importance of giving to India the advantage of a free Press; and, if no other arrangement could be made, he would prefer even restoration of the odious censorship, by which, if the public were kept in ignorance, the Government at least might benefit by the information conveyed to them in the suppressed sheets, to the present abominable system, by which all parties were kept entirely in the dark. As he thought, on all occasions, that publicity was beneficial, he would support the motion for the production of papers. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. TRANT said, that the hon. Proprietor was in error as to the rebellion of Cuttack. He (Mr. Trant) knew that persons had been sent there to inquire into the revenue system, and the Government was not in ignorance of what was taking place. Every body who knew the constitution of the Government in India, knew that it was open to any mode of communication. He would oppose this motion as being unnecessary, and thought this was rather an unfortunate period for bringing it forward. The information respecting the late proceedings was not yet complete; and he would rather leave it in the hands of the Directors. This was not the first time there had been a mutiny in India. In Lord Clive's time there was one very similar to this, and it was treated in the like manner. From his (Mr. Trant's) knowledge of Sepoys, it could not have taken place without being previously known to the native officers. He denied that the latter had been treated alike with the mutineers; for the mutineers had been condemned to death. It was perfectly true, however, that a total want of confidence in the present Government prevailed throughout India. All his (Mr. Trant's) information from that country confirmed the statement of the hon. Member for Aberdeen; (Hear.) and he, for one, had been very much surprised at the appointment of Lord Amherst. The state of India required a man of fully as much talent as the man who had just left it. He did not say, that Lord Amherst could have prevented the war, but he had shown himself quite incapable of conducting

the affairs of India; and he (Mr. Trant) would never cease to complain until he saw some other person intrusted with the Government. He knew enough to say, that an impression had been made which could not easily be removed, in consequence of which, their neighbours, and those who now called themselves their friends, might take liberties they would not otherwise have taken. He hoped, therefore, that those who had the power, would lose no time in using every means to put a stop to this state of things. A man of the greatest experience and talents ought to be sought for without a moment's delay. He would, however, oppose the production of papers.

Sir CHARLES FORBES expressed his disappointment that the motion did not go at once to the recall of Lord Amherst; and he stated his opinion of the necessity of this step before in the House of Commons. He was met by the assertion, that Lord Amherst's private character was that of an amiable man; but it was not an amiable man, but an able statesman that they wanted. Because he had been engaged in a squabble, knocking his head against the Chinese government, he was therefore to be sent out to knock it against the wall in India. It had been said, that it would be as easy to transform his Lordship into a tiger as into a tyrant; perhaps this might be thought by some, but there was another animal which he much more resembled.—(Hear.) He had lost the confidence of all classes, and if his recall was not decided on here, it would soon be proposed in another place. He had letters from all sorts of persons in India, and even from ladies, on the subject. He had one very well written letter from the wife of an officer at Rangoon.

The CHAIRMAN would not trouble the Court with any remarks on the intended motion of the hon. Baronet, but would confine himself to the actual motion of the hon. Member, which he would oppose with all the influence that he possessed in that Court. This was not a new subject. When the Papers relating to Lord Hastings were before the Court, a motion had been made for the production of that, amongst other despatches, which motion had been refused. The whole of the late misconduct was attributed by the hon. Member to the want of information derived through the Press; but an hon. Proprietor (Mr. Trant) had stated that the Government had abundant means of information. This mo-

tion was unnecessary, since the hon. Member had given notice of a similar motion to-morrow in the House of Commons, where he would have an opportunity of giving them his advice. But what right had he to say, that they (the Directors) were incapable of understanding this subject, as Bankers and Merchants? He doubted the assertion of another hon. Proprietor, relative to two regiments of eight hundred men being reduced to sixty or seventy; if such had been the case, he (the Chairman) should have had intelligence of it. On the contrary, he had grounds to hope, that future results would be more satisfactory.

Mr. EDMONSTON said, that the most brilliant and successful part of the Indian administration was during a period when the censorship of the Press existed. If any effect could be attributed to a free Press in that country, it was a tendency to produce insubordination.

Mr. WASHBURN observed, that there were regulations for fettering the Press in this country, as well as in India—such as the necessity of giving notice respecting the type, and registering the names at the stamp office; and a man might be banished for publishing a libel. He admitted, he must be tried and convicted first, which was not necessary in India; (hear;) but there was a difference between the two countries. He read an extract from a French paper, to show that what was said in that house was analyzed in other countries, and how necessary it was, therefore, to be accurate in their statements.

Mr. HUME briefly replied. He wished to have all the information he could, before he had recourse to moving for the recall of Lord Amherst.

Mr. MILLS (a Director) had not risen sooner, in the hope that some more important person would have protected the character of an absent man. All the information on the subject had not yet arrived. He considered, that the remarks made in this Court were calculated to prevent any English Nobleman of talent from going to India.

Mr. CAHAGAN protested against the doctrine, that because Lord Amherst was not in London, no opinion was to be pronounced upon his acts. He opposed the motion of Mr. Hume; he should be content to abide by the wisdom of Parliament to-morrow night.

General THORNTON considered that the remarks here were only calculated to prevent English Noblemen who had

not great talents from going to India. He had never heard that Lord Amherst was a man of talents. It was the duty of Englishmen to speak out; when they saw India in such a perilous state. It was the duty of the Directors also to speak out; information ought not to be checked and stifled; if so, a free Press would be necessary in India.

The resolution was then put, and negatived without a division.

Mr. HUME then moved, that there be laid before the Court, a copy of the despatches from the Government of Bengal, stating the extent and causes of the mutiny among the native troops at Barrackpore, and the proceedings of that Government thereon.

Mr. TRANT opposed the motion.

Sir C. FORBES said he would now read an extract from the letter of the lady at Rangoon, to which he had alluded. The writer stated that dissatisfaction was supposed to have widely circulated amongst the native troops; that the ridiculous system of economy now so much in vogue would not do for India. (*Hear from Mr. Hume, and laughter.*) That the Sepoys were high caste men, and would not carry their cooking utensils. (*Hear, hear.*) He would look for no more information than that afforded by the Government orders themselves, to warrant him in condemning Lord Amherst. He had heard that Government had such a measure in contemplation; and he

would be very willing to let them have the credit of it. The country possessed fit men for the situation, and he therefore trusted he should soon see Lord Amherst recalled.

Captain MAXFIELD opposed the motion. He should be sorry that such papers should travel out of England.

After a few observations from Mr. HUME, the motion was put, and negatived.

General THORNTON gave notice of a motion at the next quarterly Court, relative to the suppression of information by Residents at Native Courts.

Mr. HUME notified his intention of making a motion respecting the conduct of Lord Amherst.

LORD HASTINGS.

Sir CHARLES FORBES asked when the Court was to be favoured with the Papers connected with the Marquis of Hastings's administration, particularly that connected with the transactions at Oude?

This question gave rise to a long conversation, in the course of which Mr. Hume stated, that the Hyderabad question, so far from being disposed of, was but just begun. The conversation dropped, with the understanding that the Papers were in the course of being printed, and would be produced at the earliest opportunity.

The Court then adjourned at half past three o'clock.

CIVIL AND MILITARY INTELLIGENCE.

CIVIL SERVICE OF INDIA.

BENGAL.

Calcutta.—Aug. 26. Mr. C. W. Smith reappointed Judge of Zillah, of Purneah. —Sept. 2. Mr. S. Bird, Fourth Judge of Provincial Court of Appeal and Court of Circuits, for Division of Dacca; Mr. C. W. Steer, Fourth Judge of ditto ditto, of Moorsshedabad. —Oct. 14. Mr. J. T. Hivaz, Registrar of the Zillah Court of Etawah; and Mr. G. R. Brown, Second Registrar of the Zillah Court of Allahabad.

ECCLIESIASTICAL APPOINTMENTS.

General Department, Nov. 4.—The Rev. J. Torriano to be a Joint District Chaplain at Cawnpore; the Rev. H. R. Shepherd to be District Chaplain at Berrhampore; the Rev. J. C. Froby, District Chaplain at Ghazepore.

MADRAS.

Fort St. George.—Oct. 1. Mr. W. Montgomerie to be Deputy Commercial Resident at Nagaram.

EAST INDIA COMPANY'S ARMY.

BENGAL.

MILITARY APPOINTMENTS.

Head Quarters.—Aug. 18. Lieutenant Holyoake to act as Interim and Quartermaster to 18th N. I., and Lieut. Dowling to act as Adj. to detached wing of ditto;

Lieut. Vethon to act as Interim and Quarterm. to 33d N. I., near Hewitt; Lieut. and Adj. Oldfield to perform duties of detachment staff to troops assembled at Gohlpatah and Gohhaties, under the command of Major Cooper; Lieut. K. F. Mackenzie to act as Adj. to 64th

N. I. vice P. M. Lock. 24. Maj. Swettenham, 2d L. I. to be Member of the Annual Arsenal Committee on Military Stores received from Europe. 26. Lieut. W. Ewart to be Interp. and Quarterm. to 54th N. I. vice Pauruse, deceased; Brev. Capt. Bacon, 65th N. I. to act as Adj. to Capt. Young's Levy at Dinapore.

Fort William.—Sept. 2. Lieut. Col. R. H. Cunliffe, Com. Gen. to be a Member of Board of Superintendence for Breed of Cattle, vice Taylor, deceased.

Head Quarters.—Aug. 30. Lieut. R. C. Macdonald to be Interp. and Quarterm. to 49th Regt. vice Phillips, promoted; Lieut. P. Grant to be Adj. to 59th Regt. vice Wooley, resigned. Sept. 1. Brev. Capt. Hepburn to act as Adj. to 2d L. I. Batt.

Fort William.—Sept. 2. Lieut. Col. R. H. Cunliffe, Com. Gen. to be a Member of the Board of Superintendence for Breed of Cattle, vice Taylor, deceased.

Head Quarters, Calcutta.—Oct. 11. Lieut. S. P. Hannah, 25th Regt. N. I. to be Adj.; Lieut. V. Cary, 57th Regt. N. I. to be ditto. 13. Lieut. F. Hawkins, 38th Regt. N. I. to be Aide-de-camp to Major-Gen. Loveday, vice Herriar, resigned. 14. Lieut. T. Lysaght, 2d Europ. Regt. to be Adj. vice Marshall, promoted; Lieut. H. A. Boscarew, 54th Regt. N. I. to be Interp. and Quarterm. Gen. of 2d Light Inf. batt. 18. Lieut. and Brev. Capt. G. Burgess to be Interp. and Quarterm. 5th Regt. L. C. vice Rocke; Lieut. C. Farner to be Adj. to the detached wing of 21st Regt. N. I. 21. Lieut. Col. T. Garner, 1st Europ. Regt. to be President of the Arsenal Committee, vice Becher. 23. Lieut. H. Clayton, 4th Regt. L. C. to be an Aide-de-camp, on his Lordship's personal Staff; Lieut. E. C. Archbold, 8th Regt. L. C. to be a Supernumerary Aide-de-camp to his Lordship; Lieut. C. V. Wyld to be Adj. 14th N. I. vice Gairdner.

Head Quarters, Calcutta.—Oct. 28. Capt. Herring, 37th Regt. N. I. to be Aide-de-camp to Major Gen. Sir G. Martindell, K. C. B., commanding the Cawnpore Division, from Oct. 14; Capt. Polcott, 7th Regt. N. I. to be a Member of the Arsenal Committee; Lieut. Kirby to be Adj. to Chittagong Division of Artillery, vice Lamb, promoted.

Head Quarters, Barrackpore.—Nov. 6. Capt. Swayne, 5th N. I. to raise recruits for the line, in the Azimganj and adjacent Districts; Lieut. J. C. C. Gray, 21st Regt. N. I. to be Adj. vice Malden, deceased; Lieut. W. Gray to be Interp. and Quarterm. 26th Regt. N. I. vice Hodgson, promoted; Lieut. C. Hacken, 45th N. I. to be ditto, vice Ward, deceased.

MEDICAL APPOINTMENTS.

Fort William.—Aug. 12. Mr. B. Wilson to be an Assist. Surgeon. 26. Assist. Surgeon W. Bell to perform medical du-

ties of Civil Stations of Moorsheadbad, vice Simms. Sept. 2. Dr. A. Walker to be an Assist. Surgeon.

Oct. 28.—Officiating Assist. Surgeon Oliver to the medical charge of Captain Scott's Detachment of Artillery.

The undermentioned gentlemen are admitted as Assist. Surgeons:—

Mr. H. Taylor, date of arrival Oct. 5; Mr. J. H. Palsgrave, Oct. 8; Mr. W. Thomson, Oct. 11; Mr. W. Stevenson, M. D. Oct. 11; and Mr. B. C. Saffy, M. D. Oct. 12.

PROMOTIONS.

Fort William.—Aug. 19. Infantry.—Maj. W. D. Playfair to be Lieut. Col. from July 30, 1824, vice Taylor, deceased.

24th Regt. N. I. Capt. St. John Heard to be Major; Brev. Capt. and Lieut. B. Burney to be Capt. of a comp.; and Ens. G. E. Vanheythinsen to be Lieut. from July 30, 1824, vice Playfair.

49th Regt. N. I. Brev. Capt. and Lieut. R. H. Phillips to be Capt. of a comp., and Ens. J. W. Michell to be Lieut. from Aug. 10, 1824, vice Wilkie, deceased.

Mr. J. Dowdeswell admitted to Artillery, and promoted to 2d Lieut.

Messrs. W. Hope, H. P. Burn, and H. Johnson, admitted to Infantry, and promoted to Ensigns.

Aug. 26.—Messrs. G. T. Graham, and F. K. Duncan, admitted to Artillery, and promoted to 2d Lieuts.

Sept. 2.—53d Regt. N. I. Capt. H. F. Denty to be Major; Brev. Capt. and Lieut. W. E. B. Leadbeater to be Capt. and Ensign; L. C. Brown to be Lieut. from Sept. 2, 1824, vice Canning.

57th Regt. N. I. Brev. Capt. and Lieut. A. Syme to be Capt. of a comp.; and Ens. G. M. Sherer to be Lieut. from Aug. 23, vice Vyse, deceased.

Oct. 14.—Infantry. Maj. W. Nott to be Lieut. Col. dated Oct. 2, 1824, vice Watson.

25th Regt. N. I. Capt. W. Vincent to be Maj.; Lieut. T. R. Fell to be Capt.; and Ens. W. D. Kennedy to be Lieut. dated Oct. 2, 1824.

42d Regt. N. I. Brev. Capt. and Lieut. A. McKinnon to be Capt.; and Ens. W. B. Gould to be Lieut.

The Right Hon. the Governor-General is pleased to promote the undermentioned officer to the rank of Brig. Gen. during the continuance of the present war, or until further orders:—

Col. J. W. Adams, C. B., of 16th Regt. N. I.

The undermentioned gentlemen are admitted to the service, in conformity with their appointments:—

Artillery.—Mr. T. E. Sage; date of arrival Oct. 7, 1824.

Cavalry.—Mr. D. G. A. F. H. Mellish, date of arrival Oct. 5, 1824.

Infantry.—Mr. W. Benton; date Oct. 6; Messrs. G. Turner, J. H. Low, and W. Inuls, date Oct. 6; Messrs. J. P. Sharpe,

T. Gould; J. Campbell, W. Alston, C. J. G. Collis, A. Learmouth, J. Grissell, H. J. Guyon, H. B. Harrington, Oct. 7; W. Thursby, W. Lyford, J. H. Blanshard, M. Nicolson, H. W. Burt, J. J. Hamilton, C. Campbell, A. F. Tytler, T. Irving, W. E. Campbell, G. F. Tytler, E. T. Erskine, and J. Robertson, date Oct. 8.

The Cadets of Cavalry, and those of Infantry, with the exception of Messrs. Turner, Low, Learmouth, Grissell, Guyon, and Harrington, are promoted to Cornets and Ensigns respectively.

Oct. 16.—The undermentioned gentlemen are admitted to the service, in conformity with their appointments, and promoted to the rank of Ensign:—

Infantry. Mr. R. Haldane, date of arrival Oct. 11, 1824; Mr. J. H. Phillips, ditto.

Oct. 21.—*Artillery.* Lieut. Col. W. Hopper to be Lieut. Col. Commandant, from May 30, 1824, vice Carnegie, deceased; Major J. F. Dundas to be Lieut. Col.; Capt. J. M'Dowell to be Major; 1st Lieut. W. Oliphant to be Capt. of a comp.; and 2d Lieut. J. B. Backhouse to be 1st Lieut. dated May 30, 1824.

7th Regt. L. C. Lieut. J. Allen to be Capt. of a troop; Cornet H. Hall to be Lieut. dated Oct. 2, 1824.

26th Regt. N. I. Capt. A. Trotter to be Major; Brev. Capt. and Lieut. W. Hodgson to be Capt. of a comp.; and Ens. R. B. Lynch to be Lieut. dated Oct. 11, 1824.

The undermentioned gentlemen are admitted to the service, in conformity with their appointments, and promoted to Ensign:—

Infantry. Mr. R. H. De Montmorency, date of arrival Oct. 16; Mr. G. Greene, and Mr. F. B. Lardner, ditto.

Cavalry. Lieut. Col. L. R. O'Brien, C. B., to be Lieut. Col. Commandant, vice Clarke, deceased, dated Oct. 7, 1824; Major K. Swettenham to be Lieut. Col. from Oct. 7, 1824, vice O'Brien.

2d Regt. L. C. Capt. G. Arnold to be Major; Lieut. J. C. Laubie to be Capt. of a troop; and Cornet J. Inglish to be Lieut. dated Oct. 7, 1824.

The undermentioned gentlemen are admitted to the service, in conformity with their appointments, and promoted to the rank of Ensign:—

Infantry. Mr. A. Jack, date of arrival Oct. 6, 1824; Mr. T. Macintosh, ditto Oct. 10.

Fort William, Oct. 28.—Artillery. Capt. R. M. O. Gramshaw to be Major; 1st Lieut. H. J. Wood to be Capt.; and 2d Lieut. E. Madden to be 1st Lieut. from Oct. 28, 1824, vice M'Quhae.

Nov. 4.—*21st Regt. N. I.* Ens. J. Dyson to be Lieut. from Oct. 14, 1824, vice Malden.

The undermentioned gentlemen are admitted to the service, in conformity with their appointment, as Cadets of In-

fantry, and promoted to the rank of Ensign:—

	Date of Arrival at Fort William.
Mr. C. Cooper	12th Oct. 1824.
Mr. C. C. Jenkin	28th ditto.
Mr. W. C. Birch	29th ditto.
Mr. B. W. D. Cooke....	29th ditto.
Mr. R. Fitzgerald	29th ditto.

Nov. 11.—The undermentioned gentlemen are admitted to the service, in conformity with their appointment by the Honourable the Court of Directors, as Cadets of Infantry on this Establishment, and promoted to the rank of Ensign, leaving the dates of their commissions for future adjustment:—

	Date of Arrival at Fort William.
Mr. W. H. C. Bluett....	4th Nov. 1824.
Mr. J. De Winter C. J. Moir	8th ditto.

45th Regt. N. I. Ens. W. Biddulph to be Lieut. from Oct. 21, 1824, vice Ward, deceased.

52d Regt. N. I. Ens. W. S. Menteith to be Lieut. from Oct. 26, 1824, vice Gore, deceased.

The undermentioned gentlemen are admitted to the service, in conformity with their appointments by the Honourable the Court of Directors, as Cadets of Cavalry and Infantry on this Establishment, and promoted to the rank of Cornet and Ensign respectively, leaving the dates of their Commissions for future adjustment:—

	Date of Arrival at Fort William.
<i>Cavalry.</i> Mr. W. W. Fraser	2d Nov. 1824.

	Date of Arrival at Fort William.
<i>Infantry.</i> Mr. T. Hutton.....	1st Nov. 1824.
Mr. W. Fraser.....	2d ditto.
Mr. W. J. Martin	Ditto.
Mr. W. F. Phipps	Ditto.
Mr. A. P. Graham	Ditto.
Mr. G. W. Hamilton	Ditto.

His Lordship in Council is pleased to make the following Promotions in the Ordnance Commissariat Department:—

Assist. Commis. Christopher Bowman to be Deputy Commissary; Dep. Assist. Commis. John Lawrence to be Assistant Commissary; Conductor Gerard Ovinger to be Deputy Assistant Commissary: from Oct. 7, 1824, in succession to Motherall, deceased.

MEDICAL PROMOTIONS.

Fort William, Aug. 12. Mr. W. Twining, Surgeon, to be an officiating Surgeon; Deputy Superintendent. Surg. W. L. Grant to be an officiating Superintendent. Surg. and to proceed to Berhampore.

GENERAL ORDERS.

Fort William, Nov. 4, 1824.
No. 334 of 1824.—It being highly expedient to check desertion in the Native Corps of this Army, of whatever description, the frequency of which, in consequence of the crime not having hitherto

been viewed in the light which its character demands, probably from the facilities attendant on recruiting, has of late years become discreditable to certain regiments, and as such has been brought to the notice of Government by the Commander-in-Chief; the Governor-General in Council is therefore pleased to direct that the following orders shall have immediate force:—

1. A reward of ten rupees, sicca or sonat, according to the currency of the district, shall in future be paid to the person of persons apprehending or giving information which may effect the apprehension by any public authority of a Native deserter from any corps of this Army, of whatever rank.

2. All Thanuadars, Police Darogahs, or Burkundasses, and all Peons or Chuprassees of Government, in whatever department, shall be entitled to the same reward for each and every military deserter they may apprehend, on their being either identified or convicted with their corps as such; and all the police officers of Government are ordered to aid and assist in every way towards the security and transmission of deserters either apprehended by themselves, or made over to them by others.

3. All Native military, travelling without passports or authenticated certificates of leave of absence, are to be considered as deserters, apprehended as such, and transmitted to the nearest military or civil station for examination and orders.

4. A printed form for such leave of absence, in English, Nagree, and Persian, will in future be substituted for the manuscript ones heretofore in use. These forms will be furnished to corps respectively by Government, through the office of the Adjutant General of the Army. The blanks to be regularly filled up in each language complete, and the certificates to bear the usual countersignatures and to have the regimental seal affixed in wax. No erasures ever to be permitted.

5. The reward for apprehending deserters shall be payable in two ways; first—in ready money, when the captors themselves bring the deserters to their cantonment or corps, so that they can be recognized at once. Second, By bill of exchange, payable at sight, when the captors are at a distance, and unable personally to attend to their delivery, intimating that office to others.

6. In the former case, on deserters being received and identified with their corps, the commanding officer shall, by a written Regimental Order, direct the officer commanding the troop or company, to which each deserter belongs, to pay to those who have apprehended and brought them the sum of ten rupees currency, taking a full receipt for the sum from the parties, the completion of which, shall be sufficient quit receipt for

the officer, and enable him to write off the sums so paid against the names and pay of the deserters remaining due to them at the time of desertion.

7. In the second case of deserters being sent from a considerable distance, and not in the charge of those who apprehended them, it shall be the duty of commandants of corps, and stations of districts respectively, to cause the amount of the apprehension money for every recognized deserter to be lodged by the officer commanding the troop and company with the paymaster of the division, who will grant a bill of exchange for the same, on the treasury of the district in which the captors or informers reside, and in his or their favour payable at sight, or in favour of the magistrate, in case the apprehension has been made by the police, or by persons unknown; should the arrears due to a deserter fall short of the apprehension money, the difference will be charged to Government, and drawn for in a contingent bill regularly vouched; but in all practicable cases the deserter must be made to pay for his own apprehension.

8. When a soldier deserts, the commanding officer of the corps will consider it his immediate duty to forward a minute descriptive roll of the deserter, with all further information in his power, to each magistrate of the surrounding Zillahs, and to the Resident at Lucknow, should the deserter be a Native of Oude, and adopt the promptest measures in every other respect to ensure his apprehension.

9. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief is requested to give the fullest effect to these orders, and to issue such directions as may be necessary regarding the registry and care of the leave of absence passports to be used in future.

10. Measures will likewise be adopted in the Judicial Department for giving the fullest effect to these orders through the Police Establishments of the country, and for preventing, by suitable arrangements, any abuse on their part, which a too zealous execution of the authority vested in them might possibly lead to.

This order will be translated into Hindoostanee under the instructions of Government, printed in the Nagree character, and transmitted to Corps through the Adjutant General of the Army, with such further orders as may to his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief appear necessary.

IV. CASEMENT, Lieut. Col.
Sec. to Govt. Mil. Dept.

Fort William, Nov. 4, 1824.
No. 335 of 1824.—It is with much regret that the Right Hon. the Governor-General in Council feels himself called on to announce to the Bengal Army the consequences of a most disgraceful mu-

tiny in the 47th Regiment of Native Infantry at Barrackpore, on the 1st instant, in which the corps was joined by a number of Sepoys, equal to about two companies of the 62d, and perhaps 20 men of the 26th Native Regiment.

These Corps had been under orders of march for some time, and had experienced some difficulty in procuring carriage; this, however, was immediately removed, on its being brought to the notice of Government, by an advance of cash to each corps to aid the Sepoys in procuring the necessary carriage cattle for their baggage: as the event however proved, the difficulty served but to cover a subterfuge; a bad spirit possessed the corps, and when all difficulties were removed, and it was no longer possible to practise evasion, they refused on the parade to march, with the exception of about 180 men, and the non-commissioned and commissioned Native officers.

On the receipt of a report to this effect by the Commander-in-Chief, his Excellency immediately adopted the necessary measures to bring those misguided men to a sense of their duty. He instantly proceeded to Barrackpore, and on the following morning having made a disposition of the other troops at the station, and those which had arrived during the night, the Adjutant General and Quartermaster General of the Army, with his Excellency's Persian Interpreter, and the Officer commanding the 47th Native Regiment, were deputed to make a last effort to induce the mutineers, drawn up, loaded, and in regular parade order, to lay down their arms, but without effect.

Nothing then remained but to inflict the punishment so justly merited: the Commander-in-Chief gave the preconcerted signal for an attack by a part of the force; the mutineers instantly broke, and betook themselves to flight, under the fire of the troops who attacked them; and such an example was made on the spot as the necessity of the case, and the infamy of the Regiment merited; the most guilty of those who were made prisoners having been subsequently executed by the sentence of a General Court Martial.

That a transaction so unusual in, and disgraceful to, this Army, could have been planned and carried into execution without the knowledge, not to say participation, of the Native commissioned and non-commissioned officers of the Corps, is not for a moment to be credited, composed as the Native Regiments are in Bengal. Connected by relationship, and living as the Native officers and Sepoys do, almost under the same roofs, it is not to be believed for a moment that the grossest neglect of the duty the former owed to the State has not been shown by the parties in question; the Governor-

General in Council consequently considers the 47th Regiment Native Infantry, including its Native commissioned and non-commissioned Officers, to be disgraced; directs that No. 47 be struck out of the Army List, the Native commissioned and non-commissioned Officers to be instantly discharged the service; as totally unworthy of the confidence of Government, or the name of soldiers, and that a New Regiment, to be numbered 69, to which the European Officers of the late 47th will be appointed, be immediately raised in its stead, for general service, agreeably with the detail as laid down in General Orders of the 11th July, 1823, No. 63.

To the Native commissioned and non-commissioned officers of the Bengal Army, the Governor-General in Council now more particularly desires to address himself. He is perfectly satisfied that no instance of insubordination can take place in a corps without such coming to their early knowledge. He hereby demands from them, a rigid execution of their duty, and observes that even on the rumor of any discontent in a corps, it is their particular duty to communicate it instantly to their European officers, and to exert their utmost endeavours to put down in the first instance any appearance of combination; his Lordship in Council further desires it to be distinctly understood, that in failure of that line of conduct which is expected from the Native commissioned and non-commissioned officers of the Army, they will be held personally and collectively responsible for any misbehaviour of the men, who are more immediately under their eye and command in the lines, than they can be under that of the European officers; and that the most prompt dismissal from the service will be the inevitable consequence of any want of exertion and zeal, or any abandonment of duty: in short, he warns them to profit by the example of the 17th, who have drawn down on themselves a punishment they most justly merited.

The Governor-General in Council, in order to make known the sentiments of Government to the Native Army as fully and correctly as possible, is pleased to direct that this order shall be translated into the Hindoostanee language, and printed in the Nagree character for the purpose of transmission to corps respectively, through the Adjutant-General of the Army, under the orders of the Commander-in-Chief, who will be pleased to issue such subsidiary orders as his Excellency may consider necessary, drafting the privates of the late 47th, whose fidelity remained unshaken, into said Regiments as may appear most expedient.

W. J. CASEMENT, Lieut. Col.
Sec. to Govt. Mil. Dept.

The troops assembling at Chittagong, and on the Frontier of Sylhet, for service, are brigaded as follows:—

1st Brigade. H. M.'s 44th Regt., 47th Regt. N. I., 62d Regt. N. I. To command, Brigadier Shapland; 27th N. I. Brigade-Major, Capt. White.

2d Brigade. H. M.'s 54th Regt., 42d Regt. N. I., 26th Regt. N. I. To command, Brig. Colquhoun Grant, H. M.'s 54th.

3d Brigade. H. M.'s 47th Regt., 7th Regt. N. I., 44th Regt. N. I. To command, Brig. Gen. Cotton. Brig.-Major, Capt. Sadler, H. M.'s 47th.

4th Brigade. 14th Regt. N. I., 39th ditto, 52d ditto. To command, Brigal. Innes, C. B. Brigade-Major, Captain Currie, 14th N. I.

5th Brigade. 10th Regt. Madras N. I., 16th ditto. To command, Brigadier A. Fair. Brigade-Major, Lieut. A. B. Dyce.

REMOVALS AND POSTINGS.

Fort William.—Aug. 19. Ensign S. J. Grove from 8th to 68th N. I. as junior of his rank. 20. Local Lieut. H. Foster posted to Rungpore Light Inf.; Ens. the Hon. R. V. Powys and R. Drought to do duty with 61st N. I. at Barrackpore; Ens. Stubbs from 6th to 4th N. I.

Aug. 21.—Unposted Ensigns are appointed to do duty as follows:—Ens. M. Huish, 67th N. I., at Benares; Ens. W. Hope, 42d ditto, Berhampore; Ens. H. Johnson, ditto, ditto; Ens. H. P. Burn, ditto, ditto.

Oct. 14.—Ens. Cade to 13th Regt. at Cuttack; Major Gen. A. Ferguson to 31st N. I.; Lieut. Col. Com. M. White to 13th N. I.; Lieut. Col. W. D. Playfair to 12th N. I.; Lieut. Colonel W. Nott to 20th N. I.; Lieut. Col. T. Newton to 48th N. I.; Lieut. Col. Alexander from 48th to 39th N. I.; Lieut. Col. W. R. Gilbert from 39th to 31st N. I.; Lieut. Col. T. Wilson from 31st to 4th N. I.; Lieut. Col. W. C. Baddely to 36th N. I.; Lieut. Col. G. Sargent from 13th to 57th N. I.; Lieut. Col. Grace from 57th to 13th N. I. 16. Ensign Abbott, 47th N. I. to 15th N. I. 26. Lieut. Greene, lately appointed to do duty with the 6th company 3d batt. of Artillery, is directed to join the 6th company 2d batt. to which he is posted; Lieut. Dyke is directed to do duty with the 7th company 2d batt. until further orders.

The Ensigns of Infantry, to whom rank was assigned in Government General Orders of the 30th September, are permanently posted to Regiments as follows:—

Ensign M. Huish to the 2d European Regt. at Dinapore; Ensign H. P. Larn to the 1st N. I. at Gurrwarrah; Ensign H. Johnson to the 26th N. I. at Barrackpore; Ensign Wm. Hope to the 57th N. I. at Gowhaty (Assam); Ensign Wm. Cole to the 67th N. I. at Benares; Ensign E. T. Tierney to the 28th N. I. at Ber-

hampore; Ensign H. C. Wilson to the 10th N. I. at Cheduba; Ens. R. Wyllie to the 6th N. I. at Luknow; Ensign C. Prior to the 61th N. I. at Neemuch; Ensign T. S. Price to the 8th N. I. at Baitool; Ensign J. Awdry to the 55th N. I. at Neemuch; Ensign J. L. Murray to the 49th N. I. at Dacca; Ensign J. Grissell to the 2d N. I. at Dinapore; Ens. H. B. Harrington to the 37th N. I. at Benares; Ensign H. J. Gnyon to the 31st N. I. at Mirzapore; Ensign G. Turner to the 38th N. I. at Keitah; Ens. A. Learmouth to the 51th N. I. at Dinapore; Ensign J. H. Low to the 39th N. I. at Sylhet.

The Commander-in-Chief is pleased to make the following postings and removals in the Regiment of Artillery:—

Lieut. Col. Com. W. Hopper to the 2d batt. vice Carnegie, deceased; Lieut. Col. J. F. Dundas to the 3d batt. vice Hopper; Major J. M'Dowell to the 2d batt. vice Dundas; Capt. W. Oliphant to the 15th comp. 4th batt. vice M'Dowell; 1st Lieut. J. B. Backhouse to the 3d comp. 3d batt. vice Oliphant; Capt. H. C. Baker of the 2d comp. 2d batt. to the 1st comp. 4th batt. and Capt. E. Biddulph from the latter to the former; Capt. F. Croxton of the 8th comp. 3d batt. to the 4th comp. 2d batt. and Capt. J. Brodhurst from the latter to the former; Capt. R. Roberts, now doing duty with the Artillery at Dum-Dum, is directed to proceed and join the 3d troop at Meerut, to which he succeeds posted by General Orders of the 11th August last; 2d Lieut. Thos. Edw. Sage, lately arrived, is posted to the 6th comp. 2d batt. Artillery.

Second Lieuts. of Artillery (recently admitted) are posted to batts. and comps. as follows:—

F. Gaitskell, 6th comp. 3d batt.; G. D. Scott, ditto; G. T. Graham, 7th comp. 2d batt.; F. K. Duncan, ditto; J. D. Shakspear, 5th comp. 2d batt.

Ens. J. L. Browne removed from 42d to 29th N. I. and Ens. C. Hutchinson from 29th to 42d ditto.

Head Quarters, Calcutta, Oct. 28.—The undermentioned Cornet and Ensigns are directed to do duty with regiments, respectively as hereafter specified, until further orders.

Cornet D. G. A. F. H. Mellish with the 7th Regt. Light Cavalry at Nusseer-
Ensigns M. C. Carter, W. Penton, W. Innes, J. P. Sharpe, T. Gould, W. Alston, C. J. C. Collins, W. Thursby, W. Lyford, J. H. Blanshard, M. Nicolson, H. W. Bart, J. J. Hamilton, C. Campbell, T. Irving, W. F. Campbell, R. Haldane, R. H. De Montmorency, G. Greene, F. B. Lardner, A. Jack, T. Mackintosh, with the 2d Europ. Regt. at Dinapore.

Ensigns James Campbell, A. F. Tytler, G. F. Tytler, 16th Regt. N. I. at Barrackpore.

Ensigns E. T. Erskine, J. Robertson, J. H. Phillips, 61st Regt. N. I. at Barrackpore.

The above young officers, with the exception of those appointed to do duty with regiments at Barrackpore, are to proceed to their destination as soon as boats for their accommodation can be provided by the superintending officer of Cadets, under the charge of an officer to be appointed hereafter to that duty.

Nov. 1.—Lieut. Talbot to 8th Regt. N. I. Ensign C. Cooper to do duty with 2d Europ. Regt. Ensign E. T. Erskine, ditto, and to join the Detachment of Young Officers for the Upper Provinces. 10. Lieut. Col. J. W. Blackney, from 35th to 69th Regt. N. I. and directed to proceed to Benares.

ADJUSTMENT OF RANK.

Fort William, Oct. 14.—Lieut. Col. T. Newton to rank from 22d Sept. 1824, in succession to Baines deceased.

14th Regt. N. I. Major J. H. Littler, Capt. W. J. Gairdner, and Lieut. E. J. Dickey, from 22 Sept. 1824.

MEDICAL POSTINGS.

Fort William, Aug. 13.—Surg. J. Fallofield to 2d Light Infantry at Glazepore; Assist. Surg. H. S. Mercer, to Rainghar Corps; Assist. Surg. T. Forrest to 46th Regt. N. I.; Oct. 14. Assist. Surg. G. M. Paterson, M.D. to join 16th N. I.; Surg. E. Phillips to 62d Regt. N. I.

EXCHANGES.

Fort William, Aug. 13.—Capt. C. T. G. Weston, 29th, and R. Foster, 60th N. I. permitted to exchange corps; Lieuts. N. Stewart, 11th, and J. T. Kennedy, 20th N. I. permitted to exchange corps. 20. Lieuts. H. C. Clarkson, 42d, and T. Polwhele, 41st N. I. permitted to exchange corps; Lieuts. Oldham, 62d, and McGrath, 60th N. I. permitted to exchange corps. Oct. 26. Lieuts. Vansandiar, 67th N. I., and R. P. Fulcher, 62d, are permitted to exchange corps.

FURLOUGHS.

Fort William, Aug. 20.—Captain C. Pearce, 29th N. I. to Europe, on sick certificate; Lieut. C. Douglas, 14th N. I. do. on sick cert.; Lieut. J. Black, 33d do. Madras N. I. on sick cert. Sept. 2. Lieut. W. W. Rees, 50th N. I. Dep. Assist. Com. Gen. do. on sick cert.; Assist. Surg. T. Ingalls, do. on sick cert. Oct. 14. Lieut. F. Braty to Europe, on account of health; Surg. W. Farquhar, do. on account of health. 16. Major B. Thomson, 6th Regt. I. C. to Europe, on account of health. 28. Surg. H. Moscrop, of Med. Dep. do. on account of health; Capt. E. Browne, 59th N. I. to New South Wales, on sick cert.; Brev. Capt. A. Syme, 57th Regt. N. I. to Europe on account of health.

Nov. 4.—The following officers are

permitted to proceed to Europe on furlough on account of their health:

Major J. L. Gale, of the 1st Regt. N. I.; Lieut. R. Balderston, of the 43d Regt. N. I.; Lieut. C. Bracken, of the 45th Regt. N. I.; Lieut. J. S. R. Biscoe, of the 9th Regt. N. I. Madras Establishment.

Lieut. R. Deacon, of the Madras Establishment, lately doing duty with the 10th Madras N. I. at Chittagong, is permitted to proceed hence to Europe on account of his health, on the production of the prescribed certificate from the Pay Department.

Brev. Capt. J. J. Casement, of the 39th Regt. N. I. Brigade Major Bareilly, is permitted to proceed to New South Wales via Mauritius, for the recovery of health, and to be absent from Bengal on that account for twelve months.

Nov. 11.—Surg. J. Hare M. D. to Europe, on account of his health; Assist. Surg. W. Duff, do. on account of health.

MADRAS.

MILITARY APPOINTMENTS.

Fort St. George, Sept. 3.—Capt. J. Macintosh, re-appointed Superintending Engineer in the Southern Division, from 2d nit. 7. Capt. T. Cox to be Assist. Com. Gen. vice Cumming; Lieut. T. R. Manners to be Dep. Assist. Com. Gen. vice Cox; Lieut. W. Prescott to be a Dep. Assist. Com. Gen. until further orders; Lieut. A. Douglas, of the 49th Regt. N. I. to be a Sub-Assist. Com. Gen.; Lieut. Col. J. Nixon of the Invalid Establishment, is appointed to command the 3d Native Vet. Batt. vice Vaughan deceased. 10. Capt. W. Strahan, Assist. Adj. Gen. with the Light Field Division of the Hyderabad Subsidiary Force at Janlah, to be Assist. Quarterm. Gen. of the Army, vice Peile deceased; Capt. S. W. Steele, Assist. in the Quarterm. General's Dep. to be Assist. Adj. Gen. to the Light Field Division of the Hyderabad Subsidiary Force at Janlah, vice Strahan; Capt. R. Gibbings, Assistant Quarterm. Gen. at Janlah, to act as Assist. Adj. Gen. to the Division at that station, until the return of Capt. Steele from Foreign Service, or until further orders. 14. Capt. M. Tweedie, of the 20th Regt. N. I. to command the escort of the Resident at Tanjore, vice Hardy, deceased; Capt. J. Smith, 4th Nat. Vet. Batt. to command Negapatam.

Sept. 17.—The Hon. the Governor in Council is pleased to place Major Gen. H. Hall, on the General Staff of this Presidency, to complete the number authorized by the Hon. the Court of Directors for the General Staff of the Madras Army; Major Gen. Hall is appointed to command the troops in the ceded districts; Col. W. B. Hewitt, C. B. of the

Infantry, to command the Southern Div. of the army, during the absence of Major Gen. Sir T. Pritzler, K. C. B. or until further orders; Capt. F. Hunter, of the 1st Regt. L. C. to be Assist. Adj. Gen. to the Nagpore Subsidiary Force; Capt. S. W. Steele of the 24th Regt. N. I. to be Assist. Quarterm. Gen. to the Nagpore Subsidiary Force; Capt. W. N. Pace of the 25th Regt. N. I. to be Persian Interpreter to the officer commanding the Nagpore Subsidiary Force; Capt. J. Ardagh, of the 47th Regt. N. I. to be a Dep. Judge Advocate General; Capt. J. Crokat, of the 50th Regt. N. I. to be Paym. to the Nagpore Subsidiary Force; Capt. R. G. Polwhele of the Artillery to be Com. of Stores to the Nagpore Subsidiary Force; Capt. Hunter, Assist. Adj. Gen. at Nagpore, to act as Assist. Quarterm. Gen. to that Force, during the absence of Capt. Steele on foreign service, or until further orders; Capt. W. J. Bradford of the 35th Regt. N. I. to be Assist. Adj. Gen. to the Light Field Div. of the Hyderabad Subsidiary Force at Jaulnah, vice Steele; Capt. E. Cadogan, of the 33d Regt. N. I. to be Aide-de-Camp to his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, vice Bradford; Lieut. R. D. O'Dell, of the 25th Regt. N. I. to be Fort Adjutant of Masulipatam, vice Bowness deceased; Capt. T. MacLeane, of the 1st European Regt. and Sec. to the Military Board is permitted to proceed to sea on sick certificate, with leave of absence for four months. 21. Lieut. Clarke, of the 37th N. I. and Lieut. E. Armstrong, 34th Light Inf. to be Sub. Assistants Commissary Gen.

MEDICAL APPOINTMENTS.

Fort St. George, Sept. 7.—Assist. Surgeons De Burgh Birch, M.D. R. Lindseil, and G. Pearce, M.D. are permitted to enter on the general duties of the army; Sen. Assist. Surg. T. Tomkinson to be Surg. vice White deceased, date of rank 28th May 1824; Sen. Assist. Surg. J. Jones to be Surg. from 1st June 1824, vice Richardson deceased; Sen. Assist. Surg. G. Hewitson to be Surg. vice Splers deceased, date of rank 23d July 1824; Assist. Surg. D. Reid to be Surg. vice Hewitson, deceased, date of rank 10th Aug. 1824.

PROMOTIONS.

Fort St. George, Sept. 7.—The under-mentioned Gentlemen Cadets for the Artillery and Infantry are admitted on the Establishment in conformity with their appointment by the Hon. the Court of Directors, and are promoted to the rank of 1st Lieutenant and Ensign respectively, leaving the dates of their commissions to be settled hereafter:

Artillery. Mr. T. K. Whistler, and Mr. W. H. Miller, arrived at Madras, 2d Sept. 1824.

Infantry. Mr. H. Griffith, and Mr.

W. E. L. Evelyn, arrived at Madras, 2d Sept. 1824.

Sept. 10.—39th Regt. N. I. Sen. Ensign C. G. Outley to be Lieut. dated 5th Sept. 1824.

Sept. 14.—*Infantry.* Colonel W. H. Hewitt, C. B. to be Col. of a Regt. from the 10th April 1824, vice G. Doretton deceased on the 9th April 1824; Sen. Lieut. Col. C. T. G. Bishop to be Lieut. Col. Com. from 1st May 1824, to complete the Establishment; Lieut. Col. W. Clapham to take rank from 10th April 1824, in succession to Hewitt promoted.

6th Regt. L. C. Sen. Lieut. (Brev. Capt.) W. Babington to be Capt. and Sen. Cornet E. Arnytage to be Lieut. vice Johnstone, dated 20th May 1824.

8th Regt. L. C. Sen. Cornet T. M. Hishop to be Lieut. vice Price, dated 22d Aug. 1824.

Artillery. 1st Lieut. R. G. Polwhele, to be Capt. vice Wilkinson, dated 4th Sept. 1824.

21st Regt. N. I. Lieut. Col. F. Bowes to take rank as Lieut. Col., and Senior Major J. W. B. Howell from the 10th Regt. N. I. to be Lieut. Col. from 1st May 1824, to complete the Establishment.

6th Regt. N. I. Sen. Capt. C. de Carteret to be Major, Capt. H. Mitchell and Lieut. H. J. Dallas, to take rank from 1st May 1824, in succession to Bowes promoted.

35th Regt. N. I. Senior Major H. Swayne, from the 25th Regt. N. I. to be Lieut. Col. vice Howell deceased; date of commission 10th May 1824.

25th Regt. N. I. Sen. Capt. F. Brown to be Major, Sen. Lieut. (Brevet Capt.) R. McLeod to be Capt. and Sen. Ens. H. Brooks to be Lieut. in succession to Swayne promoted; date of commission 10th May 1824; Sen. Major H. Bowdler from the 41st Regt. N. I. to be Lieut. Col. vice Smyth deceased; date of commission 15th Aug. 1824.

41st Regt. N. I. Sen. Capt. W. B. Spry to be Major, Sen. Lieut. (Brevet Capt.) H. Robinson to be Capt. and Sen. Ens. H. Hall to be Lieut. in succession to Bowdler promoted; date of commissions 15th Aug. 1824.

7th Regt. N. I. Sen. Ens. R. H. Bingham to be Lieut. vice Mansfield; dated 29th March 1824.

Mr. Charles Milborne West is admitted on the Establishment as a Cadet of Infantry, in conformity with his appointment by the Hon. the Court of Directors from the 12th inst., and is promoted to the rank of Ensign, leaving the date of his commission to be settled hereafter.

GENERAL ORDER.

Fort St. George, Sept. 7.—In obedience to instructions from the Hon. the Court of Directors, the Hon. the Governor in

Council notifies in General Orders, that the rank of Brevet Captain will not in future be granted to any officer until he shall have completed a period of fifteen years' service, reckoned from the date of his first commission as second Lieut. Cornet, or Ensign.

REMOVALS AND POSTINGS.

Fort St. George, Sept. 16.—Cornet T. W. T. Prescott, 1st L. C. to do duty with 6th L. C. at Bangalore. 14. Lieut. Col. J. Knowles, C. B. commanding Nellore, is permitted to proceed to that station. 16. Capt. Walker, Carnatic Europ. Vet. Batt. removed to 3d Nat. Vet. Batt. and directed to join detachment at Vizagapatam; Capt. C. S. Lynn removed from 1st to 3d Nat. Vet. Batt. and will join detachment at Condapilly; Major W. B. Spry, 4th N. I., relieved from doing duty at Condapilly, and will join his regt. 17. Cornet J. E. Watts removed from 4th to 8th L. C. in which he will rank next below Cornet W. Shairp; Captain B. Baker removed from 3d to 2d Nat. Vet. Batt. and will join detachment at Guntoor.

ADJUSTMENT OF RANK.

Fort St. George, Sept. 11.

6th Regt. L. C. Capt. R. Woolt and Lieut. J. S. Lushington to take rank from the 16th Oct. 1823, vice Scott retired; Capt. R. H. Russell and Lieut. J. R. Brown to take rank from the 1st May 1824, to complete the Establishment.

8th Regt. L. C. Lieut. J. C. Wallace to take rank from 27th May 1823, vice Aveline retired; Lieut. J. H. Robertson to take rank from 1st May 1824, to complete the Establishment.

Artillery. Capt. F. Derville and 1st Lieut. D. B. Dighton to take rank from 19th Oct. 1820, vice Thoresby resigned 18th Oct. 1820; Capt. C. Patton and 1st Lieut. J. Anderson, to take rank from 13th May 1824, in succession to Hopkinson promoted; Capt. T. Bennett to take rank from 9th July 1821, vice Poggenpohl deceased; Capt. N. Hunter to take rank from 16th Aug. 1821, in succession to Cleaveland promoted; Capt. J. J. Gamage to take rank from 17th Oct. 1821, in succession to Mackintosh promoted; Capt. T. Y. B. Keenan to take rank from 26th Jan. 1822, in succession to Taylor promoted; Capt. H. Gregory to take rank from 1st Feb. 1822, vice Mackintosh deceased; Capt. P. Montgomerie to take rank from 21st May 1823, in succession to Taylor invalided; Capt. G. Conrau to take rank from 1st June 1823, vice Moorhouse deceased; Capt. D. H. Mackenzie to take rank from 17th Jan. 1824, vice Palmer promoted; Capt. T. Biddle to take rank from 1st May 1824, to complete the Establishment; Capt. J. Lambe to take rank from 9th June 1824, vice Bennett invalided; Capt. J. M. Ley to take rank from 25th June 1824, vice Rudyerd deceased.

4th Regt. N. I. Major W. Jollie, Capt. H. S. Hall and Lieut. C. Church to take rank from 10th April 1824, in succession to Clapham promoted; Lieut. Col. J. Woulfe to take rank from 23d April 1824, vice Frith deceased.

21st Regt. N. I. Major H. Downes, Capt. R. S. Wilson and Lieut. A. Shirrels to take rank from 23d April 1824, in succession to Woulfe promoted.

6th Regt. N. I. Major M. J. Harris, Capt. J. Howison, and Lieut. F. A. Clarke to take rank from 6th May 1824, vice De Carteret deceased.

10th Regt. N. I. Major R. Short, Capt. W. Stokoe and Lieut. A. Wight, to take rank from 1st May 1821, in succession to Howell promoted; Lieut. Col. J. S. Fraser, to take rank from 6th May 1824, vice Hall deceased.

35th Regt. N. I. Major J. Mallandaine, Capt. E. E. Bruce and Lieut. W. B. Brooshoof to take rank from 6th May 1821, in succession to Fraser promoted.

7th Regt. N. I. Lieut. B. Staplyton to take rank from 4th Dec. 1823, vice Mackinnon deceased.

45th Regt. N. I. Major S. S. Gummer, Capt. M. H. Davidson, and Lieut. L. B. Wifford to take rank from 3d March 1824, vice Beckett deceased.

MEDICAL ADJUSTMENT OF RANK.

Fort St. George, Sept. 21.—Surg. G. Mather to rank from 29th June 1820, vice Parrock retired; Surg. C. Simson from 24th July 1820, vice Rich deceased; Surg. J. Hastie from 1st Aug. 1820, to complete the Establishment; Surg. J. Irving, M. D. from 5th Nov. 1820, vice Briggs deceased; Surg. W. E. E. Conwell, M. D. from 11th Jan. 1821, vice Ingledew retired; Surg. D. Henderson from 18th May 1821, vice Cooke deceased; Surg. D. Provan from 20th June 1821, vice Patterson struck off; Surg. H. Atkinson from 9th July 1821, vice Sutton deceased; Surg. J. Wyllie from 29th Nov. 1821, vice M'Andrew deceased; Surg. A. Campbell, M. D. from 6th Dec. 1821, vice Currie retired; Surg. G. Meikle from 6th Jan. 1822, vice Sherwood retired; Surg. J. T. Conran from 9th Aug. 1822, vice Hastie deceased; Surg. D. Donaldson from 11th Aug. 1822, in succession to Harris deceased; Surg. J. Harwood from 23d Jan. 1823, vice Longdill retired; Surg. J. Smart, M. D. from 16th Aug. 1823, vice Mather deceased; Surg. J. White from 17th Sept. 1823, vice Dalton deceased; Surg. Sir T. Sevestre from 1st Jan. 1824, vice Goldie retired; Surgeons R. Prince, J. Atkin, W. Wilson, M. D., R. Neilson, 1st May 1824, to complete the Establishment; Surg. J. Cruickshank from 22d May 1824, vice Kelly deceased.

FURLONGHS.

Fort St. George, Sept. 7.—Lieut. Col. Commandant J. Russell, C. B. 7th Regt.

L. C. to Europe, on furlough; Lieut. Brev. Capt. J. T. Webbe 19th Regt. N. I. to Europe on sick certificate. 10th. Lieut. J. Black 34th Regt. N. I. to Europe on sick certificate. 14. Capt. J. N. Abdy, of the Artillery to Europe on sick certificate.

BOMBAY.

MILITARY APPOINTMENTS.

Bombay Castle, Sept. 4.—Lieut. E. Burgess, 24th N. I. to be Adj. vice Ostram, exchanged to 23d N. I. date 1st Sept. 1824; Lieut. H. Dampier, 19th N. I. to be Interp. in Hindoostanee, and Quarterm. vice Westley transferred to 20th N. I. date 1st Sept. 1824; Lieut. H. Dampier, 19th N. I. to be Interp. in Hindoostanee, and Quarterm. vice Westley transferred to 20th N. I. date 1st Sept. 1824; Lieut. J. W. Gordon, 7th N. I. Adj. of 1st extra batt. removed and appointed Adj. to 2d extra batt. vice Watts appointed Quarterm. of 1st Europ. Regt. date 1st Sept. 1824; Lieut. J. Fawcett, 5th N. I. to be Adj. to 1st extra batt. vice Gordon removed to 2d ditto, date 1st Sept. 1824. 13. Lieut. Law to be Staff officer to a detachment of Bombay Art. now at Raagoon; Lieut. G. Le Grand Jacob, 2d N. I. to be Interp. in Hindoostanee, and Quarterm. vice Teasdale, exchanged into 1st. N. I. 15. Capt. J. Little, 2d Europ. Regt. to be Superintending Officer of Cadets, vice Roun promoted, date 10th Sept. 1824. 16. Lieut. G. Brown, 7th N. I. to act as Int. and Quarterm. to 8th N. I. until relieved by officer appointed to situation. 20. Lieut. G. McIntosh to be Interp. in Hindoostanee and Mahratta, and Quarterm. to Marine batt. 21. Lieut. Foster, of Engineers, to be an Assist. of 1st class to survey department in Deccan. 24. Capt. J. Livingston to be Bar. Mast. at Presidency, vice Morison resigned, date 23d Sept. 1824; Lieut. Col. Willis to be President of Standing Committee of Survey, date 23d Sept. 1824.

MEDICAL APPOINTMENTS.

Bombay Castle, Sept. 4.—Mr. W. Troop, admitted an Assist. Surg. 8. Surg. Purnell recalled from Southern Concan, his services being required in Mil. Dep.; Assist. Surg. Shaw to succeed Mr. Purnell as Civil Surg. in Southern Concan; Surg. Smytton to succeed Mr. Shaw as Vaccinator at Presidency; Surg. R. Wallace to succeed Surg. Ogilvy, as Civil Surg. at the Presidency.

PROMOTIONS.

Bombay Castle, Sept. 4.—Messrs. T. B. Hamilton, J. Penny, and G. W. Money admitted Cadets of Cavalry, and promoted to Cornets; Messrs. H. H. Doherty, A. Sheppard, and W. Thatcher admitted Cadets of Infantry, and promoted to Ensigns.

15th Regt N. I. Capt. F. M'Coy. Iredell to take rank vice Collis, date 12th Feb. 1824; Lieut. H. C. Holland to be Capt. date 1st May 1824; Ens. T. Mitchell to be Lieut. vice Iredell promoted, date 12th Feb. 1824.

Sept. 20.—Mr. R. E. Phillips admitted a Cadet and promoted to Ensign.

REMOVALS.

Bombay Castle, Sept. 8.—Lieut. J. R. S. Fenwick, 1st Gr. Regt. N. I. having been found guilty of murder in Supreme Court of Judicature at this Presidency (though judgment has been suspended), the name of that officer is directed to be struck out of List of Army from 8th Sept. 1824.

MARINE PROMOTIONS.

Sept. 6.—Midshipman G. Loughton to be Lieut. vice Goreham deceased, date 17th July 1824. 18. Junior Capt. T. Tanner to be Commodore at Surat, in succession to Capt. Blast.

CEYLON.

APPOINTMENT.

Aug. 27.—The Rev. J. S. N. Glennie to perform duties of Archdeaconry of Colombo, now vacant by death of the Hon. and Venerable T. J. Twisleton, D.D. late Archdeacon of Colombo, till a successor be duly instituted to the same.

KING'S FORCES IN INDIA.

[From the London Gazette.]

BENGAL.

14th Foot. To be Lieuts. without purchase.—Ens. J. R. Smith, vice Kirkman, deceased, dated 23th March, 1824; Ens. R. R. Naylor, vice Crawford, deceased, dated 21st March 1824. To be Ensigns.—E. Capadosi, Gent. vice Smith, dated 20th March 1821; and R. Budd, Gent. vice Naylor, dated 21st March 1821.

Lieut. A. Stewart from half-pay Rifle Brigade to be Lieut. vice Tining, appointed to 84th Foot, dated 3d March.

38th Foot. Lieut. E. Hopper to be Capt. without purchase, dated 16th Feb. 1825; Ens. J. Campbell, Lieut. C. Mudie,

from half-pay 28th Foot, and Ensign R. Mends, from 87th Foot, to be Ensigns without purchase, dated 10th Feb. 1825. R. Deane, Gent. to be Ensign without purchase, vice Campbell, dated 10th Feb. 1825.

41st Foot. Lieut. B. N. Bluet to be Capt. without purchase, dated 10th Feb. 1825; Ensigns J. G. Beddiefield and J. S. Douglas, from 61st Foot, to be Lieuts. Spencer, from 73d Foot, to be Lieuts. without purchase, dated 10th Feb. 1825. Lieut. J. Moore to be Capt. 87th Foot. Lieut. J. Moore to be Capt. without purchase, vice Clifford, deceased, dated Aug. 1824; Ens. R. R. Harris, to

be Lieut. vice Moore, dated 18th Aug. 1824; R. Loveday, Gent. to be Ensign, vice Harris, dated 18th Aug. 1824; D. Herbert, Gent. to be Ensign without purchase, vice Mends, promoted in 38th Foot, dated 10th Feb. 1825.

* MADRAS.

1st Foot. Gent. Cadet C. Curtis, from Royal Military College, to be Ensign without purchase, vice Williamson, appointed to 73d Foot, dated 10th Feb. 1825. To be Lieutenants—Ens. H. C. Fraser, from 38th Foot, by purchase, vice Stoyte, promoted, dated 23d Feb. 1825; Ens. J. M'Gregor, without purchase, vice Suter, deceased, dated 10th March 1825.—To be Ens. without purchase, R. G. Hill, Gent. vice M'Gregor, dated 10th March 1825.

48th Foot. Lieut. T. Brotheridge, to be Capt. without purchase, dated 10th Feb. 1825; Lieut. R. Vincent, from 89th Foot, Ens. J. T. Hall, from 18th Foot, and Ens. E. C. Smith, from 99th Foot, to be Lieuts. without purchase, dated 10th Feb. 1825.

89th Foot. Ens. J. W. Harris, from 84th Foot, to be Lieut. without purchase, vice Vincent, appointed to 46th Foot, dated 10th Feb. 1825.

30th Foot. Lieut. W. Baxter from half-pay 22d Regt. to be Lieut. vice Rumley, who exchanges, dated 3d March 1825.

69th Foot. A. C. Anderson, Gent. to be Ens. without purchase, vice Penn, promoted; 2d Lieut. J. W. Bennett, to be Ensign from half-pay of 3d Ceylon Regt. dated 3d March 1825.

BOMBAY.

4th Light Dragoons. C. Villiers, Gent. to be Cornet, by purchase vice Somerville, appointed to 2d Dragoons, dated 25th Feb. 1825; I. Tinn, Gent. to be Veterinary Surg. vice Burd, deceased, dated 17th Feb. 1825.

20th Foot. Lieut. D. Campbell, from 79th Foot, to be Lieut. vice Butler, who exchanges, dated 3d March 1825; Ensign J. Petts, to be Lieut. by purchase vice Keppel, promoted in Bombay Foot, dated 17th Feb. 1825; J. Taylor, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Petts, dated 17th Feb. 1825.

CAPE.

6th Foot. Lieut. H. S. Larpin, from half-pay, 24th Light Dragoons, to be Lieut. vice T. N. Clarke, who exchanges, dated 19th Feb. 1825.

Cape Corps. J. N. Reishton, Gent. to be Ens. without purchase, vice Fraser, promoted in 44th Foot, dated 10th Feb. 1825.

ISLE OF FRANCE.

82d Foot. Lieut. T. Hadwin, from 34th Foot, to be Lieut. vice Harford, who exchanges, dated 10th Feb. 1825.

ROYAL EAST INDIA VOLUNTEERS.

Lieut. R. Smith to be Capt. vice Medley, who resigns, dated 23d Feb. 1825; Ensign C. Hebord, vice Smith, W. Heathcote, vice Keith, who resigns, J. Brown, vice Fletcher, to be Lieuts.; J. D. Retherdon, gent. vice Hebord, R. Codrington, vice Heathcote, W. W. White, vice Brown, and G. Cox, vice Powell, to be Ensings, dated 23d Feb. 1825.

BREVET.

The undermentioned Cadets of the Hon. East India Company's Service are to have temporary rank as Second Lieutenants, during the period of their being placed under the command of Lieut. Col. Pasley, of the Royal Engineers, at Chatham, for instruction in the art of sapping and mining:

Gentlemen Cadets, C. W. Willis, W. B. Goodfellow, W. H. Atkinson, W. Scott, dated 10th Feb. 1825.

[From the Indian Gazettes.]

MILITARY APPOINTMENTS.

Fort William, Oct. 14.—Col. J. Dumin, C.B. of H.M. 44th Regt. to be a Brigadier-General; Col. N. M'Keller, C.B. of H.M. 1st, or Royals, to be ditto; and Col. W. Cotton, of H.M. 47th, to be ditto. 20. Capt. F. Champagne, H.M. 20th Foot, to be Military Secretary to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, vice Marlay; Lieut. C. A. Wrottesley, 16th Lancers, to be Aid-de-Camp on His Excellency's Personal Staff, vice Champagne. 28. Col. W. M'Bean, of H.M. 54th Regt. Foot, is re-appointed, from 25th Aug. last, a Brigadier-General with the army serving in the dominions of the King of Ava. Nov. 11. Capt. W. Fendall, H.M. 4 Regt. Light Dragoons, to be an Aid-de-Camp on his Lordship's Personal Staff, vice Cook, deceased, dated 9th Oct. 1824.

PROMOTIONS.

Head Quarters, Calcutta, Oct. 5.—14th Foot. Lieut. H. Mansell, to be Capt. by Brevet, dated 28th Sept. 1824.

38th Foot. Lieut. A. Campbell, to be Capt. by Brevet, dated 14th Dec. 1824.

14th Foot. Brevet Lieut. Col. J. Campbell, from half-pay, Royal West India Rangers, to be Major, vice C. Gardiner, dated 6th May, 1824.

38th Foot. Lieut. J. Matthews, to be Capt. without purchase, vice Read, deceased, dated 23d Oct. 1823; Lieut. M. Semple, from 24th Foot, to be Capt. vice Willshire, dated 24th Oct.; Ensign H. Grimes, to be Lieut. vice Matthews,

and E. Ragot, Gent. to be Ensign, vice Grimes, dated 23d Oct. 1823.

44th Foot. Brigade Major A. Brugh to be Major without purchase, vice Nixon, deceased, dated 7th Nov. 1823; Lieut. J. Connor to be Captain without purchase; Ensign W. Ogilvy to be Lieut. without purchase; Second Lieut. R. B. McCrea, from Ceylon Regt. to be Ensign, vice Browne, dated 28th April, 1821; Gent. Cadet J. D. De Wend, from Military College, to be Ensign, vice Ogilvy; Ensign W. C. Langmead, from 76th Foot, to be Lieut. without purchase, vice Wood, dated 25th April, 1821.

46th Foot. Ensign W. N. Hutchinson to be Lieut. without purchase, vice Law, dated 25th Oct. 1823; G. Woodburn, gent. to be Ensign, vice Hutchinson, dated 29th April, 1821.

59th Foot. Lieut. N. Chadwick to be Capt. by purchase, vice Clutterbuck, who retires, dated 29th April 1824; Ensign C. Coote to be Lieut. by purchase, ditto; D. J. N. Barron, gent. to be Ensign by purchase, ditto.

Oct. 30.—His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief in India is pleased to make the following promotions, until His Majesty's pleasure shall be known:

Lieut. E. Hopper to be Capt. of a Company without purchase, vice Brigade Major Forster, deceased, dated 18th Sept. 1824; Ensign F. Tudor to be Lieut. without purchase, vice Hopper, promoted, dated 18th Sept. 1824.

41st Foot. Capt. E. B. Stehelin to be Major without purchase, vice Hill, deceased, dated 19th Aug. 1824; Lieut. A. McIntyre to be Capt. of a Company without purchase, vice Stehelin, promoted, dated 19th Aug. 1824; Lieut. A. H. Maclean to be Capt. of a Company without purchase, vice Macleod, deceased, dated 27th Aug. 1824; Ensign L. Tallon to be Lieut. without purchase, vice McIntyre, promoted, dated 19th Aug. 1824; Ensign H. A. O'Neill to be Lieut. without purchase, vice Maclean, promoted, dated 27th Aug. 1824; Ensign G. R. Read to be Lieut. without purchase, vice Hume, deceased, dated 10th Sept. 1824; J. Smith, gent. to be Ensign without purchase, vice Tallon, promoted, dated 19th Aug. 1824; J. Boyce, gent. to be Ensign without purchase, vice O'Neill, promoted, dated 27th Aug. 1824; — Stodhart, gent. to be Ensign without purchase, vice Read, promoted, dated 10th Sept. 1824.

54th Foot. Lieut. R. Woodgate, to be Capt. of a Company, without purchase, vice Black deceased, 27th Sept. 1824; Ensign H. W. Harris, to be Lieut. without purchase, vice Woodgate promoted, 27th Sept. 1824.

89th Foot. Lieut. W. Bell, to be Capt. of a Company without purchase, vice Coates deceased, 21st Sept. 1824; Ensign J. Currie, to be Lieut. without purchase,

vice Taylor deceased, 31st Aug. 1824; Ensign J. M. MacLean, to be Lieut. without purchase, vice Bell promoted, 21st Sept. 1824; J. Gray, Gent. to be Ensign without purchase, vice Currie promoted, 31st Aug. 1824.

MEMORANDUM.

41st Foot. The promotions of Lieut. McIntyre to be Captain, Ensign Tallon to be Lieut., and John Smith, Gent. to be Ensign, in succession to Macleod deceased, as stated in General Orders of the 22d Sept. last, are cancelled.

EXCHANGES.

Head Quarters, Calcutta.

Oct. 12.—4th Light Dragoons, Major G. Brown from 6th Light Dragoons to be Major, vice Onslow who retires upon half-pay 42d Foot, receiving difference, dated 13th May 1824.—16th Light Dragoon, Cornet W. Penn from 17th Light Dragoons, vice Brett who retires on half-pay 21th Light Dragoons, dated 24th April 1821.—20th Foot, Capt. R. Swinton from 17th Foot to be Captain, vice Rotton who exchanges, dated 29th April 1821.—Lieut. M. Day from half-pay Loyal West India Regt. to be Lieut., vice Warren, whose appointment has not taken place, dated 22d April 1824.

FURLOUGHS.

Head Quarters, Calcutta.

Aug. 23.—Lieut. Col. Clifford, 89th Foot, to Europe for health. 30. Lieut. Thompson, 30th Foot, ditto; Capt. Cuppage, 46th Foot, ditto; Capt. Coates, 89th Foot, for health; Major Brugh, 44th Foot, for health; Lieut. Tolfrey, 87th Foot, for health. Oct. 11. Ens. G. Johnson, H.M. 59th Reg. to Calcutta, on sick certificate, from thence to make application for leave of absence to Europe, should his health require it. 13. Capt. Milne, 11th Light Dragoons, for two years to Europe, on sick certificate. 18. Lieut. Harding, 89th foot, to Europe, for two years, on account of health; Ensign Gordon, ditto, ditto, for one year, for retiring on half pay; Lieut. Fraser, 47th Foot, to Europe, for two years, on account of health. Nov. 2. Brev. Lieut. Col. Major Belli, of 16th Lancers, to Calcutta, on sick certificate, for 3½ months, on the expiration of which term, should the state of his health require it, he is to make application for leave to proceed to sea, or eventually to Europe, for recovery. 10. Capt. Ellis, 16th Lancers, to Europe, for two years, on urgent private affairs.

13th Drag. Brev.-Maj. Thornton, from date of embarkation, for 2 years, to Europe, on urgent private affairs.

13th Lt. Inf. Lieut. Meredith, from date of embarkation, for 2 years, to Europe, for the benefit of his health.

59th Ft. Lieut. Kelly, from the date of embarkation, for 2 years, to Europe, for the benefit of his health.

89th Foot—Lieut. Moore, from date of embarkation, for two years to Europe, for the benefit of his health.

Capt. Enderby, of His Majesty's 16th Lancers, has permission to repair to

Calcutta on sick certificate, and to be absent on that account for 3 months. Or, or before the expiration of which, should the state of his health require it, and be certified accordingly by the Medical Board, he is to make application for leave to proceed to sea for the recovery of his health.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

BENGAL.

Births.—Aug. 4th. At Kurnaul, the lady of Capt. J. Barclay, 4th Light Cavalry, of a son.—14th. Mrs. C. Wiltshire, of a daughter.—17th. Mrs. A. M. Inglis, of a daughter.—At Snagor, the lady of A. Garden, Esq., of a son.—19th. At Bureilly, the lady of W. F. Dick, Esq., civil service, of a son.—At Hameerpoor, Bundelkhund, the lady of M. Aluslie, Esq., civil service, of a son.—22d. Mrs. John D'Rozario, of a son.—The lady of Capt. Roberts, superintendent of buildings, Western Prov., of a daughter.—24th. At Chowringhee, Mrs. Nays, of a daughter.—25th. At Snagor, the wife of Conductor A. Facy, of a daughter.—27th. Mrs. C. Waller, of a son.—29th. Mrs. W. Oxborough, of a daughter.—30th. Mrs. R. Williams, of a son.—31st. Mrs. A. Fleming, of a daughter.—Sept. 1st. The lady of T. G. Vibart, Esq., civil service of a son.—Sept. 1st. At Dum Dum, the lady of Dr. B. W. Macleod, of a son.—3d. The lady of Lieut. Houghton, H. C. Marine, of a daughter.—6th. The lady of Mr. T. Marriott, of a daughter; at Chowringhee, the lady of J. M. Seppings, Esq., of a son.—9th. At Serampore, Mrs. T. St. J. Byrne, of a son.—9th. At Dacca, the lady of Lane Magilac, Esq., civil service, of a daughter.—10th. At Ramnagar, near Coochbarah, the lady of I. H. Savi, Esq., of a son; Mrs. S. P. Singer, of a still-born child.—12th. At Barrackpore, the lady of Lieut. Col. D'Aguilar, of a son.—15th. The wife of Mr. D. Barnett, of a daughter; Mrs. L. F. Pereira, of a daughter.—19th. At Ahmedabad, the lady of J. Williams, Esq., C. S. of a daughter.—23d. At Secunderabad, the lady of Lieut. H. R. Kirby, 4th Regt. N. I. of a daughter.—28th. At Pichimpoly, the lady of Capt. W. M. Lloyd, 35th Regt. of a daughter.—Oct. 12th. Mrs. W. Walter, of a daughter; at Jabulpore, the wife of Lieut. M. Nicolson, of a daughter; at Poonamallee, the lady of W. H. Smith, Esq., Medical Establishment, of a son.—13th. At Chittory, the lady of R. Gibson, Esq., of a daughter.—15th. The lady of W. P. R. Sheldon, Esq., of a daughter.—17th. At Calcutta, Mrs. G. Johnson, of a daughter.—18th. At Calcutta, the lady of Capt. J. A. Currie, 14th N. I. of a daughter; the lady of M. Palliologas, Esq., of a son.—

20th. At Benares, the lady of Capt. S. Watson, 55th Regt. N. I. of a son.—21st. At Calcutta, the lady of Capt. D. Kitcheney, of the Fyzell Karrem, of a son; at Huseerabad, the lady of Dr. Welchman, of a son.—29th. At Serampore, Mrs. D. Rodrigues, of a son.—Nov. 1st. At Arrah, the lady of Lieut. Col. Com. Balcock, of a son.—2d. At Bauleah, Mrs. C. Parkinson, of a son.—5th. At Midnapore, the lady of J. H. Doyley, Esq., of C. S. of a son.—7th. At Calcutta, the lady of R. W. Poe, Esq., of a son; the lady of Capt. Swinhoe, 2d Grenadier Batt., of a daughter; Mrs. Sevestre, of a son; in Fort William, the lady of Capt. Chesney, Bengal Artillery, of a son.—10th. At Chowringhee, the lady of Lieut. Col. Tombs, 3d Regt. Cavalry, of a son.—11th. At Calcutta, Mrs. J. Sutherland, of a daughter.—13th. At Serampore, Mrs. J. C. Fink, of a daughter.

Marriages.—Aug. 30th. At Allahabad, A. W. Begbie, Esq., civil service, to Margaret Anna, daughter of the late James Grant, Esq., formerly of the same service.—Oct. 9th. Mr. A. D'Sonza, to Miss C. D'Rozario.—15th. At Barrackpore, Lieut. W. Glasgow, son of the late Lieut. Gen. Glasgow, to Amelia, second daughter of the late R. Campbell, Esq., of Calcutta.—18th. At Calcutta, H. S. Peunington, Esq., to Miss C. A. Lyons.—19th. At Calcutta, W. Thacker, Esq., to Miss M. Edwards; at the Cathedral, T. Palmer, Esq., to Miss J. H. Adams.—20th. At Allahabad, Lieut. E. Winter, 41st Regt. N. I., to Fanny, second daughter of Capt. B. Wilkinson, of H. M. service.—23d. At Barrackpore, Capt. A. F. Richmond, 2d Regt. N. I. to Miss A. F. Cumberland, eldest daughter of late Col. Cumberland, of Bengal Establishment.—25th. At Calcutta, Lieut. J. C. Whiteford, 65th Regt. to Jane, third daughter of the Rev. J. H. Rice, D. D. & J. F. Haris, Esq., to Miss M. R. Grimwood.—Nov. 1st. At Lucknow, M. Ricketts, Esq., to Mrs. C. E. Ravenscroft.—9th. At Calcutta, Rev. L. B. E. Schmid, to Miss M. Jackson; at Oawnpore, Mr. W. Potthill, to Miss S. P. Remball.

Deaths.—Aug. 12th. At Olandernagore, Mr. T. J. Williams, aged 63.—18th. At Ahmedungger, Eldred, infant son of Capt. H. Pottinger.—17th. At Bunkpore,

Robert Edward, youngest son of Mr. J. Bell, aged eight months.—20th. At Meerut. Lieut. J. Liston, H. M. 14th foot.—21st. Mr. T. Browne, Mirzapore printing establishment, aged 32.—23d. James Sheriff, son of Mr. J. Urquhart, aged five years; at Rungpore, Capt. J. Vyse, 57th N. I.; at Gurwarrah, Lieut. T. Goldney, 1st N. I.; Harapet Arathoon, Esq., an Armenian merchant, aged 58.—24th. Mr. L. Verdoncel, aged 44.—26th. On the river, by the upsetting of a boat, Capt. Head, of the H. C.'s ship *Canning*.—30th. At Barrackpore, Norman, infant son, of Capt. A. McLeod, commanding Rungpore L. I.—31st. At Serampore, Charles William, eldest son of Mr. J. Cashman.—Sept. 1st. Miss A. N. Chalcraft, aged 21; the wife of Mr. Huggins, of Seebpore.—2d. Eliza, infant daughter of Mr. John Peterson; at Dum Dum, Sophia Russell, infant daughter of Capt. Pereira, of artillery; Mr. A. Salter, late shipwright, aged 27.—3d. At Chowringhee, Andrew Young, infant son of Lieut. Col. H. Faithful; Mr. W. Griggs, steward in the General Hospital.—6th. Agnes, infant daughter of J. C. Burton, Esq., 18th. Mrs. Anna Williams, wife of Mr. R. Williams, aged 22.—Oct. 7. At Kannal, Lieut. Colonel Clark, 7th Light Cavalry.—11th. Mr. R. Wallace, 2d Officer of the ship *Hindostan*; Mr. Patterson, Surgeon of Ship *Henry Porcher*; Major A. Owen, 20th Regt. N. I.—17th. At Calcutta, the infant son of Mr. G. R. Gardener.—18th. At Coel, E. Harding, Esq., H. C. S.—26th. At Calcutta, Mr. T. Lockwood, Assistant Surveyor-General's Officer; at Jessore, Mr. J. De Silva, Senr.; at Chunar, G. W. M. Gore, Lieut. 52d Regt. N. I.—30th. At Chittagong, Mr. C. Da Barros.—Nov. 1st. At Hazareebaugh, Serjeant Major C. Wagstaffe.—4th. Mrs. J. D'Rosario.—5th. Isabella, second daughter of late Capt. J. Wilkie, 45th N. I.—6th. At Calcutta, J. Dowling, Esq.; at Secrole, Major Gen. R. B. Gregory, Col. 3d Regt. N. I.—9th. At Fort William, Mrs. Mary Sheen; at Allipore, Mr. R. Beaby, Head Clerk in the Board of Superintendence Office.—10th. At Calcutta, Robert, infant son of J. Payne, Junr.—13th. At Chandernagore, Miss M. Brunet.

MADRAS.

Births.—Sept. 25th. At Wallajahbad, the lady of Lieut. Col. Brodie, of a son.—26th. At Trichinopoly, the lady of Capt. W. McLeod; 35th Regt. of a daughter.—Oct. 1st. At St. Thome, Mrs. A. Williamson, of twin daughters.—3d. The lady of Lieut. W. Cotton, 10th Regt. N. I. of a daughter.—9th. At Arangabad, the lady of Capt. G. Tomkies, 10th Regt. Bengal, N. I. of a daughter.—15th. At Trichinopoly, the lady of J. Bird, Esq., of a son.—18th. At Madras, the lady of P. Rakat, Esq., Secretary to the Netherland Chief, of a still-born son; at Vepery

Mrs. M. Fitzgerald, of a son; at Madras, the lady of Lieut. Col. Com. Wabab, of a daughter.—19th. At Madras, the lady of E. R. McDonell, Esq., C. S., of a son.—21st. At St. Thomas' Mount, the lady of P. Pulliam, Esq., Madras Medical Establishment, of a daughter.

Marriages.—Oct. 4th. At Madras, Mr. A. T. Jones, to Amelia Maria, youngest daughter of J. Martin, Esq., of the Marine Yard; Mr. W. Grant, to Miss Biles.—6th. At Darwar, Lieut. S. W. Prescott, 5th Regt. Mad. N. I., to Sarah Georgina, eldest daughter of the late Lieut. Col. N. M. Smyth.

Deaths.—Sept. 17th. At the Presidency, C. Fullerton, Esq., late Judge of Chingleput.—22d. At the Presidency, lady Franklin, relict of late Hon. Justice Franklin.—24th. At the Presidency, Lieut. P. Brady.—26th. At Chindadrepettah, Mr. J. H. Heal.—29th. At Madras, the lady of Lieut. Gen. Bowser, Commanding the Mysore Division of the Madras Army.—Oct. 7th. At Madras, G. A. Rutter, eldest son of W. Rutter, Esq.—10th. At Madras, J. Harwood, Esq., Surgeon to 5th Regt. L. C.—13th. At Royapooran, Mr. J. Thornhill; at Madras, H. De Fries, eldest son of L. De Fries, Esq.—14th. At St. Thome, Capt. D. Ogilvie, 2d Regt. Madras, N. I.—15th. At Trichinopoly, John Frederic, son of Mr. W. Stapleton.—25th. At Madras, Mr. J. B. Baptist.

BOMBAY.

Births.—Sept. 12. At Kaira, the lady of Capt. R. Burrows, H. M. 4th Light Dragoons, of a son.—Oct. 1st. At Bombay, the lady of L. Hathway, Esq. Garrison Surgeon of Tannah, of a son.—At Surat, the lady of E. Grant, Esq. Civil Service, of a son.—12th. At Bombay, the lady of Richard Woodhouse, Esq. of a son.—At Colabah, the lady of Major Barr, of a son.—20th. At Bombay, Mrs. Briggs, of a son.—21st. At Bombay, the lady of J. Faish, Esq. Civil Service, of a son.—24th. At Secroo, the lady of Lieut. Col. Pierce, of the Horse Artillery, of a son.—26th. At Bombay, the wife of Conductor J. Kilkenny, of a son.—28th. At Bombay, the lady of Capt. Black, Assistant Quarter-Master-General, of a son.

Marriages.—September 6th. At Kaira Church, Dr. Cockerill, Horse Artillery, to Theresa, second daughter of Francis Daly, Esq. Ballylee Castle, Galway, and sister to Capt. Daly, H. M. 4th Light Dragoons.—8th. At Kaira, Lieut. Chas. Lucas, Horse Brigade, to Miss Eleanor Greene, daughter of the late Lieut. Col. T. Greene, Bengal Artillery.—21st. At St. Thomas's Church, Capt. Geo. Bolton, H. M. 20th Regt., to Mary, only daughter of the late John Vye, Esq. of Ilfracomb, Devonshire.—27th. At Bombay, at the Roman Catholic Church in the Fort, by

the Right Rev. Dom. F. Pedro de Alcantara, three daughters of Sir R. de Faria, to his three relations and partners in his mercantile establishment. Rita Maria, the eldest, to Mr. F. A. de Carvalho, Anna Apolonia, the second, to Mr. L. F. da Silva; and Rozaura Dloza, the third, to Mr. J. M. Pinto.—Oct. 9th. Capt. Sopplitt, 18th Regt. to Caroline, daughter of L. Phillips, Esq. of Montague-place, Cheltenham.—14th. At Bombay, Mr. W. Benton, to Miss Longdon.—26th. At Bombay, Mr. Nelson, Garrison Sergeant-Major, to Elizabeth Cullen.

Deaths.—Sept. 12. Geo. Taylor, Esq. Assist.-Surgeon, Madras Establishment, aged 25.—17th. George Michael, infant son of Mr. George Phillips.—24th. Mr. Charles Mitchell, aged 39.—Oct. 25th. At Bombay, James Evans, infant son of Major Gray, 1st Regt. N. I.

GREAT BRITAIN.

Births.—March 7. At Blackheath, the lady of Capt. Beadle, of a son.

Marriages.—Feb. 22. J. R. Watts, Esq., Hon. East India Company's Service, to Mary Ann, only daughter of J. Grice, Esq. of Rotherhithe.—24. At Colchester, Rev. J. Whiting, Chaplain to Hon. East India Comp., to Susan, daughter of the late Mr. C. White of Colchester; W. K. Hay, Esq., Hon. East India Company's

Service, to Catherine, youngest daughter of the late Capt. S. Nowell.—March 3. At St. Clement Dunes, T. Hennah, Esq., Hon. East India Company's Service, to Jemima Hayes, youngest daughter of the late T. Edgley, Esq., of Essex Wharf, Strand.

Deaths.—Feb. 25. At Bath, J. J. Franklin, eldest son of the late Capt. J. R. Franklin, Hon. East India Company's Service.—March 1. At Southampton, Mrs. Baird, daughter of the late T. Dickson, Esq., of Burstow Park, Surrey, and grand daughter of the late Sir W. Baird, Bart., R. N.—8. At Cheltenham, Capt. R. Boon, Commander of the Lady Nugent.—9. The Rev. J. Saffery, Baptist Minister at Salisbury.—12. Mary, widow of Lieut. S. Kuisse, of St. Helena Establishment.—In Chester Place, Lambeth, on the 11th of March, sincerely regretted by a numerous circle of friends; John Swiney, Esq., aged 75, one of the oldest officers of his Majesty's Customs, having been collector at Savannah le Mer, in the island of Jamaica, upwards of 45 years ago. He was the father of John Swiney, Esq., M.D., Garrison Surgeon of Fort William, Calcutta; of Lieut. Colonel George Swiney, of the Bengal Artillery, principal Commissary of Ordnance; and of Lieut. Sidney Swiney, of the Bengal Infantry.

COMMERCIAL INTELLIGENCE FROM INDIA.

CALCUTTA, Nov. 4.—The Company have advertised for tenders for Indigo, and the price has again risen to 320 Rs. The sales have been chiefly confined to small parcels of Jessore, which bears a quotation of 300 Rs. per maund, for the extreme price. Many foreign purchasers have been in the market. The crop will prove to be full 95,000 maunds.

COTTON.—This continues in fair inquiry at steady prices, and the market bare of the finest qualities.

GRAIN is in immediate demand.

PIECE-GOODS.—The market much depressed, and demand limited.

SALTPETRE.—The inquiry for this has improved since our last, and prices rate higher.

SUGAR continues in good request: the fine qualities chiefly wanted. China produce generally scarce and advancing.

METALS.—Iron of every description on the decline. Tutenague and Spelter in limited demand, but no alteration to notice in the prices: stock heavy. Block Tin in active inquiry, and Tin Plates in moderate demand. Copper on the decline; Lead rather advancing.

EUROPEAN GOODS.—Anchors only saleable singly; and heavy, with iron stocks, principally inquired after. Beer rather on the decline, and in limited demand. Birmingham Hardware generally on the advance. Paint and Oil, generally dull.

FREIGHT TO LONDON may still be quoted at 5*l.* to 7*l.* per ton.

Nov. 6.—You will have heard of the scarcity which has so generally prevailed throughout India. That ill-fated colony, the Isle of France, is now suffering under it, and ships are wanted to take rice down. The Lord Amherst and Cornwall are taken by the Government at the enormous price of five rupees per bag. Rice is consequently at too great a price to ship for an English market.

Nov. 15.—The quantity of dead weight for shipment to Europe is so great, that we rather incline to an improvement. Finer qualities of sugar and saltpetre have claimed some notice, but at no improvement in price. By the amounts of imports of Spelter, it will be seen that those of 1824 was three times that of 1823, and the stock in the hands of the holders is more than two years consumption.

Late letters from Bombay state, that the crop of Cotton on the western side of India had entirely failed; so that the market would be entirely destitute of the usual supplies from Bhowanagar and Cutch, while at Surat and Broach, only half the usual quantity, or about 25,000 bales, were expected to be produced; and this entirely owing to the fortunate falling of some of the latter rains.

Late letters from China state, that new Malwa Opium had been selling there at 780 dollars per chest, but had declined to 660; but the consumption appeared to keep pace with the shipments. Calculations, from the 1st of December to the 31st of March, made a monthly consumption of 575 chests. Good Cotton was rs.13 5as., and middling from rs.12 5as. to rs.12 9as., the retailers complaining that there were few purchasers at those prices. The article was *not* on the rise, notwithstanding the knowledge of the small quantity likely to arrive. We are informed by these letters, that some failure had taken place in the rice crops of many of the provinces; that a scarcity of that necessary article was, in consequence apprehended by the Government. This had induced an edict by the Emperor, declaring that all ships importing cargoes of Rice, of 4,530 piculs, or upwards, into Canton, shall be exempted from the payment of all duties and port charges, of whatsoever description they may be.

CALCUTTA, NOV. 18, 1824.

Rates of Premium.

Rates of Premium.		
	Rs. As.	Rs. As.
Remittable Loan.....	32 8	to 33 0
Non remittable.....	3 0	— 6 0
Bank Shares	51 0	— 58 0

Bank of Bengal Rates.

Bank Shares	Bank of Bengal Notes.	Per Cent.
Discount on Government Bills	4	0
Do. on Private Bills	5	0
Interest on Loans on Deposit, open date	4	8
Do. 3 Months certain	4	4

Rates of Exchange.

Rates of Exchange.

	Selling.	Buying.
On Lond r 6 Months' sight, in S. Rs.	1s. 11½d. to 2s. 0½d.	
Madras, 30 Days' sight, 94 to 98 sicca rupees per 100 Madras rupees.		
Bombay, ditto, ditto, 92 sicca rupees per 100 Bombay ditto.		

Price of Bullion.

	Price of Bullion.			S. Rs.		
	S. Rs.			S. Rs.		
Spanish Dollars	209	0	to	209	8	per 100
Doubloons	30	8	to	31	8	each
Joes or Pezas	17	8	to	18	0	
Dutch Ducats	4	4	to	4	12	
Louis D'ors	8	4	to	8	8	
Silver 1½ Franc pieces.	190	4	to	190	8	per 100
Star Pagodas	3	6	to	3	7	
Sovereigns	10	0	to	10	8	
Bank of England Notes	10	4	to	10	12	

SHIPPING INTELLIGENCE.

ARRIVALS IN ENGLAND FROM EASTERN PORTS.

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Port of Arrival.</i>	<i>Ship's Name.</i>	<i>Commander.</i>	<i>Port of Departure.</i>	<i>Date.</i>
Mar. 4	Off Portsmouth	Lord Hungerford	Farquharson	.. Bengal	.. Aug. 31
Mar. 6	Off Dover	.. Ellen	.. Campe	.. Cape	.. Dec. 23
Mar. 6	Downs	.. Greenock	.. Richardson	.. Bengal	.. Aug. 31
Mar. 7	Liverpool	.. Hindostan	.. M'Callum	.. Bengal	.. Nov. 1
Mar. 13	Off the Start	.. Duke of York	.. Pitman	.. China	.. Nov. 17
Mar. 15	Off Portland	.. Sir G. Webster	.. Reynoldson	.. Bengal	.. Aug. 26
Mar. 16	Off the Start	.. Mellish	.. Cole	.. Bengal	.. Oct. 28
Mar. 20	Off Portsmouth	Simpson	.. Simpson	.. Bombay	.. Nov. 2
Mar. 20	Portsmouth	.. Henry Porcher	.. Thomson	.. Bengal	.. Oct. 28
Mar. 20	Cowes	.. Superb	.. George	.. China	.. Nov. 18

ARRIVALS IN EASTERN PORTS.

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Port of Arrival.</i>	<i>Ship's Name.</i>	<i>Commander.</i>	<i>Port of Depart.</i>
Aug. 19	China	.. Orwell	.. Muddle	.. London
Sept. 1	China	.. Princess Amelia	..	.. London
Sept. 1	China	.. Marq. Huntley	..	.. London
Sept. 15	China	.. Thames	.. Haviside	.. London
Sept. 20	Bengal	.. David Scott	.. Thornhill	.. London
Sept. 29	Bombay	.. Ld. Castlereagh	.. Durant	.. London
Oct. 3	Bengal	.. John Taylor	.. Atkinson	.. Liverpool
Oct. 3	Bengal	.. Bencoolen	.. Kirkwood	.. Liverpool
Oct. 3	Bengal	.. Resource	.. Fenn	.. London
Oct. 4	Bengal	.. Asia	.. Balderston	.. Madras & Lond.
Oct. 4	Bombay	.. Kath. Stuart Forbes	..	.. London
Oct. 6	Bombay	.. Triumph	.. Green	.. London
Oct. 8	Bengal	.. Clydesdale	.. M'Gill	.. Liverpool
Oct. 8	Bengal	.. Rose	.. Marquis	.. London
Oct. 9	Bengal	.. Exmouth	.. Owen	.. Lond. & Madras
Oct. 9	Bengal	.. Fahlie	.. Aldham	.. Madras & Lond.
Oct. 9	Bengal	.. Lady Raffles	.. Coxwell	.. Madras & Lond.
Oct. 9	Bengal	.. George Home	.. Young	.. London
Oct. 10	Bengal	.. Lord Anherst	.. Lucas	.. Lond. & Madras
Oct. 13	Bengal	.. Claudine	.. Niehol	.. London
Oct. 16	Bombay	.. Dorothy	.. Garnock	.. Liverpool
Oct. 18	Bengal	.. Medway	.. Wight	.. London
Oct. 23	Bombay	.. Marq. Hastings	.. Weynton	.. London
Oct. 26	Ceylon	.. George	.. Cuzens	.. London
Oct. 26	Bengal	.. Cornwall	.. Rose	.. Madras & Lond.
Oct. 27	Bengal	.. Carn Breca Castle	.. Davey	.. London
Oct. 31	Bengal	.. General Hewitt	.. Barrow	.. London
Nov. 2	Bengal	.. Boyue	.. Stephens	.. London
Nov. 3	Bengal	.. Layton	.. Miller	.. London
Nov. 7	Bengal	.. Astell	.. Levy	.. London
Nov. 13	Bengal	.. Lotus	.. Field	.. Liverpool
Nov. 23	Bengal	.. Bridger	.. Leslie	.. Liverpool
Dec. 31	Cape	.. Portsea	.. Shepherd	.. London
1825.				
Jan. 8	Cape	.. Cyprus	.. Biggs	.. London
Jan. 8	Cape	.. Promise	.. Glorgon	.. London

Shipping Intelligence.

DEPARTURES FROM ENGLAND.

Date.	Port of Depart.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Destination.
Mar. 1	Downs	Atlas	Maine	Madras and China
Mar. 9	Liverpool	Crown	Pinder	Bengal
Mar. 12	Downs	Margaret	Henderson	Cape
Mar. 12	Downs	Heighington	Wilson	China
Mar. 12	Portsmouth	H. M. Samarang		Cape
Mar. 12	Cowes	Venus	Cowan	Cape and Mauritius
Mar. 13	Cowes	Herefordshire	Hope	Madras and China
Mar. 16	Plymouth	Madras	Fayrer	Madras and Bengal
Mar. 16	Downs	Indus	Moriasty	Batavia
Mar. 18	Downs	Tiger	Kent	Ceylon
Mar. 19	Downs	Philolaæ	Rheards	Batavia & Singapore
Mar. 25	Portsmouth	Hope	Flint	Madras and Bengal
Mar. 25	Portsmouth	John	Popplewell	Madras and Bengal

SHIPS SPOKEN WITH AT SEA.

Date.	P. of Depart.	Lat. and Long.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Destination.
Sep. 28	London	On the Equator, 89E.	Prince Regent	Hosmer	Bengal
Nov. 8	Mad. & Loud	Entrance of Beng. Riv.	Susan	Hamilton	London
Nov. 19	London	Off the Cape	Cambrian	Clarkson	London
Dec. 1	London		Sarah	Owen	Bombay
Dec. 5	Calcutta	2.20 N. 83 E.	Catherine	Macintosh	London
Dec. 18	China	11.52 S. 94.23 E.	Berwickshire	Shepherd	London
Jan. 24	Liverpool	1.24 21.30	D. of Lancaster	Hannay	Bengal
Feb. 4	London	On the Equator	Vansittart	Dalrymple	London
Feb. 21	London	49.52 6.11.	Royal George	Timms	Madras & China

GENERAL LIST OF PASSENGERS.

ARRIVALS FROM INDIA.

By the *Greenock*.—From Bengal: Mr. C. McIlwrie.

By the *Alacrity*.—From the Cape: B. Burnett, Esq. and Mr. Bottomly.

By the *Ellen*.—From the Cape: Capt. J. M. Ardlie, late of the Mary, and Miss Layton.

By the *Duke of York*.—From China: Rev. B. Ward, Chaplain on the Bombay Establishment.

By the *Emma*.—From the South Sea: The Chief-mate and Passengers of the late ship Udney.

By the *Mellish*.—From Bengal: F. McNaughton, Esq. C. S.; Major Gale, 1st N. I.; Lieuts. Gardner and Fraser, of H. M. S.; Lieut. Bracken, of H. C. S.; S. Arnot, Esq.; Lieut. Biscoe, (died 25th Nov.) Miss Gale, and Master J. Reid.

By the *Lord Hungerford*, from Madras and Bengal.—From Madras: Mrs. Strachan, Mrs. Smith, Mrs. Molle, Misses Murray, H. Smith, E. Smith, J. Smith, and Mast. C. Smith; Lieut. Col. Com. J. L. Lushington, C. B. 1st. L. C.; Major W. Jollie, 4th Madras, N. I.; Lieut. Harding, H. M. 80th Regt.; Lieut. Francis, 46th Madras, N. I.; Lieut. J. Patterson, Madras, Artillery; Lieut. Bridge, 22d N. I.; M. G. Davi, son.—From Bengal: Mrs. Palmer, Mrs. Conroy, Mr. H. Palmer, C. S.; Mr. Ried, C. S.; Lieut. O'Halloran, H. M. 38th Regt.; Lieut. Douglas, Bengal, 14th N. I.; Mons. Bissas, Mons. D'Etchezoyen, Masters W. Kerr, M. Kerr, A. Conroy, and G. Conroy.

By the *Henry Porcher*.—From Bengal: Commodore Schwyder, Governor of His Danish Majesty's Colonies in the East Indies; Mr.

Blane, Sec. ditto; Mrs. Perry, Miss Rice; Lieut. Col. Morley, C. B.; Capt. Barrett, 13th Foot; Lieut. Farling, 13th Foot; Lieut. Buchanan, 38th Regt.; Lieuts. Tolfrey, 87th Regt. and Rice, 50th N. I.; Mr. Mair, and Mr. McFarland, Ass. Surg. H. C. S.

By the *Hindustan*.—From Bengal; Two Misses Wood.

By the *Samson*.—From Bombay: Capt. McCallam; Lieut. Wells; Lieut. Iggleaden, and Mr. Dowler.

PASSENGERS OUTWARD.

By the *Duke of Bedford*.—For Bombay: Capt. Morgan, Bombay Artillery; Capt. Stokesly, H. C. S. and Mr. H. G. Ashmore.

PASSENGERS EXPECTED.

By the *Catherine*.—From Bengal: Mrs. Paton, Mrs. Nichol, Major Thompson, Capt. A. Syme; Lieut. Balderston; Dr. Moscrop; Dr. Farquhar; Miss and Master Fullarton.

By the *Duchess of Athol*.—From China: G. B. Robinson, Esq.; from Canton, Col. J. Coombs, 23d Regt. N. I.; from Madras, Mrs. Coombs and Children.

By the *Thomas Coutts*.—Capt. Hutchinson, Country Service.

By the *Macquern*.—Mrs. Taylor, from Calcutta.

By the *Dunira*.—Sir W. Eraser, Bart. and R. B. Hurdleston, Esq. from China; and D. Magniac, Esq. merchant.

Shipping Intelligence.

By the *Castle Huntley*.—Capt. Elliott, R. N.
By the *Marquis Camden*.—Mrs. Ibbetson of Penang.

By the *General Harris*.—W. E. Phillips, Esq. late Governor of Penang, Mrs. Phillips and Children.

By the *Sir David Scott*.—Mrs. Wallick, wife of Dr. Wallick, Superintendent of the Botanic Gardens, Bengal; and Miss Stow from Bengal.

By the *Marquis of Huntley*.—J. T. Roberts, Esq. Chinese Establishment, Mrs. Roberts and Children.

By the *Canning*.—H. H. Lindsay, Esq. Chinese Establishment; and C. B. Lindsay, Esq. 3d Regt. Madras Cavalry.

The death of Capt. J. Head is confirmed by a letter, which states he was drowned on the 28th of August last, and the body had not been found.

The Lord Amherst, Lucas, was to sail from Bengal, for the Mauritius, with Rice, the 30th November; return in three months, and sail for England early in April.

All the Company's Ships had arrived at China, up to the 17th November last, except the *Canning* and London.

Mr. J. Hodson, Purser of the *Sir David Scott*, was left at Penang in bad health.

The *Golconda* had been taken up at Bengal for Rangoon. Capt. Edwards was coming home on account of bad health, as passenger in a Free Trader.

Capt. H. A. Campbell died at Sea, 13th Dec. after leaving the Straits of Sunda. Mr. A. Pitcairn, 2d Mate of the *Macqueen*, died on board the *Sir David Scott*, soon after leaving Singapore. Mr. J. C. Milward, 4th Mate of the *General Harris*, died in the Straits of Malacca. Mr. Carney, Midshipman of the *Berwickshire*, died at Sea soon after leaving China. Mr. J. Mackenzie, 6th Officer of the *Duke of York*, died at China, 3d of October.

The *Simpson*, from Bombay, arrived at St. Helena, and touched at the Mauritius; another very heavy hurricane had taken place there, and several Ships had been driven on shore; among them was the *Barossa*, Hutchinson, but her damage was not material, and she was loading Sugar for London, to sail in January. The *Kambang* from Batavia and Mauritius, passed the Island after the hurricane, early in December, and saw several ships lying in the Roads dismantled.

The *Jupiter*, Young, from Singapore and Penang, was seen by the *Maine*, going into the Cape in a very leaky state.

The *Princess Charlotte*, M'Kean, for Liverpool, put back to Calcutta, 21st September, to repair.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The *Louisa Woolls*, from Bengal to Cape of Good Hope, grounded below Melancholy Point, and would be obliged to go up to be docked. Mr. T. Buzzard, Purser of the *William Money*, died at Calcutta, 11th of September.

The *Georgiana Babcock*, belonging to Bengal, was lost at Zanzibar, northward of the Cape, in July last.

The *Udney* sprung a leak on the 15th of June, off the coast of Natal, and put into Delagoa Bay, from whence she was blown out on the 22d, and proceeded to the Mosambique Channel, from whence she drove into Inhambane Bay, and was lost there on the 2d of July. Part of the cargo, consisting of 80 cases of Cardomums, and 235 bags of Pepper, was saved, and sold at the Mosambique for the benefit of the Underwriters. The Passengers of the *Udney*, viz. Lieuts. Grass, Dawson, Forskett, Henderson, and Stapleton, Ass. Surg. Wellerton, Lieut. Mylius, Master Wellesley, and the Chief Officer proceeded in the *Emma Whaler*, and arrived at St. Helena, 5th January.

Capt. George Bunyan, of the *Cornwall*, died at Calcutta, as also his Chief and Third mates.

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